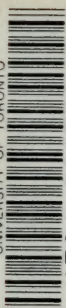



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HISTORY OF THE PURITAN

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PROTESTANT

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ABRIDGED

IN THE

BY EDWARD

BY JOHN

LONDON



NEAL'S
HISTORY OF THE PURITANS ;
OR, THE
RISE, PRINCIPLES, AND SUFFERINGS
OF THE
PROTESTANT DISSENTERS,
TO THE
GLORIOUS ÆRA OF THE REVOLUTION ;
ABRIDGED,
IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY EDWARD PARSONS.

WITH THE
LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,
BY JOSHUA TOULMIN, D. D.

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CHAP. IX.

CHARLES I.

State of the Nation.—Parliament petitioned to provide for the Safety of the Nation.—The Crisis.—Votes and Resolutions of the Commons.—Reply of the King.—Remarks.—The Scots offer their mediation between the King and his Parliament.—Seditious Pamphlets.—The King's high Language.—He is denied Entrance into Hull.—His proceedings in the North.—The sum of the Parliament's desires for the Security of the Nation.—The King's preparations for War.—Preparations of Parliament for War.—The King applies to the Papists.—Correspondence of Parliament with the Scots.—Bill for abolishing Episcopacy.—Remarks.—The War opens.—The King sets up his Standard at Nottingham.

ALL things now tended to a rupture between the King and parliament; the legislature being divided and the constitution broken. While the royal family was at Hampton-Court, the officers and soldiers who were quartered about Kingston, to the number of two hundred, made such disturbances that the militia of the county was raised to disperse them. After a few days the King removed to Windsor, where a cabinet council was held in presence of the Queen, in which, besides the resolution of passing no more bills, already mentioned, it was further agreed, that her majesty being to accompany the princess her daughter to Holland, in order to her marriage with

the Prince of Orange, should take with her the crown jewels, and pledge them for ready money ; with which she should purchase arms and ammunition, &c. for the King's service. She was also to treat with the Kings of France and Spain, for four thousand soldiers, by the mediation of the Pope's nuncio.

It was further resolved that his majesty should come to no agreement with the parliament, till he understood the success of her negociations, but should endeavour to get possession of the important fortresses of Portsmouth and Hull, where the arms and artillery of the late army in the north were deposited. Eachard says it was resolved, that the Queen should remove to Portsmouth, and the King to Hull ; that being possessed of those places of strength, where his friends might resort to him with safety, he should sit still till the hot spirits at Westminster could be brought to reason ; but this important secret being discovered, the parliament entered upon more effectual measures for their safety : they sent to Colonel Goring, governor of Portsmouth, not to receive any forces into the town but by authority of the King, signified by both houses of parliament. Sir J. Hotham was sent to secure the magazine at Hull ; and a guard was placed about the Tower of London, to prevent the carrying out any ordnance or ammunition without consent of parliament. Clarendon, and after him, Eachard, censure the two houses for exercising these first acts of sovereignty. How far they were necessary for their own and the public safety after what had passed, and the resolutions of the councils at Windsor, I leave with the reader.

The command of the militia had been usually in the crown ; though the law had not positively determined in whom that great power was lodged, as Whitlock undertook to prove before the commissioners at Uxbridge : the King claimed the sole disposal of it ; whereas the parliament insisted that it was not in the King alone, but in the King and parliament jointly ; and that when the kingdom is in imminent danger, if the royal power is not exerted in its defence, the military force may be raised without it. But waving the question of right, the parliament desired the command of the militia might be put into such

hands as they could confide in only for two years, till the present disorders were quieted; this the King refused unless the house would first give up the question of right, and vest the sole command of the militia in the crown by form of law; which the parliament declined, and voted the advisers of that answer, enemies of the kingdom.

Multitudes of petitions were presented to the houses, beseeching them to provide for the safety of the nation by disarming papists, by taking care of the protestants in Ireland, by bringing evil counsellors to punishment, by putting the kingdom into a posture of defence, and by committing the forts and castles of the kingdom to such persons as both houses could confide in; but their hands were tied, because the King, who has the sole execution of the laws, would act no longer in concert with his parliament. The commons, encouraged by the spirit of the people, petitioned a second time for the militia, and framed an ordinance with a list of the names of such persons in whom they could confide. His majesty in order to amuse the house and gain time, told them, that he could not divest himself of that just power that God and the laws of the kingdom had placed in him for the defence of his people, for any indefinite time. After this they presented a third petition to the King, in which they protest, that if his majesty persists in that denial, the dangers and distempers of the kingdom were such as would endure no longer delay; and therefore if his majesty will not satisfy their desires, they shall be enforced for the safety of the kingdom, to dispose of the militia by authority of both houses of parliament, and they resolve to do it accordingly: beseeching his majesty at the same time to reside near his parliament. The King was so enflamed with this protestation, that he told them, he was amazed at their message, but should not alter his resolution in any point. And instead of residing near his parliament, he removed to New-Market, and by degrees to York.

Upon this the commons voted that the kingdom be forthwith put into a posture of defence by authority of

both houses in such a way as is already agreed upon by both houses of parliament; and next day they published an ordinance for that purpose. March 9, both houses presented a declaration to the King at New-Market, expressing the causes of their fears and jealousies, and their earnest desires that his majesty would put from him those wicked and mischievous counsellors, that have caused these differences between him and his parliament; that he would come to Whitehall, and continue his own and the prince's residence near his parliament, which he may do with more honour and safety than in any other place. We beseech your majesty, say they, to consider in what state you are, and how easy the way is to happiness, greatness, and honour, if you will join with your parliament; this is all we expect, and for this we will return you our lives and fortunes, and do every thing we can to support your just sovereignty and power. But it is not words alone that will secure us; that which we desire is some real effect in granting those things that the present necessities of the kingdom require. They add further, that his majesty's removal to so great a distance not only obstructed the proceedings of parliament, but looked like an alienation of the kingdom from himself and family.

His majesty's best friends advised him to take this opportunity of returning to London; and it must be solely imputed to his majesty's own resolutions, says Clarendon, that he took not that course; but instead of this, he broke out into a passion and told them, he had his fears for the true protestant profession and the laws as well as they:—"What would you have, says his majesty? have I violated your laws, or denied to pass any bill for the ease of my subjects? I do not ask you what you have done for me—God so deal with me and mine, as my intentions are upright for maintaining the true protestant profession and the laws of the land."—Being asked by the Earl of Pembroke, whether he would not grant the militia for a little time? his majesty swore by God, No, not for an hour." When he was put in mind of his frequent violation of the laws, his majesty replied, that he had made ample

reparation, and did not expect to be reproached with the actions of his ministers:

As his majesty insisted upon the militia, he claimed also an unalienable right to all the forts and garrisons of the kingdom, with an uncontrollable power to dispose of the arms and ammunition laid up in them, as his proper goods. This the parliament disputed, and maintained that they were his majesty's only in trust for the public, and that in discharge of this trust the parliament sitting are his counsellors; for if the King had such a property in the forts and magazines as he claimed, he might then sell or transfer them into an enemy's hand as absolutely as a private person may his lands and goods; which is a strange maxim, and contrary to the act of 40th Edward III. Many declarations passed between the King and his parliament on this argument, while each party were getting possession of all they could. The King was contriving to make sure of the magazine of Hull, but the parliament were beforehand with him, and not only secured that important fortress, but got the command of the fleet, which submitted to the Earl of Warwick, whom the parliament appointed to be their admiral.

The ordinance of March 5, for disposing of the militia by both houses of parliament without the King, in cases of extreme danger to the nation, of which danger the two houses were the proper judges, with the subsequent resolutions of March 16, were the grand crisis which divided the house into two parties. Mr. Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, Mr. Bridgeman, Mr. Palmer, and other eminent lawyers and gentlemen, having given their opinion against the ordinance, quitted their seats and retired to the King. On the other hand, Serjeant Maynard, the Lord keeper Littleton, Messrs. Whitlock, Glyn, Selden, Lee, St. John, Grimston, and divers others of no less judgment in law, and of a superior interest in their country, accepted of commissions in the militia, and continued in the service of the parliament. Many retired to their country seats, and were for standing neuter in this nice conjuncture; but those who remained were about three hundred, besides fifty that were employed in the

country; and about fifty more absent with leave; the rest went over to the King, and were some time after expelled the house. But from this time the sitting members were more resolute, and met with less opposition.

His majesty acquainted the houses from Huntingdon, March 15, with his design to reside for some time at York; and adds that,—He expected they should pay a due regard to his prerogative, and to the laws established; and that none of his subjects should presume under colour of any order or ordinance of parliament, to which his majesty is not a party, to do or execute what is not warrantable by the laws.—His majesty's intention by this message, was to put a stop to all further proceedings of the parliament, for their own and the nation's security, till they had digested all their grievances into a body.

But instead of tiring the reader with a long paper war, I will make one general remark, which may serve as a key to the whole controversy. If we suppose the kingdom to be in its natural state, after the King had withdrawn from his parliament, and would act no longer in concert with them; if the constitution was then entire, and the most considerable grievances redressed; if the laws in being were a sufficient security against the return of popery and arbitrary power, and there was good reason to believe those laws would have their free course;—then the King's reasons for his conduct are strong and conclusive; for in all ordinary cases, the administration of justice, and the due execution of the laws, is vested in the crown; nor may the lords and commons in parliament make new laws, or suspend and alter old ones, without his majesty's consent. But on the other hand, if in the opinion of the lords and commons in parliament assembled, who are the representatives of the whole nation, the constitution is broken; by the King's deserting his two houses, and resolving to act no longer in concert with them, or by any other overt-acts of his majesty's council, inconsistent with the constitution. Or if both houses shall declare the religion and liberties of the nation to be in imminent danger, either from foreign or domestic enemies, and the King will not concur with his parliament to apply such remedies as the wisdom of his two houses shall think

necessary ; then certainly after proper petitions and remonstrances, they may from the necessity of the case, provide for the public safety, as much as in the case of nonage or captivity of the prince. In order therefore to decide in the present controversy, we must make an estimate of the true condition of the nation ; whether it was in its natural state ; or whether the constitution being divided and broken by the King's deserting his parliament, the legal form of government was not dissolved ? In the former case I apprehend the King was in the right ; in the latter, the parliament.

This unhappy controversy was managed with great warmth and mutual reproaches, though with this decency, that the King did not charge his parliament with criminal designs, but only a malignant party in both houses ; nor did the parliament reproach the King, but laid all their grievances upon his evil counsellors ; however it is easy to observe, that it was impossible the two parties should agree, because they reasoned upon so different a principle ; the King supposing the nation was in a sound state, and that therefore the laws ought to take their natural course ; the parliament apprehending the constitution broken, and that therefore it was their duty to provide for the public safety, even without the King's concurrence. But we shall have more light into this controversy hereafter.

To return to the history ; though the Scots were made easy at home being in full possession of their civil and religious rights, yet they could not remain unconcerned spectators of the ruin of the English parliament, partly out of gratitude for the favours they had received, and partly from an apprehension that the security of their own settlement, as well as the introducing their kirk discipline into England, depended upon it. While the King was at Windsor, the Scots commissioners at London offered their mediation between his majesty and his two houses ; in their petition they tell his majesty, that the liberties of England and Scotland must stand and fall together ; and after some expressions of grief for the distractions of England, which they conceive to arise from the plots of the papists and prelates, whose aim has been not only to prevent any further reformation, but to subvert the

purity and truth of religion; they offer their service to compose the differences, and beseech his majesty, to have recourse to the faithful advices of both houses of parliament, which will not only quiet the minds of his English subjects, but remove the jealousies and fears that may possess the hearts of his subjects in his other kingdoms.

The King was highly displeased with the Scots meditation, and sent them word that the case of England and Scotland was different; that in Scotland episcopacy was never fully settled by law, and is found to be contrary to the genius of the people; but in England it is rooted in the very constitution, and has flourished without interruption for eighty years; he therefore commands them not to transact between him and his parliament, without first communicating their propositions to him in private. At the same time his majesty sent letters into Scotland, and ordered the chancellor to use his utmost efforts to keep that kingdom neutral. On the other hand, the parliament threw themselves into the arms of the Scots; they thanked the commissioners for their seasonable interposition, and prayed them to continue their endeavours to remove the present distractions, and to preserve the union between the two kingdoms. They wrote likewise into Scotland to the same purpose; the effects of which will appear at the next meeting of their parliament. In the mean time, the lords and commons to encourage the expectations of their friends in both kingdoms, published for the satisfaction of the people a declaration of their intentions to accomplish a due and necessary reformation of the government and discipline of the church: and to use their utmost endeavours to establish learned and preaching ministers, with a good and sufficient maintenance, throughout the whole kingdom. This declaration was ordered to be published by the sheriffs of the several counties.

The distance between London and York increased the misunderstanding between the King and his parliament; numbers of passengers travelling between the two places with secret intelligence, the parliament appointed an oath, called the *negative oath*, to be taken by all who came from the King's quarters. By this oath the parties bind themselves that they will not directly or indirectly assist

the King in this war against the parliament. And they likewise swear, that their submitting themselves to the power and protection of parliament, is without any design to prejudice the proceedings of parliament, and without direction, privity, or advice of the King, or any of his council or officers.

As soon as the correspondence was thus interrupted, numbers of libellous papers began to appear full of scandal and reproach, whereby the conduct of great and wise men was aspersed, innumerable false reports spread through the nation, and the spirits of the people sharpened for war. On the side of the King was *Mercurius Aulicus*; and on the side of the parliament *Mercurius Britannicus*; when the King fixed his court at Oxford, the learned garrison drew their pens for the King, as the politicians of London did for the parliament; and while the armies were in the field, these gentlemen employed themselves in celebrating their wonderful exploits to the people. The pulpits also were employed in the same work; the preachers dealt too much in politics, and made free with the characters and actions of their superiors; there were incendiaries on both sides; the King's preachers enhanced his majesty's character, and treated the parliament as rebels and traitors; and the parliament ministers were no less culpable, for though they avoided speaking disrespectfully of the King, they declaimed against the hierarchy, against evil and popish counsellors, and glanced at the Queen herself as preventing the harmony between his majesty and the parliament, and pushing him upon measures that were destructive of the protestant religion and the constitution of their country; which how true soever in itself, was a subject very unfit for the pulpit.

The great resort of the nobility and gentry to the court at York, gave his majesty new life, and encouraged him to treat his parliament with very sovereign language; he sent them word, that he would have nothing extorted from him; nor would he grant them any thing further that the law had put into his hands. At the same his majesty attempted to seize upon the magazine of Hull, and accordingly appeared before the town with three hundred horse, but was denied entrance with more than twelve attendants

whereupon after an hour's time allowed for deliberation, his majesty caused Sir J. Hotham the governor, to be proclaimed a traitor, and then retired to York full of resentment for the affront he had received. However the parliament stood by their governor, and ordered the arms and ammunition in Hull to be removed to the Tower of London, except what was necessary for the defence of the place.

Upon his majesty's return to York, he commanded the committee of parliament, which were spies upon his actions, to retire to London, but they excused themselves, as being ordered to continue by those who employed them. His majesty also summoned the nobility and gentry of the northern counties to meet him at York; where after several assemblies had been held, a regiment of horse was raised for the security of his majesty's person, and the command given to the Prince of Wales. This was the first levy of troops in the civil war, his majesty having as yet only a regiment of the militia of six hundred men, besides the reformadoes that attended the court.

About the same time the King ordered the courts of justice to remove from Westminster to York, and sent for Serjeant-major Skippon, an old experienced officer to attend him in person, which the parliament prevented; but were not so successful in relation to the Great Seal, which the keeper sent privately to the King by the messenger that came for it, and then followed himself. This was a sensible disappointment to the parliament, especially as it was attended with the loss of nine other peers, who deserted their stations in the house about the same time, and went over to the King, as did considerable numbers of the commons, his majesty having now given orders to all his friends to leave the house and repair to him, which instead of breaking up the parliament, as was intended, strengthened the hands of the country party, and gave them an opportunity, after some time, of expelling the deserters.

Things being come to this crisis, the parliament voted, That it was now apparent the King, seduced by wicked counsel, intended to make war upon the parliament.—That whensoever the King maketh such war it is a breach of

trust, contrary to his coronation oath, and tending to the dissolution of government.--That whosoever shall serve or assist his majesty in such war are traitors, and have been so adjudged by two acts of parliament, 11 Richard II. and 1 Henry IV. and they ordered all sheriffs and justices of peace, &c. to stay all arms, &c. carrying to York, and to disperse all forces coming together by the King's commission.

On the 2d of June the parliament presented the King with the sum of all their desires for the reformation and security of church and state, in nineteen propositions. Those which relate to the state are built upon the supposition, that the nation was in imminent danger; and that after so many infractions of the *Royal Word*, it was not to be relied upon for the execution of the laws but in conjunction with the parliament. They therefore pray, that his majesty's privy-counsellors, commanders of forts and garrisons, and all the great officers of state, may be approved by the two houses; that the judges may hold their places *quam diu se bene gesserint*; that the militia may be in the hands of the parliament for the present; that all public business may be determined by a majority of the council, and that they may take an oath to maintain the petition of right, and such other laws as shall be enacted this present session. They pray that the justice of parliament may pass upon delinquents; that Lord Kimbleton and the five members may be effectually cleared by act of parliament, and that his majesty would enter into alliances with foreign princes for the support of the protestant religion, &c. It is hard to express his majesty's resentment against all these propositions (except the two last), which he says were fit only to be offered to a vanquished prisoner; that he were unworthy of his noble descent if he should part with such flowers of the crown as are worth all the rest of the garland. His majesty therefore rejected them in the gross with this sovereign reply, *nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*.

It was now apparent to all men, that this controversy of the pen must be decided by the sword; for this purpose the Queen was all this while in Holland negotiating foreign supplies; her majesty pledged the crown jewels, and with

the money arising from thence purchased a small frigate of thirty-two guns, called the Providence, and freighted it with two hundred barrels of powder, two or three thousand arms, seven or eight field pieces, and some ready money for the King's service, all which were convoyed to his majesty at York, about the beginning of June. The parliament had been advertised of the Queen's proceedings, and acquainted the King with their advices; to which he replied,—“ Whatsoever you are advertised from Paris, &c. of foreign aids, we are confident no sober honest man in our kingdom can believe, that we are so *desperate*, or so *senseless*, as to entertain such designs, as would not only bury this our kingdom in certain destruction and ruin, but our name and posterity in perpetual scorn and infamy. One would think by this that the King did not know what was doing with the crown jewels, though they were carried over with his leave, and, as Whitlock says, that with them and the assistance of the Prince of Orange, a sufficient party might be raised for the King. But in this answer, as in most others, his majesty had his ambiguities and reservations.

It was the King's great misfortune never to get possession of a convenient place of strength upon the coast. The governor of Portsmouth declaring for him, the parliament immediately ordered the militia of the country to block up the place by land, while the Earl of Warwick did the same by sea, so that it was forced to surrender for want of provision, before the King could relieve it. The like disappointment befel his majesty at Hull, which he besieged a second time, with three thousand foot and about one thousand horse, while Sir J. Pennington the King's admiral blocked it up by sea; but the governor drawing up the sluices laid the country under water, and obliged the army to retire. This was a severe disappointment, because his majesty had sent word to the parliament, that by the help of God and the law, he would have justice upon those that kept him out of Hull, or lose his life in requiring it.

On the other hand the commons upon the desertion of the King's friends, ordered a general call of the house, and that every member should answer to his name on forfeiture of one hundred pounds. The lords ordered the nine

peers that went after the great seal, to appear at their bar, and for their non-appearance, deprived them of their privilege of voting in the house during the present parliament. As the commons had taken all imaginable precautions to hinder the King from getting the forts and magazines of the kingdom into his possession, they ordered all suspected places to be searched for arms and ammunition; in the archbishop's palace at Lambeth they seized arms for about five hundred men, and lodged them in the Tower of London; in Cobham-Hall they seized five cart loads of arms; and below Gravesend about one hundred pieces of cannon. As soon as they heard the King had received supplies from beyond sea, and was preparing to besiege Hull, they ordered their ordinance for raising the militia to be put in execution, in Essex, when all the regiments appeared full, besides a great number of volunteers who declared they would stand by the parliament in this cause with their lives and fortunes. The King forbid the militia's appearing in arms without his consent, and issued out commissions of array, appointing several persons of quality to array, muster, and train the people in the several counties, but the parliament by a declaration endeavoured to prove these commissions to be illegal, contrary to the petition of right, and to a statute of this present parliament; and went on with mustering the militia in several other counties, where the spirit of the people appeared to be with them.

On the 10th of June the parliament published proposals for borrowing money upon the public faith at eight *per cent.* interest, allowing the full value of the plate, besides one shilling per ounce consideration for the fashion. Upon information of this, the King immediately wrote to the Lord-mayor of London, to forbid the citizens lending their money or plate, upon pain of high-treason; notwithstanding which such vast quantities were brought into Guildhall within ten days, that there were hardly officers enough to receive it. The amount of the plate was one one million, two hundred sixty-seven thousand, three hundred and twenty-six pounds; the gentry of London and Middlesex brought in the best of their plate, and the meaner sort their gold rings, thimbles and bodkins.

The King also tried his credit with the people, but with very little success, except among the courtiers and the two universities. The vice-chancellors and heads of colleges in Oxford, unanimously agreed in convocation, to intrust his majesty with their public stock, amounting to eight hundred and sixty pounds. The several colleges also sent his majesty their plate; and private gentlemen contributed considerable sums of money to the value of above ten thousand pounds. The two houses at Westminster being informed of these proceedings, published an ordinance declaring this act of the university, a breach of trust and an alienation of the public money, contrary to the intent of the pious donors, and therefore not to be justified by the laws of God nor man;—that it was also contrary to their engagements, that their plate should be forth-coming, and should not be made use of by the King against the parliament; and yet they sent it away privately to York.

As soon as the two houses were informed of this, they sent for the four principal managers of this affair into custody, but they absconded; and the scholars encouraged by their principals, bought arms, formed themselves into companies, and laying aside their accademical studies, were instructed in the art of war. Such was the zeal of the vice-chancellor, that not content with marshalling the university, he promoted the King's commission of array among the townsmen, and received one of his majesty's troops of horse into garrison, for which he was afterwards apprehended and committed to the Gate house at Westminster. The parliament provoked with this behaviour of the university threatened to quarter some of their own regiments upon them, which frightened away half the scholars, and put the rest into such a terrible panic, that the vice-chancellor thought proper to write a very submissive letter to the Earl of Pembroke their chancellor; in which he deprecates the displeasure of parliament, and earnestly solicits his lordship's mediation. But their letter being sent two months after the university had conveyed their plate and money to the King; after they had refused to send up such principal managers of that affair as the parliament had demanded; after they had taken up arms, and

received a regiment of his majesty's forces into garrison; the earl returned such an answer as these circumstances naturally suggested.

Cambridge university followed the example of Oxford, for upon reading his majesty's letter of June 29, to the vice-chancellor Dr. Holdsworth, they readily agreed also to intrust the King with their public money; which when the King had secured, he sent to borrow their plate, under pretence of preserving it from the parliament; for this purpose he wrote another letter to the vice-chancellor, with directions to take an exact account. According to this calculation, the King might receive from all the colleges together, about eight or ten thousand pounds in plate, besides money. Colonel Oliver Cromwel with his company of soldiers, endeavoured to intercept the convey, but under the conduct of Mr. Barnaby Oley their guide, who was acquainted with all the bye-roads, they escaped the enemy, and delivered up their charge to the King about the time he was setting up his royal standard at Nottingham. Cromwel having missed the convoy returned to Cambridge, and took possession of the town and university for the parliament, who being acquainted with what was done, sent them an angry message, as they had done to Oxford, full of resentments for their disposing of the public money, contrary to the trust reposed in them. The masters and fellows excused themselves, by alledging the royal mandate; whereupon the two houses sent a mandate of their own to the vice-chancellor and heads of colleges in convocation assembled, desiring them to contribute their assistance to the cause in which they were engaged; but though the commander of the garrison kept them sitting till midnight, they would lend nothing, because they apprehended it to be contrary to religion and a good conscience; the house therefore ordered Dr. Beal, Dr. Martin, and Dr. Sterne, masters of St. John's, Jesus, and Queen's Colls. into custody; upon which many of the scholars deserted their stations, and listed in the King's service.

Besides the two universities the King applied underhand to his Roman catholic subjects, to advance two or three years of the rent that they paid as a composition for

their estates as recusants ; which they not only complied with, but sent to their friends abroad to borrow more ; proclamation was made at Bruges, and other parts of Flanders, that all people who would lend any money to maintain the Roman catholics in England, should have it repaid in a year's time with many thanks.—The Lancashire papists having been lately disarmed by order of parliament, petitioned his majesty, that since the war was begun, their arms might be re-delivered, that they might be in a capacity to defend his majesty's royal person, and their own families. To which his majesty consented. Agreeably to this, Mr. Tempest, a priest, writes to his brother in the King's army, our priests at Lancaster are at liberty ; catholic commanders are admitted, and all well enough that way ; God Almighty, as I hope, will better prosper the cause.

When the parliament objected this to his majesty, and named the very officers, he was highly displeased, and in his answer after asserting the purity of his motions, and the rectitude of his conduct, makes use of these solemn expressions : It is strange, that our oaths and protestations before almighty God, for the maintenance of the protestant religion, should be so slighted—We desire to have our protestations believed by the evidence of our actions. Surely this solemn appeal to almighty God was ambiguous and evasive ! Or else we must conclude, that his majesty was very little acquainted with what was done in his name, and by his commission. It was only five days after this, that the mask was thrown off, for his majesty confesses in his declaration, that the malice and fury of his enemies had reduced him to the necessity of accepting the service and affection of any of his good subjects, whatsoever their religion was ; that he did know of some few papists, whose eminent abilities in command and conduct had moved him to employ them in his service ; but he assures his good subjects, that he would always concur in any endeavours to suppress their religion, his two houses should think proper. As the King was reduced to the necessity of accepting the service and affection of the papists ; so on the other hand, the parliament took all imaginable care to cultivate a good correspondence with the Scots, and to

secure that nation in their interests. It will be remembered that the Scots commissioners at London offered their mediation in the beginning of the year, which the parliament accepted ; but the King from his extreme hatred of the presbyterian discipline refused, commanding them to be content with their own settlement, and not meddle in the affairs of another nation. The breach between the King and his two houses growing wider, the council of Scotland sent their chancellor to renew their offers of a mediation between the two parties, which the King rejected as before ; because they still insisted upon the abolishing of episcopacy, and an uniformity of presbyterian government in the two nations : whereas the majority of both houses being of erastian principles, were under no difficulties about a change of discipline, apprehending that the civil magistrate might set up what form of government was most conducive to the good of the state. The parliament therefore treated the chancellor with great respect, and not only accepted the mediation, but wrote to the general assembly, acquainting them with the crisis of their affairs, and desiring their advice and assistance in bringing about such a reformation as was desired. To which the assembly returned an answer, in which they expressed their desires for unity of religion, that there might be one confession of faith, one directory of worship, one public catechism, and one form of church government. But of this they say they have no hope, till prelacy be plucked up root and branch, as a plant which God hath not planted ?

In the parliament's answer, they acknowledge the friendship of their brethren of Scotland, and express their desires of unity in religion, that in all his majesty's dominions there might be but one confession of faith and form of church-government, &c. The King being alarmed with the harmony between the two kingdoms, sent a warm remonstrance to the council of Scotland ; in which he explained the uniformity he all along intended, and declared that the parliament no more believed the divine institution of presbytery, than others did of diocesan prelacy ; for though they were content, in order to secure

the assistance of the Scots nation, to vote away the power of archbishops and bishops, yet when they had conquered the King, and had nothing to fear from their neighbours, they would not be prevailed with to establish the Scots presbytery, without reserving the power of the keys to themselves.

The parliament were sensible they could not carry on the war but by the help of the Scots, which they were not to expect without an alteration of the government of the church, to which that nation was violently inclined, but the major part of the members that continued in the parliament-house were cordially affected to the established government, at least not affected to any other.—But then to induce them to consent to such an alteration, it was said the Scots would not take up arms without it ; so that they must lose all, and let the King return as a conqueror, or submit to the change. If it should be said, this would make a peace with the King impracticable, whose affection to the hierarchy all men knew ; it was answered, that it was usual in treaties to ask more than was expected to be granted ; and it might be, that their departing from their proposition concerning the church, might prevail with the King to give them the militia. Upon these motives the bill to abolish episcopacy was brought in and soon passed both houses. Clarendon says, that marvellous art and industry were used to obtain it ; that the majority of the commons were really against it, and that it was very hardly submitted to by the house of peers. But the bill passed without one negative vote ; and there were bonfires and ringing of bells for joy all over the city.

It may seem strange that the parliament should abolish the present establishment before they had agreed on another, but the Scots would not declare for them till they had done it. Had the two houses been inclined to presbytery, as some have maintained, it had been easy to have adopted the Scots model at once ; but as the bill for extirpating episcopacy was not to take place till above a year forward, it is apparent they were willing it should not take place at all, if in that time they could come to an accommodation with the King ; and if the breach

should then remain, they proposed to consult with an assembly of divines what form to erect in its stead. Thus the old English hierarchy lay prostrate for about eighteen years, although never legally abolished for want of the royal assent; and therefore at the restoration it took place again, without any new law to restore it; which the presbyterians, who were then in the saddle not understanding, did not provide against it as they might.

While the King and parliament were thus strengthening themselves, and calling in severally all the succours they could get, the scene of the war began to open; his majesty travelled with a large retinue into several of the Northern and Western counties, summoning the people together, and in set speeches endeavouring to possess them of the justice of his cause, promising upon the word of a King, that for the future he would govern by law. Upon this assurance about forty lords, and several members who had deserted the house of commons, signed an engagement, to defend his majesty's person and prerogative, to support the protestant religion established by law, and not to submit to any ordinance of parliament concerning the militia that had not the royal assent. Great numbers listed in his majesty's service, whereby an army was formed which marched a second time to the siege of Hull.

A week after the King was set down before this fortress, the two houses after long debates, came to this resolution, that an army should be raised for the defence of the King and parliament, that the Earl of Essex should be Captain General, and the Earl of Bedford, General of the horse, who were empowered to resist and oppose with force all such whom they should find in arms, putting in execution the King's commission of array. On the 9th of August, the King proclaimed the Earl of Essex and all his adherents traitors, unless they laid down their arms within six days; and in another *manifesto* declared both houses of parliament guilty of high treason, and forbade all his subjects to yield obedience to them. The parliament also on their part, proclaimed all who adhered to the King in this cause, traitors against the parliament and kingdom.

August 12, the King by proclamation commanded all his subjects on the north of Trent, and within twenty miles south of it, to appear in arms for the suppressing the rebels that were marching against him; and about the same time issued out another proclamation, requiring all men who could bear arms to repair to him at Nottingham, where he intended to set up his standard, but very few came to attend it; and the weather proving stormy and tempestuous, it was blown down the same evening, and could not be fixed again in two days. Three weeks after this, the Earl of Essex, the parliament's general, put himself at the head of their army of fifteen thousand men at St. Alban's. The King with an army of equal strength, marched from Nottingham to Shrewsbury, and having refreshed his forces there for some time, broke up in order to march directly for London, but the Earl of Essex putting himself in the way, both armies engaged at Edgehill, on Sunday, October 23, the very same day twelvemonth after the breaking out of the Irish massacre; the battle continued from three in the afternoon till night, with almost equal advantage, the number of slain on both sides being about four thousand. Thus the sword was drawn, which was drenched in the blood of the inhabitants of this Island for several years, to the loss of as many protestant lives as perished by the insurrection and massacre of Ireland.

CHAP. X.

CHARLES I.

State of the Church.—Strict observance of the Sabbath.—Monthly Post.—Rise of the Morning Lectures.—Reformation of Manners in the City.—Character of those who took part with the Parliament.—Of the Puritan Clergy.—Their vindication of the King's Clergy.—Sufferings of the Clergy.—The King's Army.—The Authors of the Civil War.—The Spirit of the House of Commons.—The Grounds and Reasons on which the War proceeded.—Jealousies on both sides.—Concluding Remarks.

WE have already seen the unsettled state of religion upon the King's progress into Scotland, with the complaints of the Royalists for want of decency and uniformity. The hierarchy had for some time been a dead weight, the springs that moved it being stopt, by the imprisonment of the bishops, and the check that was given to the spiritual courts; but now the whole fabric was taken down after a year, though when that was expired, no other discipline was erected in its room; nor was the name, style, and dignity of archbishops and bishops taken away by ordinance of parliament till the war was over, and the King a prisoner. In this interval there was properly no established form of government, the clergy being permitted to read more or less of the liturgy as they

pleased, and to govern their parishes according to their discretion. The vestments were left indifferent, some wearing them, and others in imitation of the foreign protestants, making use of a cloak. Feb. 2, 1642-3, the commons ordered, that the statute of the university of Cambridge, which imposes the use of the surplice upon all students and graduates should not be pressed, as being against the law and liberty of the subject; and three days after they made the same order for the schools of Westminster, Eaton, and Winchester. Bp. Kennet says, that tithes were denied to those who read common prayer; and it is a true, that they were withheld from those that did not read it, for many taking advantage of the confusion of the times, relieved themselves of a burden for which some few pleaded conscience, and others the uncertain title of those that claimed them.

Though the parliament and puritan clergy were averse to cathedral worship; that is, to a variety of musical instruments, choristers, singing of prayers, anthems, &c. as unsuitable to the simplicity of divine service, yet was it not prohibited; and though the revenues of prebendaries and deans, &c. had been voted useless, and more fit to be applied to the maintenance of preaching ministers, yet the stipends of those who did not take part with the King, were not sequestered till the latter end of 1645, when it was ordained, that the deans and prebendaries of Westminster who had absented themselves, or were delinquents, or had not taken the covenant, should be suspended from their several offices and places, except Mr. Osbaldeston; but the names, titles, and offices of deans and chapters, were not abolished till after the King's death, the parliament proceeding with some caution, as long as there was any prospect of an accommodation with the King. Indeed the beauty of the cathedrals was in some measure defaced about this time, by the ordinance for the removing crucifixes, images, pictures, and other monuments of superstition out of churches. Many fine paintings in the windows and on the walls were broken and destroyed, without a decent repair of the damage. In Lambeth-Chapel the organ was taken down. The following summer the paintings, pictures, superstitious ornaments and images were

defaced, or removed out of various cathedrals. But I do not find, says Dr. Walker, that they then seized the revenues and estates of the cathedrals, but contented themselves with plundering and imprisoning some of the principal members, and dispersing many of the rest; and several of those places coming afterwards into his majesty's hands, the service did not wholly cease, nor were the doors of those stately fabricks finally closed at that time.

Though the discipline of the church was at an end, there was nevertheless an uncommon spirit of devotion among people in the parliament quarters; the Lord's day was observed with remarkable strictness, the churches being crowded with numerous attentive hearers three or four times in the day; the officers of the peace patrolled the streets, and shut up all public houses; there was no travelling on the road, or walking in the fields, except in cases of absolute necessity. Religious exercises were set up in private families, as reading the scriptures, family prayer, repeating sermons, and singing psalms, which was so universal that you might walk through the city of London on the evening of the Lord's day without seeing an idle person, or hearing any thing but the voice of prayer or praise from churches and private houses.

As is usual in times of public calamity, so at the breaking out of the civil war, all public diversions and recreations were laid aside. And the parliament published an ordinance for the strict observation of a monthly fast, in order to implore a divine blessing upon the consultations of parliament, and to deprecate the calamities that threatened the nation. All preachers were enjoined to give notice of it from the pulpit the preceding Lord's day, and to exhort their hearers to a solemn and religious observation of the whole day, by a devout attendance on the service of God in some church or chapel, by abstinence and by refraining from worldly business and diversions; all public houses were likewise forbid to sell any sorts of liquors, except in cases of necessity, till the public exercises and religious duties of the day were ended; which continued with little or no intermission from nine in the morning till four in the afternoon; during which time the people were

at their devotions, and the ministers engaged in one part or other of divine worship.

But besides this monthly fast, the opening of the war gave rise to another exercise for an hour every morning in the week. Most of the citizens of London having some near relation or friend in the army of the Earl of Essex, so many bills were sent up to the pulpit every Lord's day for their preservation, that the minister had not time to recommend their cases to God in prayer; it was therefore agreed to separate an hour for this purpose every morning, one half to be spent in prayer, and the other in a suitable exhortation to the people. Mr. Case, minister of St. Mary-Magdalen, Milk-street, began it in his church at seven in the morning, and when it had continued there a month, it was removed by turns to other churches for the accommodation of the several parts of the city, and was called the morning exercise. The service was performed by divers ministers and crowded audiences. When the heat of the war was over, it became a Casuistical lecture, and was carried on by the most learned and able divines till the restoration. Their sermons were afterwards published in several volumes quarto, under the title of the Morning Exercises; each sermon being the resolution of some practical case of conscience. Some time after another morning lecture was set up in the Abbey-church of Westminster, between the hours of six and eight, for the benefit of that part of the town, and especially of the members of parliament. In short, there were lectures and sermons every day in the week in one church or another, which were well attended, and with great appearance of zeal and affection. Men were not backward to rise before day, and go to places of worship at a great distance, for the benefit of hearing the word of God. Such was the devotion of the city of London and parts adjacent, in these dangerous times.

Nor was the reformation of manners less remarkable; the laws against vice and profaneness were so strict, and so rigorously put in execution, that wickedness was forced to hide itself in corners. There were no gaming houses, or houses of pleasure; no profane swearing, drunkenness, or any kind of debauchery to be seen or heard in the

streets. It is commonly said, that the religion of these times was no better than hypocrisy and dissimulation; and without all doubt, there were numbers of men who made the form of godliness a cloak to dishonesty; nay it is probable, that hypocrisy, and secret immoralities, might be the prevailing sins of the age, all open vices being suppressed; but still I am persuaded, that the body of the people were sincerely religious, and with all their faults I should rejoice to see in our days, such an appearance of religion, and all kinds of vice and profaneness so effectually discountenanced.

If we go from the city to the camp of the Earl of Essex, we shall find no less probity of manners among them, most of his soldiers being men who did not fight so much for pay, as for religion and the liberties of their country. Mr. Baxter, who was himself in the army, gives this account of them.—The generality of those people throughout England who went by the name of puritans, precisians, presbyterians, who followed sermons, prayed in their families, read books of devotion, and were strict observers of the Sabbath, being avowed enemies to swearing, drunkenness, and all kinds of profaneness, adhered to the parliament; with these were mixed some young persons of warm heads, and enthusiastical principles, who laid the foundation of those sects and divisions which afterwards spread over the whole nation, and were a disgrace to the cause which the parliament had espoused. Of the clergy, those who were of the sentiments of Calvin, who were constant preachers of the word of God themselves, and encouragers of it in others; who were zealous against popery; and wished for a reformation of the discipline of the church, were on the parliament's side. Among these were some of the elder clergy, who were preferred before the rise of Abp. Laud; all the deprived and silenced ministers, with the whole body of lecturers and warm popular preachers both in town and country; these drew after them great numbers of the more serious and devout people, who were not capable of judging between the King and parliament, but followed their spiritual guides from a veneration they had for their integrity and piety. Many went into the parliament, and filled up

their armies afterwards, merely because they heard men swear for the common prayer and bishops, and heard others pray that were against them; because they heard the King's soldiers with horrid oaths abuse the name of God, and saw them live in debauchery, while the parliament soldiers flocked to sermons, talked of religion, and prayed and sung psalms together on their guards. And all the sober men that I was acquainted with who were against the parliament used to say, "That the King had the better cause, but the parliament had the better men."

The puritan, or parliament clergy were zealous calvinists, and having been prohibited for some years from preaching against the arminians, they now pointed all their artillery against them, insisting upon little else in their sermons, but the doctrines of predestination, justification by faith, salvation by free grace, and the inability of man to do that which is good. The duties of the second table were too much neglected; from a strong aversion to arminianism these divines unhappily made way for antinomianism, verging from one extreme to another, till at length some of the weaker sort were lost in the wild mazes of enthusiastic dreams and visions, and others from false principles pretended to justify the hidden works of dishonesty. The assembly of divines did what they could to put a stop to the growth of these pernicious errors; but the great scarcity of preachers of a learned education, who took part with the parliament, left some pulpits in the country empty, and the people to be led aside in many places, by every bold pretender to inspiration.

But the political principles of these divines gave the greatest disgust to the royalists; they encouraged the people to stand by the parliament, and preached up the lawfulness of defending their religion and liberties against the King's evil counsellors. They were for a limited monarchy, agreeable to our present constitution, and for the purity of the protestant religion; but for this they have been left upon record, as rebels, traitors, enemies to God and the King, &c. Clarendon says the puritan clergy were the chief incendiaries, and had the

chief influence in promoting the civil war. The kirk reformation in Scotland and in this kingdom, says his lordship, was driven on by no men so much as those of their clergy; and without doubt the Abp. of Canterbury never had such an influence over the councils at court, as Dr. Burges and Mr. Marshal had then on the houses; nor did all the bishops of Scotland together so much meddle in temporal affairs as Mr. Henderson had done.

Strange! when the Scots bishops were advanced to the highest posts of honour and civil trust in that kingdom; and when Laud had the direction of all public affairs in England, for twelve years together. Was not the archbishop at the head of the council-table, the star-chamber, and the court of high-commission? Was not his grace the contriver or promoter of all the monopolies and oppressions that brought on the civil war? What could the puritan clergy do like this? Had they any places of profit or trust under the government, or any commissions in the ecclesiastical courts? Did they amass to themselves great riches or large estates? No; they renounced all civil power and jurisdiction, as well as lordly titles and dignities; and were for the most part, content with a very moderate share of the world. If they served the parliament cause, it was in visiting their parishioners, and by their sermons from the pulpits; here they spent their zeal, praying and preaching as men who were in earnest, for what they apprehended to be the cause of God and their country. But it is easy to remark, that this historian observes no measures when the puritan clergy fall in his way.

Nor were the parliament divines the chief incendiaries between the King and people. They might inveigh too freely in their sermons against the vices of the clergy, and the severities of the late times; but in all the fast sermons that I have read, for some years after the beginning of the war, I have met with no reflections upon the person of the King, but a religious observation of that political maxim, **THE KING CAN DO NO WRONG.** His lordship adds, "that they profanely and blasphemously applied what had been spoken by the prophets against the most wicked and impious Kings, to stir up the people

against their most gracious sovereign." If this was really the case, yet the King's divines came not behind them in applying the absolute dominion of the Kings of Judah in support of the unbounded prerogative of the Kings of England, and in *cursing* the parliament, and pronouncing *damnation* upon all who died in their service. I could produce a large catalogue of shocking expressions to this purpose, but I wish such offences buried in oblivion. And besides we ought not to form our judgments of great bodies of men, from the excesses of a few. We shall have an opportunity hereafter, of comparing the learning of the puritan divines with the royalists, when it will appear, that there were men of no less eminence for literature with the parliament than with the King. And as to their morals, their very adversaries will witness for them. Dr. G. Bates, an eminent royalist, in his "*Elenchus*," gives them this character. They were men of severe and strict morals, warm and affectionate preachers, fervent in prayer, ready to all pious offices, and in a word, (abating their political principles) good men. And yet with all their goodness they were unacquainted with the *rights of conscience*, and when they got the spiritual sword into their hands managed it very little better than their predecessors the bishops.

The clergy who espoused the King's cause were the bench of bishops, the whole body of the cathedral, and the major part of the parochial clergy, with the heads and most of the fellows of both universities, among whom were men of the first rank for learning, politeness, piety, and probity of manners, who joined the King, not merely for the sake of their preferments, but because they believed the unlawfulness of subjects resisting their sovereign in any case whatsoever. Among the parochial clergy were men of no less name and character; Lord Clarendon says, that if the sermons of those times preached at court were collected together and published, the world would receive the best bulk of orthodox divinity, profound learning, convincing reason, natural powerful eloquence, and admirable devotion, that hath been communicated in any age since the apostles' time. And yet in the very same page he adds, there was sometimes preached there, matter

very unfit for the place, and scandalous for the persons. I submit this paragraph to the reader's judgment; for I must confess that after having read over several of these court sermons, I have not been able to discover that learning and persuasive eloquence which his lordship admires; nor can much be said for their orthodoxy, if the thirty-nine articles be the standard. But whatever decency was observed at court, there was hardly a sermon preached by the inferior clergy within the King's quarters, wherein the parliament divines were not severely exposed and ridiculed. Such was the sharpness of men's spirits on both sides.

Among the country clergy there was great room for complaints, many of them being pluralists, non-residents, ignorant and illiterate, negligent of their cures, seldom or never visiting their parishioners, or discharging any more of their function than would barely satisfy the law. They took advantage of the book of sports to attend their parishioners to their wakes and revels, by which means many of them became scandalously immoral. Even Walker admits, that there were among them men who were a reproach and scandal to their function; the particulars of which had better have been buried than left upon record.

The common people that filled up the King's army were of the looser sort; and even the chief officers, were men of profligate lives, and made a jest of religion; the private centinels were *soldiers of fortune*, and not having their regular pay, lived for the most part upon free plunder; when they took possession of a town they rifled the houses of all who were called puritans, and turned their families out of doors. Baxter says, "the great cause of the parliament's strength, and of the King's ruin; was the debauched rabble, encouraged by the gentry, and seconded by the common soldiers of his army, who took all that were called puritans for their enemies: so that if any man was noted as a preacher, or a man of pious life, he was plundered, abused, and put in danger of his life; if a man prayed in his family, &c. they presently cried out *Rebels, Roundheads*, and all their money and goods proved guilty, however innocent they were themselves.

Upon my certain knowledge it was this that filled the armies and garrisons of the parliament with sober and pious men. Thousands had no mind to meddle in the wars, but to live peaceably at home, if the rage of the soldiers would have suffered them." This was so notorious, that at length it came to the King's ear, who out of mere compassion to his distressed subjects, issued a proclamation, for the better government of his army. This was as much as the King could do in his present circumstances ; yet it had very little effect, for his majesty having neither money or stores for his army, the officers could maintain no discipline, and were forced to connive at their living at free quarter upon the people. Thus this unhappy nation was miserably harrassed, and thrown into terrible convulsions, by an unnatural civil war ; the nobility and gentry with their dependants, being chiefly with the King ; the merchants, tradesmen, substantial farmers, and in general the middle ranks of people siding with the parliament.

It is of little consequence to enquire, who began this unnatural and bloody war. None will blame them, on whose part it was just and unavoidable, for taking all necessary precautions in their defence, and making use of such advantages as providence put into their hands to defeat the designs of the enemy, and nothing can excuse the other. His majesty professed before God to his nobles at York, that he had no intention to make war upon his parliament. And in his last speech on the scaffold he affirms, that he did not begin a war with the two houses of parliament, but that they began with him upon the point of the militia ; and if any body will look upon the dates of the commissions, says his majesty, theirs and mine, they will see clearly that they began these unhappy troubles, and not I. Yet with all due submission, were the dates of commissions for raising the militia, the beginning of the war ? Were not the crown jewels first pawned in Holland, and arms, ammunition, and artillery, sent over to the King at York ? Did not his majesty summon the gentlemen and freeholders to attend him as an extraordinary guard, in his progress in the north, and appear before Hull in a warlike manner, before the raising the militia ; were not these

warlike preparations? I think all impartial judges must allow, that they look very much that way. Father Orleans confesses, that it was agreed with the Queen in the cabinet council at Windsor, that while her majesty was negotiating in Holland, the King should retire to York, and there make his first levies. He adds, that all mankind believed that his majesty was underhand preparing for war, that the sword might cut asunder those knots he had made with his pen.

In order to excuse the unhappy King, who was sacrificed in the house of his friends, a load of guilt is with great justice laid upon the Queen, who had a plentitude of power over his majesty, and could turn him about which way she pleased. She was an enemy to parliaments, and pushed the King upon the most arbitrary and unpopular actions, to raise the English government to a level with the French. It was the Queen that countenanced the Irish insurrection; that obliged the King to go to the house of commons and seize the five members; and that was at the head of the council at Windsor, in which it was determined to break with the parliament and prepare for war; this, says Clarendon (*viz.*) the King's perfect adoration of his Queen, his resolution to do nothing without her, and his being inexorable as to every thing he promised her, WAS THE ROOT AND CAUSE OF ALL OTHER GRIEVANCES.

Sundry others of his majesty's privy-council had their share in bringing on the calamities of the war, though when it broke out they were either dead, dispersed, or imprisoned, as the Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Strafford, Laud, &c. These had been the most busy actors at the Council-table, the Star-chamber, and court of High-commission, and were at the head of all the monopolies and illegal projects, that enslaved the nation for above twelve years. On the other hand, a spirit of English liberty had been growing in the nation for some years, and the late oppressions instead of extinguishing it, had only kept it under ground, till having collected more strength, it burst out with the greater violence; the patriots of the constitution watched all opportunities to recover it; yet when they had obtained a parliament by the

interposition of the Scots, were disposed to take a severe revenge upon their late oppressors, and to enter upon too violent measures in order to prevent the return of power into those hands that had so shamefully abused it. The five members of the house of commons, and their friends, who were concerned in inviting the Scots into England, saw their danger long before the King came to the house to seize them, which put them upon concerting measures not only to restore the constitution, but to lay further limitations upon the royal power for a time, that they might not be exposed to the mercy of an incensed prince, as soon as he should be delivered from the present parliament.

The King being made sensible of the spirit of the Commons, watched all opportunities to disperse them, and not being able to gain his point, resolved to leave the two houses, and act no longer in concert with them, which was in effect to determine their power; for to what purpose should they sit, if the King will pass none of their bills; and forbid his subjects to obey any of their votes or ordinances till they had received the royal assent? It was this dismembered and broke the constitution, and reduced the parliament to this dilemma, either to return home, and leave all things in the hands of the King and Queen, and their late ministry; or to act by themselves, as the guardians of the people, in a time of imminent danger: had they dissolved themselves, or stood still while his majesty had garrisoned the strong fortresses of Portsmouth and Hull, and got possession of all the arms, artillery, and ammunition of the kingdom; had they suffered the fleet to fall into his majesty's hands, and gone on meekly petitioning for the militia, or for his majesty's return to his two houses of parliament, till the Queen was returned with foreign recruits, or the Irish at liberty to send his majesty succours; both they and we, must in all probability have been buried in the ruins of the liberties of our country.

But though in a just and necessary war, it is of little moment to enquire who began it, it is nevertheless of great consequence to consider on which side the justice of it lies. With regard to dangers and fears, parliament

appealed to the whole world, whether there were not just grounds for them, after his majesty had violated the PETITION OF RIGHT, and attempted to break up the present parliament, by bringing his army to London;—after he had entered their house with an armed force, to seize five of their members; after he had deserted his parliament, and resolved to act no longer in concert with them;—after his majesty had begun to raise forces under pretence of an extraordinary guard to his person, and endeavoured to get the forts and ammunition of the kingdom into his possession, against the time when he should receive supplies from abroad;—after they had seen the dreadful effects of a bloody and unparalleled insurrection and massacre of the protestants in Ireland, and were continually alarmed with the increase and insolent behaviour of the papists at home; and lastly,—after they had found it impracticable, by their most humble petitions and remonstrances, to remove the Queen and her cabal of papists from the direction of the King's councils;—after all these things, say they, “We must maintain the grounds of our fears to be of that moment, that we cannot discharge the trust and duty which lies upon us, unless we do apply ourselves to the use of those means, which God and the laws have put in our hands, for the necessary defence and safety of the kingdom.

There were certainly strong, and perhaps unreasonable jealousies, and apprehensions of danger on both sides. The King complained, that he was driven from Whitehall by popular tumults, where neither his person or family could remain in safety. He was jealous, as he said, for the laws and liberties of his people, and was apprehensive that his parliament intended to change the constitution, and wrest the sceptre and sword out of his hands. On the other side, the two houses had their fears and distrusts of their own and the public safety; they were apprehensive, that if they put the forts and garrisons and all the strength of the kingdom into his majesty's power, as soon as they were dissolved he,

by the influence of his Queen and his old counsellors, would return to his maxims of arbitrary government, and never call another parliament; that he would take a severe revenge upon those members who had exposed his measures, and disgraced his ministers; and in a word, that he would break through the late laws, as having been extorted from him by force and violence; but it was very much in the King's power, even to the treaty of Uxbridge, to have removed these distrusts, and thereby have saved both himself, the church, and the nation. Upon the whole, if we believe that the King was driven by violence from his palace, and could not return with safety; that all real and imaginary grievances of church and state were redressed; and that the kingdom was sufficiently secured from all future inroads of popery and arbitrary power by the laws in being; then the justice and equity of the war was most certainly with the King. But if we believe, that the King voluntarily deserted his parliament, and that it was owing alone to his majesty's own peremptory resolution, that he would not return, as Clarendon admits:—If by this means the constitution was broken, and the ordinary courts of justice necessarily interrupted; if there were sundry grievances still to be redressed, and the King resolved to shelter himself under the laws in being, and to make no further concessions, if there were just reasons to fear, with Bp. Burnet, and father Orleans, that the King would abide by the late laws no longer than he was under that force that brought them upon him, in a word, if in the judgment of the majority of lords and commons, the kingdom was in imminent danger of the return of popery and arbitrary power, and his majesty would not condescend so much as to a temporary security for their satisfaction; then we must conclude, that the cause of the parliament, at the commencement of the war, and for some years after, was not only justifiable, but commendable and glorious; especially if we believe their own most solemn protestation, to the kingdom and to the whole world;—"That no private passion or respect, no evil

intention to his majesty's person, no designs to the prejudice of his just honour or authority, had engaged them to raise forces, and take up arms against the authors of this war in which the kingdom is enflamed."

CHAP. XI.

CHARLES I.

The King pursues his March towards London.—Remarks.—Prosperous State of his Affairs.—Parliament's propositions to the King.—Death and Character of Dr. Crisp.—Lord Brooke's Death.—Proclamation against the City of London.—The People reduced to great hardships.—Sufferings of the Puritan and Episcopal Clergy.—Committees for Religion :—For Scandalous Ministers :—For plundered Ministers.—Proceedings of the Committees censured.—Strict Observation of the Sabbath.—Vacant Benefices filled up.—Monthly Posts.—Monuments of Superstition removed.—Orders for restraining the Press.

THE King having recruited his army at Oxford, after the battle of Edge-hill, by the assistance of the university, who now gave his majesty all their money, as they had before done their plate, resolved to pursue his march to London, in order to break up the parliament, and surprize the city ; while the Earl of Essex imagining the campaign was ended, lay quiet about Warwick, till being informed of the King's designs, he posted to London, and ordered his forces to follow with all expedition. The Earl arrived November 7, and was honourably received by both houses of parliament, who presented him with a gratuity of five thousand pounds, and to strengthen his army passed an ordinance, that such apprentices as would list in their service should be entitled to a freedom of the city at the expiration of their appren-

ticeship, equally with those who continued with their masters. In the beginning of November, the King took possession of Reading without the least resistance, the parliament garrison having abandoned it, which alarmed both houses, and made them send an express to desire a safe conduct for a committee of lords and commons, to attend his majesty with a petition for peace; the committee waited on his majesty at Colnbrook, fifteen miles from London, and having received a favourable answer, reported it to the two houses, who immediately gave orders to forbear all acts of hostility, and sent a messenger to the King, to desire the like forbearance on his part; but the committee had no sooner left Colnbrook, than his majesty taking the advantage of a thick mist, advanced to Brentford, about seven miles from London, which he attacked with his whole army, and after a fierce and bloody rencounter with the parliament garrison, wherein considerable numbers were driven into the Thames and slain, he got possession of the town, and took a great many prisoners.

The consternation of the citizens on this occasion was inexpressible, imagining the King would be next morning at their gates; upon which the Lord Mayor ordered the trained bands immediately to join the Earl of Essex's forces, which were just arrived at Turnham-Green, under the command of General Skippon; and there being no further thoughts of peace, every one spirited up his neighbour, and all resolved as one man to live and die together. When they were drawn up they made a body of about twenty-four thousand men eager for battle, but their orders were only to be on the defensive, and prevent the King's breaking through to the city. The two armies having faced each other all day, his majesty retreated in the night to Kingston, and from thence to Reading, where having left a garrison, he returned to Oxford, about the beginning of December with his Brentford prisoners, the chief of whom were condemned to die, and had been executed for high treason, if the two houses had not threatened to make reprisals. The parliament, to prevent a like surprize of the city for the future, empowered the

Lord Mayor to cause lines of circumvallation to be drawn around it, and all the avenues fortified.

It was not without reason that the two houses complained of the King's extraordinary conduct on this occasion, which was owing to the violent counsels of Prince Rupert and Lord Digby, animated by some of his majesty's friends in the city, who imagined, that if the royal army appeared in the neighbourhood of London, the parliament would accept of his majesty's pardon and break up ; or else the confusions would be so great, that he might enter and carry all before him ; but the project having failed, his majesty endeavoured to excuse it in the best manner he could : he alledged, that there being no cessation of arms agreed upon, he might justly take all advantages against his enemies. He insisted further upon his fears of being hemmed in by the parliament's forces about Colnbrook, to prevent which, it seemed he marched seven miles nearer the city. Lord Clarendon says, Prince Rupert having advanced to Hounslow without order, his majesty at the desire of the Prince marched forward, to disengage him from the danger of the forces quartered in that neighbourhood ; which is so very improbable, that in the opinion of Rapin, it is needless to refute it. Upon the whole, it is extremely probable, the King came from Oxford with a design of surprizing the city of London, before the Earl of Essex's army could arrive ; but having missed his aim, he framed the best pretences to persuade the people, that his marching to Brentford was only in his own defence.

Though his majesty took all occasions to make offers of peace to his parliament, in hopes the nation would compel them to an agreement, by leaving him in possession of all his prerogatives, it is sufficiently evident he had no intentions to yield any thing to obtain it. The justice of the cause upon which his majesty had set up his rest, was his declaration and promise to govern for the future according to the laws of the land ; but the point was, to know whether this might be relied upon. The two houses admitted the laws of the land to be the rule of government, and that the executive power in time of peace was with the King ; but his majesty had so often

dispensed with the laws by the advice of a corrupt ministry, after repeated assurances to the contrary thereof, that they durst not confide in his royal word, and insisted upon some additional security for themselves, and for the constitution. On the other hand, his majesty averred the constitution was in no danger from him, but from themselves, who were acting every day in defiance of it. To which it was answered, that it was impossible the laws should have their due course in time of war as in the height of peace, because this must effectually tie up their hands. Neither party by law could raise money upon the subject, without each others consent ; the King could not do it without consent of parliament, nor the parliament without the royal assent, and yet both had practised it since the opening of the war. To have recourse therefore to the laws of a well settled government in times of general confusion, was weak and impracticable. Besides, his majesty refused to give up any of his late ministers to the justice of parliament ; for in his letter to Duke Hamilton, he says, that his abandoning the Earl of Strafford had gone so near him, that he was resolved no consideration should make him do the like again. Upon these resolutions, he declined the mediation of the Scots commissioners, which gave the several parties engaged against him, a fair opportunity of uniting their interests with that nation.

This was a nice and curious affair ; the friends of the parliament, who were agreed in the cause of civil liberty, were far from being of one mind in points of church discipline ; the major part were for episcopacy, and desired no more than to secure the constitution, and reform a few exorbitances of the bishops ; some were Erastians, and would be content with any form of government the magistrate should appoint ; the real Presbyterians, who were for an entire change of the hierarchy upon the foot of divine right, were as yet but few, and could carry nothing in the house ; it was necessary therefore in treating with the Scots, who contended earnestly for their kirk government, to deliver themselves in such general expressions, that each party might interpret them as they were inclined, or as should be expedient. This contented the Scots for

the present, and left the parliament at full liberty, till they saw what terms they could make with the King. Nor could church-men be dissatisfied, because they knew if they could put a period to the war without the Scots, the two houses would not call in their assistance, much less submit to a kirk discipline with which they had no manner of acquaintance ; and therefore Lord Clarendon was of opinion, that even at the treaty of Uxbridge, if the parliament could have obtained an act of oblivion for what was past, and good security for the King's governing by law, the affair of religion might easily have been compromised ; but it required all the prudence and sagacity the two houses were masters of, to keep so many different interests in points of religion, united in one common cause of liberty and the constitution, at a time when great numbers of the King's friends in the very city of London, were forming conspiracies to restore him without any terms at all.

The King's affairs had a promising aspect this winter ; his forces in the north under the Earl of Newcastle, were superior to those of Lord Fairfax. In the western and midland counties there were several sieges and rencounters with various success, but nothing decisive. Divers counties entered into associations for their mutual defence on both sides. The four northern counties, of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham, associated for the King ; after which the two houses encouraged the like in those that owned their authority, and appointed generals to command their troops ; the chief of which was the eastern association of Essex, Cambridgeshire, the Isle of Ely, Hertford, Norfolk, Suffolk, and the city of Norwich, whose militia were trained, and ready to march where necessity should require within their several limits. In some parts of England the inhabitants resolved to stand neuter, and not be concerned on either side ; but the parliament condemned and disannulled all such agreements.

As the two houses depended upon the assistance of the Scots, his majesty had expectations of foreign aids from the Queen, who had endeavoured, by the influence of the prince of Orange, to engage the states of Holland.

in the King's interest, but they wisely declared for a neutrality; however they connived at her private negotiations, and gave her a general passport, by virtue whereof she transported a very large quantity of arms and ammunition to Burlington-Bay, and conveyed them to the King at York. His majesty also, in order to bring over the Irish forces under the command of the Duke of Ormond, consented to a truce with the Irish rebels, in which he allowed the Catholics to remain in possession of what they had conquered since the rebellion, to the great grief of the protestants, who by this means were legally dispossessed of their estates. A most unpopular action, in favour of a people who by their late massacre, were become the very reproach and infamy of human nature! Thus the whole kingdom was marshalled into parties, with their drawn swords eager to plunge them into each other's breasts.

The parliament's cause having a dark and threatening aspect, the Lords and Commons were not forgetful to implore the divine blessing upon their counsels and arms; for which purpose they published an ordinance, exhorting to the duty of Repentance, as the only remedy to prevent public calamities.

Though the King had rejected the Scots mediation, and set up his rest upon the justice of his cause, he was pleased, before the beginning of the campaign, to admit of a treaty with his two houses, for which purpose he sent a safe conduct to six lords, and as many commoners, with their attendants, to repair to him at Oxford, who being admitted to an audience in one of the colleges, produced various proposals, the most important of which was, That his majesty will please to give his consent to five bills.

The first, for the suppression of divers innovations in churches and chapels in and about the worship of God, &c.—The second, for the utter abolishing, and taking away of all archbishops, bishops, their chancellors, and commissaries, &c.—The third for punishing scandalous clergymen, and others.—The fourth, against the enjoying pluralities of benefices by spiritual persons, and non-residence.—The fifth, for calling an assembly of learned and

godly divines to be consulted with by the parliament, for the settling of the government and liturgy of the church, and for the vindication and clearing of the doctrine of the church of England from false aspersions and interpretations.

To these propositions his majesty, after a sharp reply to the preamble, returned the following answer; that though many of them were destructive of his just power and prerogative, yet because they might be mollified and explained upon debates, he is pleased to agree that a time and place be appointed for the meeting of commissioners on both sides to discuss them, and to consider the following proposals of his own.—1. “That his majesty’s revenues, magazines, towns, forts, and ships, may be forthwith restored.—2. “That whatsoever has been done or published, contrary to the known laws of the land, and his majesty’s legal rights, may be renounced and recalled.—3. “That whatever illegal power over his majesty’s subjects has been exercised by either, or both houses, or any committee, may be disclaimed, and all persons that have been imprisoned by virtue thereof be forthwith discharged.—4. “That a good bill may be framed, for the better preserving the book of common prayer from the scorn and violence of Brownists, Anabaptists, and other sectaries, with such clauses for the ease of tender consciences as his majesty has formerly offered.—5. “That all persons to be excepted out of the general pardon shall be tried *per pares*, according to common course of law, and that it be left to that, to acquit or condemn them.—6. “That in the mean time there be a cessation of arms, and free trade for all his majesty’s subject’s for twenty days.”

His majesty desired the last article might be first settled, by which he proposed not only to gain time, but to provide himself with several necessities from London, and to convoy safely to Oxford the ammunition and other stores, the Queen had lately landed at Burlington-Bay; but the parliament were too sensible of his designs to consent to it. They therefore empowered their commissioners to begin with the first proposition, concerning restoring the revenues of the crown, and the delivery of his majes-

ty's magazines, towns, forts and ships, &c. All which they were authorised to agree to, on condition the persons with whom he would intrust them were such as they could confide in. To which the King replied, that the oaths of the officers were a sufficient security, and if they abused their trust he would leave them to the law. The commissioners then went upon the other articles, and spun out the treaty till the 12th of April, without concluding one single point. The King would be restored to the condition he was in before the war, upon a bare promise that he would govern in future according to law; but the parliament were resolved not to trust themselves nor the constitution in his hands, without the redress of some grievances, and a better security. Mr. Whitlock says, that the commissioners (of which he was one) having been with the King one evening till midnight, gave his majesty such reasons to consent to a very material point, which would have much conduced to an happy issue, and success of the treaty, that he told them, he was fully satisfied, and promised to let them have his answer in writing, according to their desire next morning. But when the commissioners were withdrawn, some of the King's bed-chamber, fearing his concessions would tend to peace, never left persuading him, till he had altered his resolution, and gave orders for an answer to be drawn up directly contrary to what he had promised the commissioners.

This answer, which was expressed in very resolute terms, broke off the treaty, and left the quarrel to be decided by the sword; upon which Bp. Kennet makes the following remark,—“It is to be lamented, that some of the King's most intimate friends were against his concluding a peace, and others were against his obtaining an absolute victory. They were afraid he should comply, lest his prerogative might not be great enough to protect him; and yet afraid he should conquer, lest he might be tempted to assume an arbitrary power.”—It is plain from hence, by peace the King meant nothing but being restored to all the prerogatives of his crown as before the war, without any additional security; and that there was no room for a treaty till the previous question was determined,—Whe-

ther there was just reason to confide in the King, and restore him to his rights, upon his bare promise of governing by law for the future ? for all the propositions necessarily lead to this point, and till this was decided it was in vain to lose time upon the others.

This year died the famous Tobias Crisp, D. D. He was born in London, educated at Eaton school, and having took the degree of batchelor of arts at Cambridge retired to Oxford, and was incorporated into Baliol Coll. In the year 1627 he became Rector of Brinkworth in Wiltshire. He was much followed for his edifying manner of preaching, and for his great hospitality. Upon the breaking out of the war, he was obliged to fly to London, to avoid the insolencies of the King's soldiers ; where his peculiar sentiments about the doctrine of grace being discovered, he met with a vigorous opposition from the City divines. The doctor in his younger years had been a favourer of Arminianism, but changing his opinions, he ran into the contrary extreme of Antinomianism. He was certainly a learned and religious person, modest and humble in his behaviour, fervent and laborious in his ministerial work, and exact in his morals. The doctor was possessed of a very large estate, with which he did a great deal of good ; but being engaged in a grand dispute against several opponents (if we may believe Mr. Wood) he over-heated himself, and fell sick of the small-pox, of which he died. In his last sickness he was in a most comfortable and resigned frame of mind, and declared to them that stood by, his firm adherence to the doctrines he had preached ; that as he had lived in the belief of the free grace of God through Christ, so he did now with confidence and great joy, even as much as his present condition was capable of, resign his life and soul into the hands of his heavenly father. He published nothing in his life-time, but after his death his sermons were published in three volumes from his own notes, which with some additions, were reprinted by his son, in one volume quarto, and gave occasion to some intemperate heats among the non-conformist ministers of those times.

Towards the end of this year died Lord Brooke ; a virtuous and religious gentleman, a good scholar, and an

eminent patriot, but a determined enemy of the hierarchy. In the beginning of the war he took part with the parliament, and being made Lord lieutenant of the counties of Warwick and Stafford, put himself at the head of twelve hundred men, and marched against the Earl of Chesterfield at Litchfield, whom he dislodged from the town, but next day as he was looking out of a window with his beaver up, and giving direction to his soldiers to assault St. Chad's church, adjoining to the close where the Earl of Chesterfield's forces lay, a musket ball struck him near the left eye, of which he instantly died.

While the treaty of Oxford was depending, his majesty's friends in the city were contriving to bring him to London, and deliver the parliament into his hands. Messrs. Tomkins, Chaloner, and Waller a member of the house of commons, with some others, were to carry off the King's children, to secure the most active members of the house of commons, to seize the Tower and the gates of the city with the magazines, and to let in a part of the Royal forces; for all which they had the King's commission; but the plot being discovered by a servant of Tomkins' before it was ripe for execution, the conspirators were apprehended and tried; Tomkins and Chaloner confessed the facts and were executed; but Waller purchased his life for ten thousand pounds, and was banished.

Upon this discovery both houses resolved to strengthen themselves by a new covenant or vow, which was tendered first to their own members, then to the army, and such of the people as were willing to take it. Nevertheless the King's friends were not disheartened from entering into several other combinations against the parliament. One was discovered in August, and another towards the latter end of the year. Even the lower sort of women, to the number of two or three thousand, with white silk ribbons in their hats, went in a body to Westminster with a petition for peace upon the King's terms, and could not be dispersed without the military arm; all which was occasioned by the correspondence the King held in London; notwithstanding the ordinance the parliament had published to prevent spies and intelligencies

from Oxford or the Royal army, coming to any part of the parliament's quarters.

The King having failed in his designs of surprising the city, resolved at last to starve the citizens into their duty, for which purpose he issued a proclamation prohibiting all intercourse of trade and commerce with them, and expressly forbidding all persons to travel to London, or to carry any goods, merchandize, or provisions thither, without special licence from himself. By another proclamation, his majesty forbids his subjects of Scotland, and all foreign kingdoms and states in amity with him, to bring any ammunition, provision, goods, or merchandize of any sort to London, or any other town or city in rebellion against him. The prohibiting foreign merchandizes had very little influence upon the trade of the city, because the parliament were masters of the seas; but the town of Newcastle being garrisoned by the King, the Londoners were distressed the following winter for coals, which obliged them to have recourse to the digging turf, and cutting down all fell wood on the estates of delinquents within sixty miles of London. By another proclamation his majesty forbid all his subjects, upon pain of high treason, to obey the orders of parliament; and all tenants to pay their rents to such landlords as adhered to the rebellion, but to reserve them for his majesty's use.

After this account of things it is reasonable to suppose, that very extraordinary burdens must be laid upon the people on both sides to support the expences of the war. The parliament at Westminster excised every thing, even the necessaries of life. All butchers' meat paid one shilling in twenty; every rabbit an halfpenny; and pigeons one penny in the dozen. The King's parliament at Oxford did the like in his majesty's quarters; and all persons within the cities of London and Westminster, and the bills of mortality, were to pay the weekly value of one meal a week, for the public service, which they were supposed to abate in their families.

The King's affairs this summer were very prosperous, and threatened the ruin of his enemies; for besides his army, which had been recruiting in the winter, the Queen furnished him with foreign money, and with two thousand

foot, a thousand horse, a hundred waggons laden with ammunition of all sorts, six piéces of cannon, and two môrtars. Upon which the house of commons impeached her of high treason, for levying forces without consent of parliament. In the month of April the Earl of Essex besieged and took the town of Reading, from whence he marched within ten miles of Oxford, where Prince Rupert with a party of horse beat up his quarters, and killed the famous Mr. Hampden in Chalgrave field; after which Essex retired, and put his sickly forces into quarters for refreshment. In the north the King's armies had a train of successes. Lord Fairfax was defeated by the Earl of Newcastle at Atherston Moor, and Sir W. Waller at the battles of Landsdown and Roundaway-down, which was followed with the loss of Weymouth, Dorchester, Portland Castle, Exeter, and almost all the west. About the latter end of July, Prince Rupert besieged and took the city of Bristol, and the King himself sat down before Gloucester, Aug. 10th, which so alarmed the two houses, that the shops in London were ordered to be shut till the siege was raised, and a strong body of the trained bands dispatched to join the Earl of Essex's broken troops, who by this means, was in a condition in fifteen days to march to the relief of that important city; upon the Earl's approach the King raised the siege, and Essex entered the town, when reduced to the last extremity; and having supplied it with all necessaries, after three days returned towards London. The King being joined by Prince Rupert with five thousand horse, got before him to Newbury, where both armies engaged with pretty equal success, till night parted them, when his majesty retired to Oxford, and left the way open for the Earl to pursue his march. In this battle the city trained bands, by their undaunted bravery, are said to have gained immortal honour. But it is the opinion of most historians, that if instead of sitting down before Gloucester, the King had marched his victorious army directly to London after the taking of Bristol, he might have put an end to the war, the parliament being in no readiness to oppose him; however it is certain, that about this time the royal cause was in the height of its prosperity, and the parliament's at so

low an ebb, that they were obliged to throw themselves into the hands of the Scots.

The clergy on both sides had a deep share in the calamities of the times, being plundered, harrassed, imprisoned, and their livings sequestered, as they fell into the hands of the enemy. The King's party were greatly incensed against the puritan clergy, as the chief incendiaries of the people and trumpeters of rebellion. Such as refused to read the King's proclamations and orders against the parliament, were apprehended and shut up in the common goals of York, and other places within his majesty's quarters. When any parties of the royal army got possession of a town that adhered to the parliament, they enquired presently for the minister's house, which was rifled and plundered of every thing that was valuable, and himself imprisoned, if he could be found; but the incumbents usually took care to avoid the danger, by flying to the next parliament garrison. Above thirty puritan ministers took shelter in the city of Coventry after the fight of Edge-Hill. Great numbers came to London with their families in a naked and starving condition, leaving their books, and every thing they could not bring away, to the mercy of the King's soldiers. The prisoners underwent uncommon hardships, and would have been executed as rebels, if the parliament had not threatened reprisals.

On the other hand, the Episcopal clergy were no less harrassed by the parliament soldiers; these being in possession of the best livings in the church were liable to suffer the greatest damages; multitudes of them left their cures, and took sanctuary in the King's armies or garrisons, having disposed of their goods and chattels in the best manner they could. Others who had rendered themselves obnoxious by their sermons, or declarations for the King, were put under confinement. No friend being suffered to come near them. Dr. Walker observes, that about one hundred and ten of the London clergy were turned out of their livings, and that as many more fled to prevent imprisonment; yet it ought to be remembered, that none were turned out or imprisoned, for their adhering to the doctrine or discipline of the church of England, till after the

imposing of the Scots covenant, but for immorality, false doctrine; non-residence, or for taking part with the King against the parliament. However it is to be lamented, that several pious and worthy bishops, and other clergymen, who withdrew from the world, and were desirous to live peaceably without joining either side, suffered afterwards in common with the rest of their brethren; their estates and livings being sequestered, their houses and goods plundered by ungovernable soldiers, and themselves reduced to live upon the fifths, or a small pension from the parliament, either because they could not take the covenant, or comply with the new directory for public worship. Among these we may reckon Abp. Usher, Bps. Morton, Hall, and many others. When the bishops' lands were seized for the service of the war, which was called the *bishops' war*, it was not possible to shew favour to any under that character; and though the two houses voted very considerable pensions to some of the bishops, in lieu of their lands that were sequestered, due care was not taken of the payment; nor would several of their lordships so far countenance the votes of the houses as to apply for it.

In order to account for these things, it will be necessary to set before the reader the proceedings of the several committees of religion from the beginning of the present parliament. It has been remembered, that a grand committee, consisting of the whole house of commons, was appointed to enquire into the scandalous immoralities of the clergy, of which the famous Mr. White, member of parliament for Southwark, a good lawyer, and, according to Mr. Whitlock, an honest, learned and faithful servant of the public, was chairman. Great numbers of petitions with articles of misbehaviour were brought before them, relating to superstition, heresy, or the immorality of their ministers, insomuch that the house was forced to branch the committee into several sub-divisions, for the quicker dispatch of business. And a sub-committee was appointed, "To consider how there may be preaching ministers set up where there are none; how they may be maintained where there is no maintenance, and all other things of

that nature; also to enquire into the true grounds and causes of the great scarcity of preaching ministers, and putting others in their places." For which purposes the knights of shires and burgesses of the several corporations were ordered to bring informations within six weeks, of the state of religion in their respective counties. This sub-committee consisted of sixty-one members, together with the knights and burgesses of Northumberland, Wales, Lancashire, Cumberland, and the burgesses of Canterbury. They had their regular meetings in the court of wards, and from the powers abovementioned, were sometimes called the committee for preaching ministers. They had the inspection of all hospitals and free-schools, and were authorised to consider of the expediency of sending commissions into the several counties, to examine such clergymen as were accused, and could not with convenience be brought up to London.

But presentments against the clergy came in so fast, that for the dispatch of business they were obliged to divide again into several smaller committees. Within a short space, above two thousand petitions were brought before them, of which Mr. Corbet's committee had no less than nine hundred. Great complaints have been made of their severity, by those who will not believe the clergy were so corrupt as they really were, nor remember the political principles for which most of them suffered. The form of proceedings in the committee was certainly unexceptionable, for they were obliged to give proper notice to the party accused to make his appearance; the witnesses were usually examined upon oath in his presence; a copy of the articles was given him if desired, and a reasonable time assigned to prepare for his defence. And after all, the final determination was not with the committee; their opinion, with the evidence, was first laid before the grand committee; then it was reported to the whole house, and finally referred to the house of lords before it was decisive. One would think, here should be little room for complaint, and yet there was too much passion and prejudice on both sides, which was owing to the confusion of the times, and the violent resentments of each party. The commissioners were too forward in exposing the failings of the clergy,

and encouraging witnesses of slender credit; on the other hand, the clergy were insufferably rude to the committee, defaming their witnesses, and threatening revenge, for being obliged to plead their cause before laymen. However, few clergymen were sequestered by the committee for scandalous ministers before it was joined with that for plundered ministers; an account of which I shall lay before the reader, after I have given two or three examples of the proceedings of the present committee, from the relations of those clergymen who have left behind them an account of their sufferings.

The first is Mr. Symmonds of Rayne in Essex, who acknowledges, that he was sequestered for preaching and publishing, that—"The King being the supreme magistrate, hath immediate dependance on God, to whom alone he is accountable—That authority is a sacred thing, and essential to the King's person—That resistance is against the way of God, destructive to the whole law of God, inconsistent with the spirit of the gospel, the perpetual practice of christianity, the calling of ministers, common prudence, the rule of humanity, nature itself, reason, the oath of allegiance, and even the late protestation." Besides, he had notoriously defamed the parliament, and pressed his auditors to believe the King's declarations, because a divine sentence was in his mouth, and he could not err. And that if David's heart smote him for cutting off Saul's garment, what would it have done if he had kept him from his castles, towns, and ships? For which reason the lords and commons ordered his living to be sequestered into the hands of Robert Atkins, M. A. who was appointed to preach every Lord's day till further order. Mr. Symmonds endeavoured to discredit the evidence, but was so far from disowning the charge that he afterwards vindicated it in a pamphlet entitled, "The loyal subject's belief."

A second gentleman, who has left an account of his sufferings, is Mr. Squire of Shoreditch; he was articted against for—"Practising and pressing the late innovations, for saying the papists were the King's best subjects, because of their loyalty and liberality; for declaring that

none should come to the sacrament, unless they were as well affected to the King as the papists ; for comparing his majesty to the man that fell among thieves, being wounded in his honour, and robbed of his castles, and of the hearts of his people ; that the priest passing by, was the protestant ; the forward professor the Levite, but the papist was the good Samaritan ; and for affirming, that the King's subjects, and all that they had were at his command."—Mr. Squire denied some of these articles, and extenuated others ; he procured a certificate from several of his parishioners of his diligence in preaching, in catechising, and in beating down popery, for thirty years past, all which might be true ; but Dr. Walker admits, that from the beginning of the war he was a most strenuous champion for allegiance, that is, for passive obedience and non-resistance, and earnestly exhorted his people to the practice of it, which, as the times then were, might be a sufficient reason for the parliament to silence him.

The other clergyman is Mr. Finch, of Christ-Church, who was articted against for extortion, superstition, non-residence, and neglect of his cure, and for being a common swearer, tavern-hunter, and drunkard, which was proved by very substantial evidence : and his case was reported by the grand committee to the house of commons, and by them to the lords, who all agreed he was unfit to hold any ecclesiastical living.—It must be left with the impartial world to judge, whether the parliament had reason to sequester these clergy, in their own defence. The last was a man of an immoral life, and the two former, allowing them to be otherwise good men, were certainly incendiaries against the two houses, and preached up those doctrines which were inconsistent with the constitution and freedom of this country, as most of the parochial clergy at that time did.

The committee for plundered ministers took its rise from those puritan clergymen, who being driven from their cures in the country by the King's soldiers, fled to London with their families, leaving their substance and household furniture to the mercy of the enemy ; these being reduced to very great exigencies, applied to the parliament for relief ; the commons first ordered a charit-

able collection for them at their monthly fast, and four days after appointed a committee to consider of the fittest way for their relief. The commissioners were upon their oath; any four had a power to act; they were distinguished by the name of the committee for plundered ministers; but the royalists, by way of reproach, called them the committee for plundering ministers. They began their meetings in the court of Exchequer, Jan. 2; two days after, they were ordered to examine the complaints against Dr. Soam, minister of Twickenham and Stains, to send for parties and witnesses, to consider of proper persons to supply the cures, to apply the revenues to their use if they found it necessary, and to report the proceedings to the house. July 27, they were impowered to consider of informations against scandalous ministers, though there were no malignancy proved against them, and to put out such whose scandal was sufficiently proved; from which time the committee for scandalous and plundered ministers were in a sort united, and so continued to the end of the long parliament.

In order to silence the clamours of the royalists, and justify the severe proceedings of these committees, it was resolved to print the cases of those whom they ejected, and submit their conduct to the public censure; accordingly towards the latter end of the year, Mr. White, the chairman, published a pamphlet, entitled, "The first century of scandalous malignant priests, made and admitted into benefices by the prelates, in whose hands the ordination of ministers, and government of the church hath been; or, a narration of the causes for which the parliament has ordered the sequestration of the benefices of several ministers complained of before them, for viciousness of life, errors in doctrine, contrary to the articles of our religion, and for practising and pressing superstitious innovations against law, and for malignancy against the parliament." The author in his preface says, the reason of his appearing in print was, that the parliament might appear just in their doings, that the mouth of iniquity might be stopt; that all the world might see, that the tongues of them that speak evil of the parliament are set on fire of hell; that they hide themselves under

falsehood, and make lies their refuge. And then adds, that the grossest faults which were charged on the clergy were proved by many witnesses, seldom less than six. The whole century were convicted of malignity, or disaffection to the parliament; and about eighty of them of scandalous immoralities in their lives. Mr. Fuller confesses, that several of the offences of the clergy were so foul, that it is a shame to report them, crying to justice for punishment. But then he adds in favour of others, that witnesses against them were seldom examined on oath. That many of the complainers were factious people. That some of the clergy were convicted for delivering doctrines that were disputable, and others only for their loyalty. Bp. Kennet says, that several of them were vicious to a scandal. And Mr. Eachard is of the same mind. But Mr. Baxter's testimony is more particular and decisive; he says,—“That in all the countries where he was acquainted six to one at least, if not many more, that were sequestered by the committees, were by the oaths of witnesses proved insufficient or scandalous, or especially guilty of drunkenness and swearing.—This I know will displease the party, but I am sure that this is true.”

It is impossible to account for the particular proceedings of all the committees, of which great outcries have been made by the friends of the sufferers.—“If a few of the meanest and most vicious parishioners could be brought to prefer a petition against their parson to the house of commons, how falsely soever, Lord Clarendon says, and contrary to the judgment of the parish, he was sure to be prosecuted for a scandalous minister.” The like representation is made by most of the royalists; but the writers on the side of the parliament deny the charge, and complain as loudly of the contemptuous behaviour of the King's clergy to the commissioners, treating them as a combination of illiterate laymen, who had nothing to do with the church; nay, as rebels and traitors. Some refused to obey their summons, and others who appeared took up their time in examining the spelling of words, the propriety of grammar, and other little evasions, foreign to the purpose. They declared roundly, they did not own the tribunal before which they stood; they insulted

the witnesses, and threatened reprisals out of court, when things should revert to their former channel ; and upon the whole behaved as if they had engrossed all the law, learning, and good sense of the nation to themselves. The commissioners, provoked with this usage, were obliged to behave with some sharpness, in order to support their own authority ; they would not indulge them the peculiar privilege they claimed as clergymen, nor allow them as scholars to debate the truth of those doctrines of which they were accused, but confined them to matters of fact. When they excepted against the witnesses as ignorant mechanics, factious, schismatical, enemies to the church, &c. they over-ruled their exceptions, as long as there were no legal objections to their competency or credibility.

With regard to the country committees, the commissioners were chosen out of the deputy lieutenants, and the best country gentlemen in the parliament interest. Most of the crimes for which the clergy were sequestered were confessed by themselves ; superstition and false doctrine were hardly ever objected ; far the greatest part being cast out for malignity ; and yet the proceedings of the sequestrators were not always justifiable ; for whereas a court of judicature should rather be counsel for the prisoner than the prosecutor, the commissioners considered the King's clergy as their most dangerous enemies, and were ready to lay hold of all opportunities to discharge them their pulpits.

But whatever might be the excesses, or partiality of particular committees, no reasonable blame can be laid upon the two houses, whose instructions were, in my opinion, unexceptionable. In them an appeal was allowed from a lower to a higher court ; and to prevent a scrutiny into the lives and manners of the clergy, when their witnesses might be dead, they were limited to such crimes as had been committed within three years before the beginning of the present parliament ; so that if the committees observed their orders there could be little cause of complaint ; yet as no one will undertake to vindicate all their proceedings, we must not, on the other hand, give ear to the petulant and angry complaints of every

discontented clergyman. I shall only observe further, that these country committees hardly began to sit till the latter end of this year, or the beginning of 1644, that they exercised their power very sparingly while the war was in suspense, but when the royal forces had been beat out of the field, and victory declared on their side, they proceeded with more freedom, especially against those who had made themselves parties in the war.

Very different accounts are given of the numbers and quality of the ejected clergy by their several friends. But Mr. Baxter who was well acquainted with them, says, "That when the parliament purged the ministry, they cast out the grosser sort of insufficient and scandalous ones, and also some few civil men who had assisted in the wars against the parliament, or set up bowing to altars, and such innovations, but they left in near one half of the ministers that were not good enough to do much service, nor bad enough to be utterly intolerable. These were a company of poor weak preachers, who had no great skill in divinity, nor zeal for godliness, but preached weakly, and were free from notorious sins." This seems a pretty fair relation of the matter; however we shall have occasion to consider it more fully hereafter.

Besides the sequestration of benefices, the parliament considered the King's clergy as parties in the war, and seized their estates both real and personal under that character, towards defraying the expences of it. Divers clergymen of considerable learning, and blameless lives, sound protestants, and good preachers, lost their estates and livelihoods. How far such severities are justifiable by the law of arms, in a time of civil war and confusion, I shall not determine. It had been well, if those who would have given security for their peaceable behaviour, could have been distinguished. But what could the parliament do in their circumstances with men who were always dealing in politics, privately sending the King money, preaching publicly that he was above law, and stirring up the people to sedition and disaffection to those powers by whom they were protected? If others suffered in this manner it was very hard measure; their estates might have been double taxed, as those of papists and nonjurors have

since been ; but to take away their whole property, and reduce them to a fifth, and this at the mercy of sequestrators, was extremely rigorous and severe. However, his majesty pursued the same measures, and gave directions to seize the lands and goods of the parliamentarians. Such were the extremities on both sides !

The silencing so many clergymen at once, made it very difficult to find persons qualified to fill the vacant pulpits. This was an inconvenience that had attended the reformation of Queen Elizabeth. Clarendon, with his usual candor says, that from the beginning of this parliament he is confident not one learned or orthodox man was recommended by them to any church in England ; and yet some of the greatest ornaments of the church for learning and good sense, in the reign of Charles II. were of their promotion. Those clergymen who had been silenced and imprisoned by Abp. Laud, were set at liberty and promoted ; some who had fled to Holland and New-England on the account of non-conformity, returned home, and were preferred to considerable lectures in the city, or to livings that had been sequestered. The parliament entertained and promoted several Scots divines, and yet after all, wanted a supply for several vacant benefices, which obliged them to admit of some unlearned persons, and pluralists, not of choice, but through necessity ; for when things were more settled, the assembly of divines declared against both ; and it deserves to be remembered, that the parliament instead of giving their divines an absolute and full possession of the sequestered livings, reserved to themselves a right in their warrants to displace them if they saw occasion ; which shews their great prudence and caution ; for by this means it was in their power, upon the conclusion of a peace, to restore those who had been ejected, merely for their attachment to the King, without any injustice to the present possessor. To put some stop to the clamors of the royalists at Oxford, who gave out, that the parliament admitted butchers, cobblers, bricklayers, and those who had no call from God or man, they ordained,—“ That the committees should not nominate any persons to vacant benefices, but such as should be examined and approved by the assembly of divines

then sitting at Westminster."—Upon the whole it is evident, that the two houses did the best they could in their present circumstances, and perhaps better than the royalists did at the restoration; when according to Dr. Walker, all the sequestered clergy who survived were restored to their livings, even those who had been convicted of the most scandalous immoralities, without any marks of repentance or amendment.

The parliament's affairs being low, and their councils divided, they not only applied to heaven by extraordinary fastings and prayers, but went on vigorously with their intended reformation. They began with the sabbath, and sent to the lord-mayor of the city of London, to desire him to put in execution, the statutes for the due observation of the Lord's day; his lordship accordingly issued his precept the very next day to the aldermen, requiring them to give strict charge to the church-wardens and constables within their several wards, that the design of parliament should be carried into effect. This order had a very considerable influence upon the city, which began to wear a different face of religion to what it had formerly done. The book tolerating sports upon the Lord's day was ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman in Cheapside, and other usual places; and all persons having any copies in their hands were required to deliver them to one of the sheriffs of London to be burnt.

Next to the Lord's day they had a particular regard to their monthly fast. All constables, or their deputies, were ordered to repair to every house within their respective liberties, the day before every public fast, and charge all persons strictly to observe it according to the said ordinances. And upon the day of the public fast, they were enjoined to walk through their said liberties, to search for persons who either by following the work of their calling, or sitting in taverns, or ale-houses, or any other ways should not duly observe the same; and to return their names to the committee for examination, that they might be proceeded against for contempt. The fast was observed the last Wednesday in every month, with uncommon strictness and rigour.

Besides the stated fasts, it was usual upon extraordi-

nary emergencies to appoint occasional ones; as when the army was going upon any hazardous enterprize, or were within sight of the enemy, or under very disadvantageous circumstances. When the Earl of Essex was shut up in Cornwall, the two houses appointed a day of fasting and prayer in six churches within the lines of communication, and in such other churches where it should be desired; and the crowds of serious and attentive hearers on such occasions is almost incredible.

The King apprehending the parliament's monthly fast was perverted from its original design, and turned into a nursery of rebellion, was pleased to dissolve it, and appoint another. And the King's friends in the counties of Cornwall and Devonshire entered into an association upon sundry articles, of which this was one, that if any minister shall refuse or wilfully neglect to observe the fast appointed by his majesty, or shall not read the service and prayers appointed for that fast, and being carried before a justice of the peace, shall not promise and protest for the future conformity, he shall be forthwith secured, and his estate sequestered; the like course to be taken with such ministers as absent themselves that day, unless upon sickness, or other cause allowed by two justices of the peace; and with those that will not read such books as shall be appointed to be read by his majesty. This was a new hardship upon clergy and people, for the parliament having enjoined the continuance of the fast on Wednesday, the royalists were obliged to an open separation, by changing it to Friday. Thus the devotions of the kingdom were divided, and almighty God called into the quarrel on both sides.

The next thing the parliament undertook, was the removal of those monuments of superstition out of churches, &c. which had been voted down the last year, but without any considerable effect, because of the dissent of the house of lords. In the beginning of May, Sir R. Harlow, by order of the two houses took down the crosses in Cheapside, Charing-Cross, and St. Paul's Cross, which was a pulpit of wood covered with lead, in form of a cross, and mounted on several steps of stone about the middle of St. Paul's church-yard, where the

first reformers used to preach frequently to the people. On December 14, the commissioners cleared the cathedral of Canterbury of all the images, and paintings in the windows. Heylin says, the rabble violated the monuments of the dead, spoiled the organs, took down the rails, &c. and affronted the statue of our blessed Saviour. Dec. 30, they removed the pictures, images and crucifixes in Henry the seventh's chapel; and about lady-day the paintings about the walls and windows were defaced, and the organs taken down in the presence of a committee of the house. The cathedral of St. Paul's was stripped about the same time, the candlesticks, crucifixes, and plate, being sold for the service of the war; and within a few months most of the cathedrals throughout England underwent the same fate. If the parliament, instead of leaving this work to the officers of every parish, had put it into the hands of some discreet persons, to give directions what might remain, and what was fit to be removed, all the mischiefs that have been complained of might have been prevented; the monuments of the dead might have remained entire, and a great many fine paintings been preserved. Dr. Heylin charges the officers with sacrilege, and fixes the divine vengeance upon them as a terror to others, one of them being killed in pulling down the cross in Cheapside, and another hanged soon after he had pulled down the rich cross in Abingdon. But without remarking on the doctor's prognostications, it might be very proper to remove these images and crosses, because of the superstitious resort of great numbers of people to them; though it ought to have been done in a peaceable manner, without any damage to the truly venerable remains of antiquity.

The paper combat between the two parties at Oxford and London, was carried on with no less fury than the war itself; numberless pamphlets were scattered up and down the kingdom, big with disaffection and scandal against the two houses; to put a stop to which, the commons impowered the committee of examinations to search for printing presses, in such places where they had cause to suspect they were employed against the parliament, and to break them in pieces, and destroy the materials. They

were also to seize the pamphlets, and to commit the printer and vender to prison. But this order not being effectual, another was published, the preamble to which sets forth,—“ That the former orders of parliament to prevent the printing and dispersing scandalous pamphlets having been ineffectual, it is ordained, that no person or persons shall print any book or pamphlet without licence, under the hands of such persons as shall be appointed by parliament; nor shall any book be reprinted without the licence and consent of the owner, and the printer to put his name to it; the company of stationers, and the committee of examinations, are required to make strict enquiry after private printing presses, and to search all suspected shops and warehouses for unlicensed books and pamphlets, and to commit the offenders against this order to prison, to be punished, as the parliament shall direct.”—But neither this, nor any other regulation of the press could restrain the Oxonians from dispersing their mercuries and diurnals over the whole kingdom, as long as the university was in the King’s hands.

CHAP. XII.

CHARLES I.

The Assembly of Divines at Westminster.—Character of the Assembly.—Proceedings of the Assembly.—Solemn League and Covenant.—The influence it had upon the Clergy. The King brings over Forces from Ireland.—His protestation.—Remarks.—Discipline of the Church dissolved.—Committee to examine Clergymen.—The method of examination.—Death of Mr. Chillingworth.—Character of Hampden.—Character of Pym.

IT has been observed, that at the setting down of this parliament, the resolution of the leading members was to remove the grievances of the church as well as state, and for this purpose to address the King, to call an assembly of divines to reform the liturgy and discipline. To forward this design, the London ministers in their petitions in the year 1641, prayed the houses to be mediators to his majesty for a free synod, and the commons accordingly mentioned it in their grand remonstrance of Dec. 1, 1641. “ We desire (say they) that there may be a general synod of the most grave, pious, learned, and judicious divines of this island, assisted with some from foreign parts professing the same religion with us, who may consider of all things necessary for the peace and good government of the church, and to represent the result of their consultations, to be allowed and confirmed, and to receive the stamp of authority.” In the treaty of

Oxford a bill was presented to the same purpose and rejected : some time after Dr. Burges, at the head of the puritan clergy, applied again to parliament, but the houses were unwilling to take this step without the King's concurrence, till they were reduced to the necessity of calling in the Scots, who insisted, that there should be an uniformity of doctrine and discipline between the two nations. To make way for which, the houses turned their bill into an ordinance, and convened the assembly by their own authority.

The ordinance entitled,—“An ordinance of the lords and commons in parliament, for the calling of an assembly of learned and godly divines, and others, to be consulted with by the parliament, for settling the government and liturgy of the church of England, and for vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the said church from false aspersions and interpretations.”

After this ordinance follow the names of thirty lay-assessors, (viz.) ten Lords, twenty commoners, and one hundred and twenty-one divines : all of whom had equal liberty of debating and voting.

If any difference of opinion arose in this assembly, they were to represent it to parliament with their reasons, that the houses might give further direction. Four shillings per day was allowed for each one during his attendance. Dr. W. Twisse of Newbury was appointed prolocutor, and in case of his sickness or death, the parliament reserved to themselves the choice of another.

Before the assembly sat, the King by his royal proclamation forbade their meeting, for the purposes therein mentioned ; and declared, that no acts done by them ought to be received by his subjects ; he also threatened to proceed against them with the utmost severity of the law. Nevertheless, sixty-nine assembled in King Henry the seventh's chapel the first day, according to summons, not in their canonical habits, but chiefly in black coats and bands, in imitation of the foreign protestants. Few of the episcopal divines appeared, and those who did, after some time withdrew. I believe no set of clergy since the beginning of christianity, have suffered so much in their characters and reputations as these, for their advices to

the two houses of parliament. In his majesty's proclamation the far greatest part of them are said to be men of no learning or reputation. Lord Clarendon admits,—“That about twenty of them were reverend and worthy persons, and episcopal in their judgments; but as to the remainder, they were but pretenders to divinity; some were infamous in their lives and conversations, and most of them of very mean parts and learning, if not of scandalous ignorance, and of no other reputation than of malice to the church of England.” His lordship would insinuate, that they understood not the original text, because the learned Mr. Selden sometimes corrected the English translation of their little pocket bibles, and put them into confusion, by his uncommon acquaintance with Jewish antiquities; as if that great man would have treated a convocation with more decency or respect. But Laud's account is still more extravagant; for though it is notorious the assembly would not allow a toleration to those whom they called sectaries, yet his grace says, the greatest part of them were Brownists or Independents, or New-England ministers, if not worse, or at best enemies to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England; whereas in truth there were not above six independents in the assembly, and not one New-England minister that I know of. If the reader will carefully peruse the list, he will find in it some of the most considerable lawyers and ablest divines of the last age; and though they might have mistaken notions of church discipline, and were no better acquainted with the rights of conscience and private judgment, than their predecessors the bishops, yet with all their faults, impartial posterity must acknowledge the far greater number were men of exemplary piety and devotion, who had a real zeal for the glory of God, and the purity of the christian faith and practice. Mr. Eac-hard confesses, that Lord Clarendon had, perhaps with too much severity, said, that some of these divines were infamous in their lives and characters; but Mr. Baxter who was better acquainted with them, affirms, “that they were men of eminent learning, godliness, ministerial abilities, and fidelity.”

The assembly was opened with a sermon by Dr. Twisse,

both houses of parliament being present. The ordinance for their convention was then read, and the names of the members called over; and the method of proceeding being settled, the parliament sent the assembly an order to review the XXXIX articles of the church; but before they entered upon business, they petitioned the two houses for a fast. Pursuant to this petition, a day was appointed for a fast, when Mr. Hill, Mr. Spurstow, and Mr. Vines, preached before both houses of parliament and the assembly together; and the fast was observed with great solemnity in all the churches within the limits above-mentioned. Next day a committee of divines was appointed to consider what amendments were proper to be made in the doctrinal articles of the church of England, and report them to the assembly, who were ten weeks in debating upon the first fifteen, before the arrival of the Scots commissioners: the design was to render their sense more express and determinate in favour of calvinism. As the assembly were for strengthening the doctrines of the church against arminianism, they were equally solicitous to guard against the opposite extreme of antinomianism, for which purpose they appointed a committee to peruse the writings of Drs. Crisp, Eaton, Saltmarsh, and others; who having drawn out some of their most dangerous positions, reported them to the assembly, where they were not only condemned, but confuted in their public sermons and writings.

At this time the interest of the parliament was so reduced, that they were obliged to call in the assistance of the Scots. The conservators of the peace of that kingdom had appointed a convention of the states, under pretence of securing their country against the power of the royal army in the north; and a general assembly, August 2d, to consider the state of religion. His majesty would have prevented their meeting, but that being impracticable, he gave orders to limit their consultations to the concerns of their own country; but the parliament of England sent letters to each of these assemblies, desiring their assistance in the war, and the assistance of some of their divines with those at Westminster, to settle an uniformity

of religion and church government between the two nations. To enforce these requests they delivered a letter from the assembly, setting forth the deplorable condition of the kingdom of England; they represent the cruelty of their enemies against such as fall into their hands; and that if they should be given up to their rage, they fear it will endanger the safety of all the protestant churches, &c.

The commissioners on their arrival at Edinburgh, were favourably received by the assembly, who proposed as a preliminary, that the two nations should enter into a perpetual covenant for themselves and their posterity, that all things might be done in God's house according to his will; and having appointed some of their number to consult with the English commissioners about a proper form, they chose delegates for the Westminster assembly, and unanimously advised the convention of states to assist the parliament in the war. The instructions of the commissioners sent to the assembly at Westminster, were to promote the extirpation of popery, prelacy, heresy, schism, scepticism and idolatry, and to endeavour an union between the two kingdoms in one confession of faith, one form of church government, and one directory of worship. The committee for drawing up the solemn league and covenant delivered it into the assembly, where it was read, and highly applauded, by the ministers and lay-elders, none opposing it except the King's commissioners; so that it passed both the assembly and convention in one day, and was dispatched next morning to Westminster, with a letter to the two houses, wishing that it might be confirmed, and solemnly sworn and subscribed in both kingdoms, as the surest and strictest obligation to make them stand and fall together in the cause of religion and liberty.

Messrs. Marshall and Nye, in their letter to the assembly, assure their brethren, the Scots clergy were entirely on the side of the parliament in this quarrel, against the popish and episcopal faction; that there were between twenty and thirty of the prime nobility present, when the covenant passed the convention; and that even the King's commissioners confessed, that in their private capacity they were for it, though as his majesty's commissioners they were

bound to oppose it. So that if the English parliament (say they) comply with the form of this covenant, we are persuaded the whole body of the Scots kingdom will live and die with them, and speedily come to their assistance.

When their commissioners arrived at London, they presented the covenant to the two houses, who referred it to the assembly of divines, where it met with some little opposition; Dr. Featly declared, he durst not abjure prelacy absolutely, because he had sworn to obey his bishop in all things lawful and honest, and therefore proposed to qualify the second article thus, I will endeavour the extirpation of popery, and all antichristian, tyrannical, or independent prelacy; but it was carried against him. Dr. Burges objected to several articles, and was not without some difficulty persuaded to subscribe, after he had been suspended. The prolocutor, Mr. Gataker, and many others, declared for primitive episcopacy, or for one stated president with his presbyters to govern every church; and refused to subscribe till a parenthesis was inserted, declaring what sort of prelacy was to be abjured. The Scots, who had been introduced into the assembly were for abjuring episcopacy as simply unlawful, but the English divines were generally against it.

Bp. Burnet says, our commissioners pressed chiefly for a civil league, but the Scots would have a religious one, to which the English were obliged to yield, taking care at the same time, to leave a door open for a latitude of interpretation. Sir H. Vane, put the word league into the title, as thinking that might be broken sooner than a covenant; and in the first article he inserted that general phrase, of reforming according to the word of God; by which the English thought themselves secure from the inroads of presbytery; but the Scots relied upon the next words, and according to the practice of the best reformed churches; in which they were confident their discipline must be included. When Mr. Colman read the covenant before the house of lords, in order to their subscribing it, he declared, that by prelacy all sorts of episcopacy were not intended, but only the form therein

described. Thus the wise men on both sides endeavoured to out-wit each other in wording the articles ; and with these slight amendments the covenant passed the assembly, and both houses of parliament.

Monday, September 25, was appointed for subscribing this covenant, when both houses, with the Scots commissioners, and assembly of divines, being met in the church of St. Margaret's, Westminster, Mr. White, of Dorchester, opened the solemnity with prayer ; after him Mr. Henderson, and Mr. Nye, spoke in justification of taking the covenant from scripture precedents, and displayed the advantage the church had received from such sacred combinations. Mr. Henderson spoke next, and declared that the states of Scotland had resolved to assist the parliament of England, in carrying on the ends and designs of this covenant ; then Mr. Nye read it from the pulpit with an audible voice, article by article, each person standing uncovered, with his right hand lifted up bare to heaven, worshipping the great name of God, and swearing to the performance of it. Dr. Gouge concluded the solemnity with prayer, after which the house of commons went up into the chancel, and subscribed their names in one roll of parchment, and the assembly in another, in both which the covenant was fairly transcribed. Lord's day following it was tendered to all persons within the bills of mortality, being read in the several churches to their congregations as above. Oct. 15, it was taken by the house of lords. Oct. 29, it was ordered by the committee of states in Scotland to be sworn to, and subscribed all over that kingdom, on penalty of the confiscation of goods and rents, and such other punishment as his majesty and the parliament should inflict on the refusers. All the lords of the council were summoned to sign the covenant, Nov. 2, and those who did not, to appear again the 14th of the same month, under the severest penalties, when some of the King's party not attending were declared enemies to religion, and to their King and country ; Nov. 17, their goods were ordered to be seized, and their persons apprehended ; upon which they fled into England. Such was the unbounded zeal of that nation ! February 2, following, the covenant was ordered to be taken throughout the kingdom

of England, by all persons above the age of eighteen years; and the assembly were commanded to draw up an exhortation to dispose people to it, which being approved by both houses, was published under the title of, "An exhortation to the taking of the solemn league and covenant, for reformation and defence of religion, the honour and happiness of the King, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and for satisfying such scruples as may arise in the taking of it; assented to by the house, and ordered to be printed."

It is certain most of the religious part of the nation, who apprehended the protestant religion in danger, and were desirous of reducing the hierarchy of the church, were zealous for the covenant. Others took it only in obedience to the parliament, being sensible of the distressed circumstances of their affairs, and that the assistance of the Scots was to be obtained on no other terms. But as it was a test of a mixed nature, and contained some obligations upon conscience, which wise and honest men might reasonably scruple, who were otherwise well affected to the protestant religion, and the liberties of their country; the imposing it as a test can never be justified though it appears most of the episcopal divines who made the greatest figure in the church after the restoration, did not refuse it.

The English in foreign parts were not exempted from this test; directions were sent to Mr. Strickland, the parliament's agent at the Hague, to tender it to all the English in those countries, and to certify the names of such as refused. Here the Elector Palatinate took it, and after some time came into England, and condescended to sit in the assembly of divines. It was ordered by the lords and commons, that no person should be capable of being elected a common-council-man of the city of London, or so much as have a voice in such elections, who has not taken the covenant. It was also ordered by the commons, that the solemn league and covenant be upon every day of fasting, and public humiliation, publicly read in every church and congregation within the kingdom; and every congregation is enjoined to have one fairly printed in a

large letter, in a table fitted to be hung up in a public place of the church or congregation, to be read by the people. All young ministers were required to take the covenant at their ordination; none of the laity were continued in any office of trust, either civil or military, who refused it. When the war was ended, all the noblemen, knights, gentlemen, and officers who had opposed the parliament, were obliged to submit to it, before they were admitted to composition. Notwithstanding all this severity, Dr. Calamy says, Mr. Baxter kept his people from taking the covenant, as fearing it might be a snare to their consciences; nay he prevented its being much taken in the county he lived in, by keeping the ministers from offering it their people, except the city of Worcester, where he had no great interest. The King could not be unacquainted with these proceedings, for the covenant lay before the parliament and assembly almost a month, during which time his majesty took no public notice of it; but a fortnight after it had been subscribed by both houses, and by all the clergy and laity within the bills of mortality, he issued out a proclamation against it. Another proclamation was also sent into Scotland, to which the states of that kingdom paid no further regard, than to send him the reasons of their conduct, with their advice to his majesty to take the covenant himself.

Great complaints have been made, and not without reason, of the execution this test did upon the King's clergy, throughout the kingdom. It was a new weapon put into the hands of the committees, which enabled them with more ease and certainty to detect malignant or disaffected ministers; for instead of producing a number of witnesses, as had been the method hitherto, they now tendered the covenant, which the others refusing, gave occasion to the general report, that the clergy were turned out of their livings, only for refusing the covenant, whereas their sequestration was grounded upon other causes; or at least the articles of immorality or disaffection to the parliament, were almost always joined with it. When the covenant passed through the parliament quarters, in some towns it was neglected, in others the incumbent avoided it, by withdrawing for a few weeks, and getting

another to officiate. Some who refused were displaced, and the names of those who absented were returned to the parliament, but little or nothing came of it. The writer of the life of Bp. Saunderson says, that in the associated counties of Cambridgeshire, &c. all were ejected who refused the covenant, that is, all to whom it was tendered; for though it was pressed pretty closely in some places notorious for disaffection, in others, that had been quiet, it was little regarded.

The Earl of Manchester had particular instructions to tender the covenant to the Cambridge scholars, and yet the commissioners imposed it only upon such who had adhered to the King, or of whose disaffection they had sufficient evidence, several who behaved peaceably being permitted to keep their places, who would certainly have refused it. It has been observed already, that Mr. Baxter prevented its being much taken in Worcestershire; and no doubt, there were men of moderation and influence who did the same in other counties. Those clergymen who had declared for the King were usually put to the trial; but reputed calvinists, of sober lives, who had stood neuter, were frequently overlooked; so that the benificed clergy suffered by the covenant, rather as parties in the war, than as friends of the hierarchy. However, it being a religious test, the imposing it was unwarrantable, and a very great hardship, especially as it was for some time a door of entrance into ecclesiastical preferments, for such young divines as had no concern in the war. A test of a civil nature, would have answered all the civil government, without shackling the consciences of men, which ought always to be left free, and open to conviction. But if the puritan powers bore hard upon the loyalists, in imposing the covenant, the King's clergy were even with them at the restoration, when they obliged them publicly to abjure it, or quit their preferments.

The necessity of the King's affairs having obliged him to arm the papists, and commission the duke of Ormond to agree to a cessation of arms with the Irish catholics, in order to draw off his forces from thence, his majesty fell under the suspicion of favouring that religion, especially when it appeared that not only the protestant soldiers, but

the *Irish rebels* were transported with them. These wretches brought hither the same savage disposition, which they had discovered in their own country; they plundered and killed people in cold blood, observing neither the rules of honour nor the law of arms. The Scots forces in the north of Ireland, entered into a confederacy to stand by each other against the cessation, the parliament of England protested against it, and published a declaration informing the world, that his majesty had broke through his royal promise, of leaving the Irish war to them; they forbid all masters of ships to bring over any officers or soldiers, on penalty of the forfeiture of their vessels, and gave letters of mart to merchants and others, who would fit out ships at their own expence, impowering them to take to their own profit all such ships and goods, as they should meet coming over with soldiers or warlike stores for the King. Next year an ordinance was published, that no quarter should be given to any Irish papist taken in arms against the parliament; all officers were to except them out of their capitulations, and upon making them prisoners, were immediately to put them to death.

This unhappy management of the King, alienated the affections of great numbers of his friends who had the protestant religion at heart; many who wished well to his person deserted him upon this occasion, and made their peace with the parliament. Many of the Earl of Newcastle's soldiers in the north, upon news of the Irish cessation, threw down their arms, and offered a composition; and if we may believe the parliamentary chronicle, this single action lost the King all the northern counties. To put a stop to the clamours of the people, and prevent any farther desertions, his majesty resolved to support his own character as a protestant, and accordingly made the following protestation in presence of the congregation at Christ-church, Oxford, immediately before his receiving the sacrament from the hands of Abp. Usher.

“ My Lord,

“I espy here many resolved protestants, who may declare to the world the declaration I do now make. I have to the utmost of my power, prepared my soul to be a worthy receiver, and may I so receive comfort from the blessed

sacrament, as I do intend the establishment of the true reformed protestant religion, as it stood in its beauty in the happy days of Queen Elizabeth, without any connivance at popery. I bless God, that in the midst of these public distractions, I have still liberty to communicate. And may this sacrament be my damnation, if my heart do not join with my lips in this protestation."

How consonant was this with his majesty's actions, when within a few days he agreed to a cessation with the Irish papists for a year, and a toleration of their religion? All men knew that his majesty not only connived at popery, but indulged it as far as was in his power; historians therefore are at a loss to reconcile this solemn appeal to heaven with the King's piety and sincerity. The parliament was so apprehensive of the consequences of bringing over the Irish papists, that they desired the assembly of divines, to write letters to the foreign churches of Holland, France, Switzerland, and other places, to inform them of the artifices of his majesty's agents; of the constant employment of Irish rebels, and other papists, to be governors, commanders, and soldiers in his armies; of the many evidences of their intentions to introduce popery; to hinder the intended reformation, and to condemn other protestant churches, as unsound because not prelatical.

The King apprehending himself misrepresented to the foreign churches, and being advised to vindicate his character caused a manifesto to be drawn up in Latin and English, to all foreign protestants. But this did the King little service, for though it assured them his majesty would not turn papist, it convinced them that no alteration in the English hierarchy was to be expected. His marrying his daughter to the prince of Orange was perhaps the only evidence of his charity for the Dutch reformation; his appeal to the education of his children was trifling, when all the world knew they were under popish instructors, in pursuance of a marriage contract, till twelve or fourteen years of age, and had received impressions not to be easily defaced. His insinuating to the foreign churches, that their most learned divines preferred the English hierarchy to the government of their own coun-

tries, convinced them they ought to be more sparing of their compliments for the future, to persons who would draw such conclusions from them. As to the synod of Dort, no precedence was given to the bishop on account of his episcopal character, but as a baron of the English parliament. Nor is there any thing in the declaration that might encourage the foreign clergy to hope his majesty would own their churches, ministers, or sacraments, or unite with them against the common enemy of the reformation, any more than before their unhappy troubles began.

All the episcopal divines left the assembly before the bringing in of the covenant, except Dr. Featly, who was expelled for holding correspondence with Abp. Usher at Oxford, and for revealing their proceedings, contrary to the express words of the ordinance. The doctor was a learned man, and a calvinist, upon which account the assembly paid him a high regard, and indulged him in all his speeches in favour of episcopacy, and against the covenant, some of which were afterwards published to the world. They appointed him to answer a popish pamphlet called, "The Safeguard;" and he bore a part in the annotations on the bible, which go under the name of the assembly. Lord Clarendon says, the King sent him a letter forbidding him to sit any longer, but that the doctor excused it in a letter to Abp. Usher, which being intercepted, he was committed prisoner to Lord Peter's house in Aldersgate street as a spy; the archbishop at the same time being declared incapable of sitting in the assembly for the like reason. And here was an end of all the public concern the episcopal party had in the government of the church till the restoration.

From the time of taking the covenant, we may date the entire dissolution of the hierarchy, though it was not yet abolished by an ordinance of parliament. There were no ecclesiastical courts, no visitations, no wearing the habits, no regard paid to the canons or ceremonies, nor even to the common-prayer itself. The Abp. of Canterbury had been forbid to collate any benefices in his gift, but to persons nominated by parliament; for disobedience to which he was "Suspended *ab officio* and *beneficio*,

and from all archiepiscopal jurisdiction, till he should be acquitted, or convicted of the high treason of which he was impeached, &c. But this ordinance was of no long continuance, for upon the sitting of the assembly of divines, all church business went through their hands; the parishes elected their ministers, the assembly examined and approved them, and the parliament confirmed them in their benefices without any regard to the archbishop or his vicar. Thus the Earl of Manchester filled the vacant pulpits in the associated counties; and when Lord Fairfax was authorized to supply those in the north, by an ordinance of Feb. 27, the preamble says, "The houses being credibly informed, that many ministers in the county of York were not only of a scandalous life, but having left their churches and cures, had withdrawn themselves wilfully from the same, and joined such forces as had been raised against the parliament, and assisted them with men, money, horses, and arms; therefore it is ordained, that Lord Fairfax be authorized to fill up their places, with such learned and godly divines as he shall think fit, with advice of the assembly." This created a great deal of business; for though the assembly had not a parliamentary authority to ordain, yet the examination and approbation of such clergymen already in orders, as petitioned for sequestered livings, being by express order of the two houses referred to them, they were obliged to chuse a select committee for this work.

The method of examination was this; the names of the ministers who petitioned for livings, or were recommended by either house of parliament, being published in the assembly two or three days before the examination, liberty was given in that time to make exceptions to their characters; if nothing was objected they were examined by the committee, or any five of them, who reported their qualifications to the house, upon which each candidate received a certificate from the assembly.

The scribes of the assembly were ordered to keep a record of all orders and certificates concerning ministers recommended to sequestrators, and to enter them in a register book. This continued for about a year, till the new directory and form of church government took place.

Towards the latter end of this year died W. Chillingworth, A. M. whom I mention not as a puritan, but as a witness against some of those hardships the present dissenters complain of ; he was born at Oxford, and educated in Magdalen-Coll. of which he became fellow. He afterwards turned Roman catholic, and went to the Jesuits' college at St. Omers, where not being thoroughly satisfied in some of their principles, he returned to England, and having embraced the religion of the church of England, published an excellent treatise, entitled, "The religion of protestants a safe way to salvation," for which he was preferred to the chancellorship of the church of Sarum, and made master of Wygston hospital in Leicester.

Mr. Chillingworth blesses God, that when he had entertained some thoughts of subscription, two unexpected impediments diverted him from it ; "For," says he, "I profess, since I entertained it, I never enjoyed quiet day nor night, till now that I have rid myself of it again ; and I plainly perceive, that if I had swallowed this pill, howsoever gilded over with glosses and reservations, and wrapt up in conserves of good intentions and purposes, yet it would never have agreed nor stayed with me, whatsoever preferment I should have gained as the wages of unrighteousness ; but now I thank God, I am resolved that I will never do that while I am living, which I would not do if I was dying ; and therefore, whenever I make such a preposterous choice, I will give you leave to believe, that I am out of my wits, or do not believe in God." Notwithstanding these resolutions, he was prevailed with to subscribe, by his godfather, Abp. Laud, to qualify him for the above-mentioned preferments. How the pill was gilded over is not certain ; the writer of his life says, he subscribed as articles of peace, not of belief. Mr. Chillingworth was a quick disputant, and of very high principle. But though his political principles were high, he was low enough with regard to the authority, councils, fathers, and convocations, in matters of faith ; adhering stedfastly to that celebrated declaration, that the bible alone is the religion of a protestant. He was an excellent mathematician, and served as engineer in Arundel Castle in Sussex, in which he was taken prisoner, and when indisposed had

the favour of being lodged in the bishop's house at Chichester, where he died. It is surprising, that Lord Clarendon should say, the parliament clergy prosecuted him with all the inhumanity imaginable, so that by their barbarous usage he died within a few days; when, as he himself acknowledged, he wanted for nothing; and by the interest of Dr. Cheynel who attended him in his sickness, was courteously used. The doctor would have reasoned him out of some of his principles, but could not prevail, and therefore at his interment, after a reflecting speech upon his character, threw his book, entitled, "The religion of protestants a safe way to salvation," into the grave, saying, "Get thee gone, thou cursed book, which hast seduced so many precious souls; earth to earth, dust to dust; get thee into the place of rottenness, that thou mayst rot with thy author, and see corruption." A most unchristian and uncharitable imprecation!

Among the considerable statesmen who died this year, may be justly reckoned John Hampden, Esq. a gentleman of good extraction, and one of the greatest patriots of his age, as appears by his standing trial with the King, in the case of ship-money, which raised his reputation to a very great height throughout this kingdom. He was not a man of many words, but a very weighty speaker; his reputation for integrity universal, and his affections so publicly guided, that no corrupt or private ends could bias them. He was indeed a very wise man, of great parts and modesty, and possessed of the most absolute spirit of popularity. He was one of the impeached members of the house of commons, and in the beginning of the war took the command of a regiment, and performed the duty of a colonel on all occasions punctually, being a man of great personal courage, not to be tired out by the most laborious, and of parts not to be imposed upon by the most subtle, but because he fought against the court, Lord Clarendon says (if this be not an interpolation of the editors) that he had a head to contrive, a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute any mischief. A most unaccountable character of one whom his lordship had commended as a person not only of chearfulness and affability, but of extraordinary sobriety and strictness of life. Mr. Hampden was cer-

tainly in all respects one of the greatest and best men of his age, and the parliament sustained an irreparable loss in his death, which happened about a week after his shoulder bone had been broken by a musket ball, in a skirmish with Prince Rupert's forces in Chalgrave-field.

John Pym, Esq. member for Tavistock in all the parliaments of King Charles I. was a man of the greatest experience in parliamentary affairs of any man of his time. He was an admirable speaker, and by the gravity of his countenance and graceful behaviour, could turn the house which way he pleased ; he was a man of business and for moderate measures, according to Lord Clarendon, till the King impeached him of high treason. In his private life he was eminent for true piety and exactness of manners ; and though inclined to the puritan party, not averse to the hierarchy with some emendations. He was one of the lay-members of the assembly of divines, and at the head of all public business, the fatigue of which wore out his constitution, and put an end to his life, in the sixtieth year of his age. The news of no man's death was more welcome to the royalists than his, who spread a report, that he died of the *morbus pediculosus*, to confute which aspersion, his body was exposed to public view for many days, and at last interred in the most honourable manner in Westminster-Abbey. A little before his death, he published his own vindication to the world, against the many slanders that went abroad concerning him, wherein " He declares himself a faithful son of the protestant religion, and of the orthodox doctrine of the church of England. He confesses he had been for reforming abuses in the government of the church, when the bishops, instead of taking care of men's souls, were banishing their bodies into the most desolate places ; bringing in new canons, arminian and pelagian errors, and such a number of rites and ceremonies, as the people were not able to bear.— When since that time they had, as much as in them lay, fomented the civil differences between the King and his parliament, abetting and encouraging malignants with large supplies of men and money, and stirring up the people to tumults by their seditious sermons. For these reasons (says he) I gave my opinion for abolishing their

functions, which, I conceive, may as well be done as the dissolution of monasteries, monks, and friars was, in King Henry the eighth's time. He concludes with declaring, that he was not the author of the present distractions; with acknowledging the King for his lawful sovereign, but thinks when he was proscribed for a traitor, merely for the service of his country, no man can blame him for taking care of his own safety, by flying for refuge to the protection of parliament, who were pleased to make his case their own."

CHAP. XIII.

CHARLES I.

The Oxford Parliament.—Scots Army enters England.—Earl of Essex defeated.—Battle of Newbury.—Affairs of the Church.—Cambridge Visitation.—Characters of ejected Professors.—Of their Successors.—Committee for Scandalous Ministers.—Remarks.—Numbers ejected.—Conformists and Puritans compared.—Hardships endured on both sides.

THE campaign being ended without any prospect of peace, both parties endeavoured to strengthen themselves by new and sovereign acts of power. The parliament experiencing the want of a great seal for many purposes, gave orders that one should be made. They continued to list soldiers, to levy taxes, and to use every method to support their cause, which their policy suggested, and their necessity urged. On the other hand, the King raised contributions without form of law; ordered the removal of the courts of justice from Westminster; and that he might seem to act in a parliamentary way, summoned the members who had been expelled the houses, and all others willing to withdraw from the rebellious city of London, to meet him at Oxford, January 22, 1643-4, which was, in effect, disannulling the act for continuing of the present parliament. In obedience to the proclamation, there appeared forty-nine peers, and one hundred and forty-one of the house of commons, not reckoning those employed in his majesty's service, or absent with leave. Lord Clarendon says, the appearance

of both houses with the King, was superior in number, as well as quality, to those at Westminster; which must be a mistake; for though the majority of peers were on that side, Mr. Whitlock assures us, that upon a call of the house of commons, the very day the others were to meet at Oxford, there were present two hundred and eighty members, not reckoning one hundred more, who were engaged in their service in the several counties. This is a very considerable majority, though if there had been only forty, the King could not have prorogued or dissolved them, without their own consent. However the Oxford members styled themselves the parliament, Lord Littleton being speaker for the peers, and Serjeant Evers for the commons. Their first step was to satisfy the world they desired peace, such a peace, to use the King's own words, "wherein God's true religion may be secured from the danger of popery, sectaries, and innovations; the crown may possess those just prerogatives, which may enable me to govern my people according to law, and the subjects be confirmed in those rights which I have granted them in parliament, to which I shall be ready to add such new graces, as I shall find may most conduce to their happiness." They laid an excise upon tobacco, wine, strong-waters, ale, cyder, grocery, and mercery wares, soap, salt, and butcher's meat, and subscribed considerable sums of money, for support of the war; they declared the Scots, then entering England with an army, traitors, and the lords and commons at Westminster, guilty of high treason, for inviting them, as well as for counterfeiting the great seal. On the other hand, the parliament at Westminster, would not acknowledge the Oxford members, or receive a message from them under the character of a parliament, but expelled them their house, except they returned to their seats within a limited time. April 16, the King prorogued his Oxford members, to November following, when they fell under his displeasure, for advising to pacific measures at the treaty of Uxbridge, which was then upon the carpet, and in a fair way of producing an accommodation. This was so disagreeable to the Queen, and her Roman catholic counsellors, that they never left off

teazing the unhappy King, till he had dismissed them, and broke off the treaty.

Mr. Whitlock says, this assembly sat again at Oxford, in the year 1645, and voted against the directory, and for the common prayer; but the King's cause being grown desparate, they soon after shifted for themselves, and made their peace at Westminster, upon the best terms they could obtain.

On the 19th of January, the Scots army, consisting of twenty one thousand men, under the command of General Leven, crossed the Tweed at Berwick, and entered England. The two houses sent a committee to meet them, which being joined by another of that nation, was called the committee of both kingdoms, and were a sort of camp parliament, to direct the motions of the army, which after some time united with Lord Fairfax's forces, and with those under the command of the Earl of Manchester, and Lieutenant-General Cromwel, from the associated counties. The united armies laid siege to the city of York, which Prince Rupert having relieved, occasioned the battle of Marston-Moor, wherein the Prince was routed, with the loss of three thousand men, and his whole train of artillery; and thereupon the Marquis of Newcastle, leaving the royal army, embarked with divers lords and gentlemen for Hamburgh, Prince Rupert retiring towards Chester, and deserting all the northern garrisons to the mercy of the enemy, which falling into their hands next summer, concluded the war in those parts.

His majesty however had better success in the west, where being strengthened by Prince Maurice, he followed the Earl of Essex, and shut up his army within the narrow parts of Cornwall, so that he could neither engage or retreat. Here the King invited the Earl to make his peace, but he choosing rather to retire in a boat to Plymouth, left his men to the fortune of war. As soon as the general was gone, the horse under the command of Sir W. Balfour, bravely forced their way through the royal quarters by night; but the foot under the command of Major-General Skippon, were obliged to surrender their arms, artillery, ammunition, and baggage, consisting of forty brass cannon, two hundred barrels of powder, match and ball propor-

tionable, seven hundred carriages, and between eight and nine hundred arms, and to swear not to bear arms against the King, till they came unto Hampshire. This was the greatest disgrace the parliament's forces underwent in the course of the war, the foot being forced to travel in a naked and starving condition to Portsmouth, where they were supplied with new clothes and arms. And now again, the King made offers of such a peace, as he says, he had been labouring for, that is, to be restored to his prerogatives as before the war; but the houses would not submit.

Upon the defeat of the Earl of Essex, his majesty resolved to march directly for London, and upon the road issued a proclamation, September 30, requiring all his loving subjects to appear in arms, and accompany him in his present expedition. This gave rise to a combination of men, distinguished by the name of club-men, who associated in Worcestershire and Dorsetshire, agreeing to defend themselves against the orders both of King and parliament. Their increase was owing to the prodigious ravages of the King's forces in their march. Prince Rupert was a fiery youth, and with his flying squadrons of horse, burnt towns and villages, destroying the countries where he came, and indulging his soldiers in plunder and blood. In Wales he drove away the people's cattle, rifled their houses, and spoiled their standing corn. Aged and unarmed people were stript naked, some murdered in cool blood, and others half hanged and burnt, and yet suffered to live. "Lord Goring, the King's General of the horse, was one of the most finished debauchees of the age, and wanted nothing but industry to make him as eminent and successful in the highest attempts of wickedness as ever any man was. Wilmot, the Lieutenant-General, was as great a debauchee as the other, and had no more regard to his promises, or any rules of honour or integrity." Sir R. Greenville, who commanded the army before Plymouth, is represented by the noble historian, as having been exceeding barbarous and cruel in Ireland, hanging up old men and women of quality, even though they were bed-ridden, if he did not find the plunder he expected; when

he came into the West, he exercised all kinds of cruelty, and would sometimes make one of the company hang all the rest, contrary to the law of arms.

The licentiousness of the King's soldiers, was not inferior to that of their officers, for having no regular pay, they committed rapines and plunders, without distinction of friends or foes; and were infamous for the most execrable oaths, and all kinds of impiety. "Lord Goring's horse (says the noble historian) committed horrid outrages and barbarities in Hampshire, and infested the borders of Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, and Devon, with unheard-of rapines, so that the people who were well devoted to the King, wished for the accession of any forces to redeem them." They raised vast contributions in several counties, without any other pretence but the King's sovereign pleasure. In Cornwall they levied seven hundred pounds a week; in Devonshire, two thousand two hundred pounds a week, and proportionable in other parts. As the army marched along the country, they seized the farmers' horses, and carried them away without any consideration. At Barnstable, they plundered the town, and hanged the mayor, though it was surrendered upon articles. At Evesham, the King sent the mayor and aldermen prisoners to Oxford. At Woodhouse, in Devonshire, they seized fourteen substantial west-country clothiers, who were not in arms, and hanged them, by way of reprisal for some Irish rebels, that had been executed according to the ordinance of parliament. In short, where-ever they came they lived at free-quarter, and took every thing they could, and therefore no wonder the club-men united in their own defence.

The King thought to have reached London before the parliament could recruit their army, but the two houses sent immediately six thousand arms, and a train of artillery to Portsmouth, with new clothing for the Cornish soldiers. They ordered Sir W. Waller, and the Earl of Manchester to join them, and dispatched thither five thousand of the city train-bands, under the command of Sir J. Harrington, by which accession they were enabled to face his majesty's army at Newbury, and having forced the town, which the King had fortified, after a smart engagement they took

nine of his cannon and several colours, but under covert of the night, his majesty secured the rest of his artillery in Dennington-Castle, and retreated with his broken army to Oxford; the parliament generals left a body of troops to block up the castle, being assured it must surrender in the winter for want of provision; when on a sudden a party of the King's horse raised the blockade, and carried off the artillery to Oxford. This occasioned great murmurings at London, and quarrels among the generals, Essex, Manchester, and Cromwel, which ended in the new modelling of the army, as will be seen under the next year.

While the royal army was little better than a company of badditti, or public robbers; the parliament's were kept under the strictest discipline, and grew up, for the most part, into great diligence and sobriety, which (says Lord Clarendon) begot courage and resolution in them, and notable dexterity in atchievements and exercises. Most of their officers were men of religion; their soldiers possessed with a belief, that their cause was the cause of God, and that they fought for the protestant religion, and magna charta; however there were among them men of dissolute lives, who fought only for pay and plunder; strange complaints being sent up from Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Sussex, of the disorders of the common soldiers, the parliament appointed a committee to enquire into the facts, and make examples of the offenders, which put an effectual stop to the growing mischief. And as the parliament were enabled, by the inexhaustible treasure of the city of London, to give their soldiers regular pay, they had them under such strict government, that they were little or no burden to the towns and villages where they were quartered.

Upon the whole, the parliament affairs were low at the end of this year, and their counsels divided, by reason of the length of the war, and the King's were much worse; for though he had triumphed over the Earl of Essex in Cornwall, and was master of the open country in the west he had no accession of real strength, nor had taken any considerable garrisons; the entrance of the Scots broke

his army in the north, and lost him that part of the kingdom, whereby the parliament were enabled to draw off their forces to the west; and the worst circumstance of all was, that his majesty having exhausted his treasure, had no way of raising a supply, which obliged him to connive at his soldiers living at free quarter; his officers being poor, quarrelled in the royal presence, and carried their resentments to such an height, that the King himself could not reconcile them, which had a very ill aspect on the succeeding campaign. The parliament generals also were censuring each other's conduct in the house, on occasion of the escape of the King's artillery from Dennington castle. The Earl of Essex's party were charged with a design of protracting the war, in order to an accommodation, while others being weary, were for putting it to a decisive issue. In short, both parties were in confusion and distress; they were divided amongst themselves, some being for peace, and others for carrying on the war to the last extremity. All property was in a manner lost, the farmers paying no rent to their landlords; nor could any man be secure of what he possessed, except he buried it under ground. The spirits of the contending parties were as much exasperated as ever, and there was no seeing to the end of their troubles.

To return to the church. The state of the controversy about ecclesiastical discipline was now changed; for whereas before the entrance of the Scots, the parliament insisted only upon a reformation of the hierarchy, now they were engaged to attempt the total extirpation of it, and to establish another scheme for both kingdoms in its room; though it was a considerable time before this could be perfected. In the mean while, they resolved to purge the university of Cambridge, which was the head quarters of their forces, that they might have a succession of clergymen training up in the principles they had espoused.

The town of Cambridge was in the interest of the parliament, but the colleges were so many little garrisons for the King, and sanctuaries of disaffection; the university press was at his majesty's disposal, and their sermons filled with invectives against the two houses. Frequent

quarrels happened between the townsmen and scholars, which would have ended in the ruin of the university, had not the parliament forbid the offering any violence to the colleges, chapels, libraries and schools, under severe penalties. Indeed the committee enjoined the proper officers of the parish, to put in execution the ordinance for destroying the relics of superstition, whereby the paintings in windows, images of the deity, and a great deal of carved work was demolished, at which the masters and fellows were so incensed, that when they were ordered to repair the damages, they peremptorily refused, and were fined forty shillings a college, as the ordinance directed.

The heads of the university raised a great clamour, at this pretended invasion of their rights, as if the parliament intended to seize all their revenues, and destroy the very fountains of learning; whereupon the houses published an ordinance, declaring that none of the estates, rents, and revenues of the university, or of the colleges and halls respectively, shall be sequestered or seized upon, or in any wise disposed of by virtue of the ordinance for sequestering the estates, rents, and revenues of delinquents, &c.

This committee was founded upon an ordinance, for regulating the university of Cambridge, and removing scandalous ministers in the seven associated counties.

The Earl of Manchester, who was at the head of these sequestrations, was stiled in the life-time of his father, Lord Kimbolton, and was one of the impeached members of the house of commons. Lord Clarendon observes that "he was of a genteel and generous nature; that his natural civility and good manners flowed to all men, and that he was never guilty of any rudeness, even to those whom he was obliged to oppress; that he long and heartily wished for the restoration, and never forfeited that grace and favour, to which his majesty received him after his return." The earl repaired in person to Cambridge, with his two chaplains Mr. Ashe and Mr. Good, and by his warrant required the heads of the several colleges and halls to send him their statutes, with the names of their members, and to certify who were present, and who absent

with the express time of their discontinuance. Two days after, the officers of each college and hall were ordered to give speedy advertisement to the masters, fellows, scholars, &c. to repair to Cambridge by the 10th of March, in order to answer such enquiries as should be made by himself or his commissioners. But the earl being informed, that this notice was too short, the time was prolonged to the 3d of April, when the earl summoned Mr. Tunstal and Mr. Palgrave, fellows of Corpus Christi college, to appear before the commissioners at the Bear-Inn, in Cambridge, on penalty of ejection. Warrants of the same nature were sent to several of the fellows of Caius, St. John's, Queen's, Peter House, Sidney, Trinity, Christ's, Magdalen, and Jesus' colleges; and to Pembroke and Clare Hall; who not appearing according to the summons, were by a warrant ejected, to the number of sixty-five. The reasons assigned for their expulsion were, non-residence, and not returning upon due summons and several other political misdemeanors. If the parties ejected returned after this, they were required not to continue in the university above three days, on pain of imprisonment, and confiscation of their goods; their names were put out of the butteries, and the profits of their places reserved for their successors. Not one fellow or student in Trinity Hall, or Catharine Hall, was turned out, but all Queen's college was evacuated.

The covenant which was read in the churches and chapels of the town and university, and tendered to the inhabitants and soldiers, was not offered to the whole university, but only to such of whose disaffection they had sufficient evidence. Abp. Tillotson says, the greatest part of the fellows of King's college were exempted, by the interest of Dr. Witchott; and no doubt others who had behaved peaceably, obtained the same favour. Dr. Berwick author of the *Querela Cantabrigiensis*, a famous loyalist, mentions an oath of discovery for the university, like that of the oath *ex officio*; but Mr. Fuller the historian, having requested an account of this oath from Mr. Ashe, the earl's chaplain, he returned for answer, that he remembered no such thing. Mr. Fuller adds, that he is upon just grounds daily confirmed in his confidence, that neither

the Earl of Manchester, or any under him by his command or consent, enforced such an oath.

The whole number of graduates expelled the university in this and the following years, by the Earl of Manchester and his commissioners, including masters and fellows of colleges, were according to Dr. Walker, near two hundred, besides inferior scholars, which was something more than one half; for the same author tells us in another place, there were about three hundred fifty-five fellowships in the several houses of the university; above one hundred and fifty kept their places, and far the greatest part of the rest, had deserted their station and fled to the King. There were six heads of colleges out of sixteen that complied, and ten were ejected.

It has been objected to the proceedings of the commissioners, that they were not according to the statutes of the university; to which it was replied, that the nation was in a state of war; that these gentlemen were declared enemies to the proceedings of parliament; that they instilled into their pupils, the unlawfulness of resisting the King upon any pretence whatsoever, and preached upon these subjects to the people. It was therefore necessary to take the education of the youth out of their hands, which could not be done any other way at present; but in all future elections they returned to the statutes.—It has been said further, that it was a great loss to learning, because those who succeeded were not equal to those who were ejected. Had this been true, it is no sufficient reason for keeping them in their places, in a time of war, if they were enemies to the constitution and liberties of their country.

Far be it from me to detract from the personal merit of any of these sufferers, or from their rank in the commonwealth of learning; but their political principles, like those of Abp. Laud, were certainly inconsistent with the constitution and liberties of England, and exposed them very naturally to the resentments of the parliament in these boisterous times.

If it should be granted, that the new professors were not at first so expert in the learning of the schools as their predecessors, that defect was abundantly supplied by their application and diligence in their places, and by

their observing a very strict and severe discipline; the tutors were constant in reading lectures not only in term-time, but out of it; the proctors and other officers had a strict eye over the students to keep them within bounds, and oblige them to be present at morning and evening prayer. The Lord's day was observed with uncommon rigour; there were sermons and prayers in all the churches and chapels both morning and afternoon. Vice and profaneness were banished, insomuch that an oath was not to be heard within the walls of the university; and if it may be said without offence, the colleges never appeared more like nurseries of religion and virtue than at this period. The noble historian confesses, the university of Oxford flourished as much in learning and learned men at the restoration, as before the civil wars, which is equally true of Cambridge. And it ought to be remembered, that most of the considerable divines and philosophers who flourished in the reigns of King Charles the Second and William the Third, owed their education to the tutors of those times, for whom they always retained a great veneration.

From this time the university of Cambridge enjoyed a happy tranquillity, learning flourished, religion and good manners were promoted, at a time when the rest of the nation was in blood and confusion. And though this alteration was effected by a mixture of the civil and military power, yet in a little time things reverted to their former channel, and the statutes of the university were as regularly observed as ever. Let the reader now judge the candor and impartiality of the famous Dr. Barwick, whose words are these:—"Thus the knipperdollings of the age reduced a glorious and renowned university almost to a mere munster, and did more in less than three years, than the apostate Julian could effect in his reign, (viz.) broke the heart-strings of learning, and all learned men, and thereby luxated all the joints of christianity in this kingdom. We are not afraid to appeal to any impartial judge, whether if the Goths and Vandals, or even the Turks themselves, had over-run this nation, they would have more inhumanly abused a flourishing university, than these pretended advancers of religion have done? Having thrust out

one of the eyes of this kingdom, made eloquence dumb, philosophy sottish; widdowed the arts, drove the muses from their ancient habitation, plucked the reverend and orthodox professors out of the chairs, and silenced them in prison or their graves; turned religion into rebellion; changed the apostolical chair into a desk for blasphemy; tore the garland from off the head of learning to place it on the dull brows of disloyal ignorance, and unhived those numerous swarms of labouring bees, which used to drop honey-dews over all this kingdom, to place in their room swarms of senseless drones." Such was the rant of this reverend clergyman: and such the language and the spirit of the ejected loyalists!

While the Earl of Manchester was securing the university to the parliament, he appointed commissioners for removing scandalous ministers in the seven associated counties, empowering them to act by warrant.

It is to be observed, that the warrant is pointed only against those who are immoral, or disaffected to the parliament, or had deserted their cures; and was accompanied with instructions, and a letter, exhorting them to the faithful and effectual discharge of their trust.

When a clergyman was convicted according to the instructions, report was made to the Earl, who directed a warrant to the church-wardens of the parish, to eject him out of his parsonage, and all the profits thereof; and another to receive the tithes, and all the benefits into their own hands, and to keep them in safe custody till they should receive further order from himself. At the same time he directed the parishioners to choose a proper minister for the vacant place, and upon their presentation his lordship sent him to the assembly of divines at Westminster, with an account of his character, for their trial and examination. And upon a certificate from the assembly, that they approved of him as an orthodox divine, and qualified to officiate in the pastoral function, his lordship issued out his last warrant, setting forth that such an one having been approved by the assembly, &c. he did therefore authorise and appoint him the said ———, to officiate as minister, to preach, teach, and catechize in such a parish during his (the Earl's) pleasure, and then

empower him to take possession of the church, parsonage houses, glebe lands, and to receive the tithes and profits, and enjoy the same, until his lordship should take further order concerning the same, requiring all officers to aid and assist him for that purpose."

If the committees did not exceed their instructions there could be no reasonable ground of complaint. The methods of conviction were unexceptionable. The persons to be called before the commissioners were scandalous, or enemies to the parliament; the depositions were upon oath; a copy of them allowed the defendant; with time to give in his answer in writing; then a day appointed to make his defence in presence of the witnesses, to whom he might take exceptions; and after all, the final judgment not left with the commissioners, but with the Earl. The filling the vacant benefice was no less prudent; the parishioners were to choose their own minister, who was to produce testimonials of his sobriety and virtue; the assembly were then to examine into his learning and ministerial qualifications; and after all, the new incumbent to hold his living only during pleasure; the parliament being willing to leave open a door, at the conclusion of a peace, for restoring such royalists as were displaced merely for adhering to the King, without prejudice to the present possessor. One cannot answer for particulars under such uncommon distractions and violence of parties; but the orders were, in my opinion, not only reasonable but expedient, for the support of the cause in which the parliament was engaged.

It is hard to compute the number of clergymen that might lose their livings by the several committees during the war, nor is it of any great importance, for the law is the same whether more or fewer suffer by it; and the not putting it in execution might be owing to want of power or opportunity. Dr. Nalson says, that in five of the associated counties, one hundred and fifty-six clergymen were ejected in little more than a year; namely, in Norfolk, fifty-one, Suffolk, thirty-seven, Cambridgeshire, thirty-one, Essex, twenty-one; Lincolnshire, sixteen; and if we allow a proportionable number for the other two, the whole will amount to two hundred and eighteen; and if in seven

counties there were two hundred and eighteen sufferers, the fifty-two counties of England, by a like proportion, will produce upwards of sixteen hundred. Dr. Walker has fallaciously increased the number of suffering clergymen to eight thousand, even though the list at the end of his book makes out little more than a fifth part. Among his cathedral clergy he reckons up several prebends and canonries, in which he supposes sufferers without any evidence. Of this sort Dr. Calamy has reckoned above two hundred. If one clergyman was possessed of three or four dignities, there appear to be as many sufferers. The like is observable in the case of pluralists; for example, Richard Stuart, L. L. D. is set down as a sufferer in the deanry of St. Paul's, as prebendary of St. Pancras, and residentiary; in the deanry and prebend of the third stall in Westminster; in the deanry of the royal chapel; in the provostship of Eaton college, and prebend of Northalton, in the church of Salisbury; all which preferments he enjoyed, or was entitled to together, and his name is repeated in the several places. By such a calculation it is easy to deceive the reader and swell the account beyond measure. The reverend Mr. Withers, a late non-conformist minister at Exeter, has taken pains to make an exact computation in the associated counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridgeshire, in which are one thousand three hundred and ninety eight parishes, and two hundred and fifty-three sequestrations; so that if these may be reckoned as a standard for the whole kingdom, the number will be reduced considerably under two thousand. He has also made another computation from the county of Devon, in which are three hundred and ninety-four parishes, and one hundred and thirty-nine sequestrations, out of which thirty-nine are deducted for pluralities, &c. and then by comparing this county (in which both Dr. Walker, and Mr. Withers lived) with the rest of the kingdom, the amount of sufferers according to him, is one thousand seven hundred and twenty-six; but admitting they should arise to the number of the doctor's names in his index, which are about two thousand four hundred, yet when such were deducted as were fairly convicted upon oath, of immoralities of life, &c. (which were a fourth in the

associated counties) and all such as took part with the King in the war, or disowned the authority of the parliament; preaching up doctrines inconsistent with the cause for which they had taken arms, and exciting the people to an absolute submission to the authority of the crown, the remainder that were displaced only for refusing the covenant, must be very inconsiderable; Mr. Baxter says, they cast out the grosser sort of insufficient and scandalous clergy, and some few civil men that had acted in the wars for the King, and set up the late innovations, but left in near one half of those that were but barely tolerable. He adds further, "that in all the counties in which he was acquainted, six to one at least, if not more, that were sequestered by the committees, were by the oaths of witnesses proved insufficient, or scandalous, or both."

But admitting their numbers to be equal to those puritan ministers ejected at the restoration, yet the cause of their ejection, and the circumstances of the times, being very different, the sufferings of the former ought not to be compared to the latter; though Dr. Walker is pleased to say in his preface, that "If the sufferings of the dissenters bear any tolerable proportion to those of the ejected loyalists, in number, degrees, or circumstances, he will be gladly deemed not only to have lost all his labour, but to have revived a great and unanswerable scandal on the cause he has undertaken to defend." I shall leave the reader to pass his own judgment upon this declaration, after I have produced the testimony of one or two divines of the church of England. "Who can answer, says one, for the violence and injustice of actions in a civil war? Those sufferings were in a time of general calamity, but these were ejected not only in a time of peace, but a time of joy to all the land, and after an act of oblivion, to which common rejoicing these suffering ministers had contributed their earnest prayers, and great endeavours—" I must own (says another of the doctor's correspondents) that though both sides have been excessively to blame, yet that the severities used by the church to the dissenters are less excusable than those used by the dissenters to the church; my reason is, that the former were used in times of peace, and a settled government, whereas the latter

were inflicted in a time of tumult and confusion, so that the plundering and ravaging endured by the church ministers were owing, many of them at least, to the rudeness of the soldiers, and the chances of war; they were plundered not because they were conformists, but cavaliers, and of the King's party." The case of those who were sober and virtuous, seems to me much the same with the nonjurors at the late revolution of William III. and I readily agree with Mr. Fuller, that "moderate men be-moaned these severities, for as much corruption was let out by these ejectments, many scandalous ministers being deservedly punished, so at the same time the veins of the English church were also emptied of much good blood."

We have already observed, that a fifth part of the revenues of these ejected clergymen was reserved for the maintainance of their poor families, "which was a christian act, and which I should have been glad, says the divine above-mentioned, to have seen imitated at the restoration." Upon this the cavaliers sent their wives and children to be maintained by the parliament ministers, while themselves were fighting for the King. The houses therefore ordained, that the fifths should not be paid to the wives and children of those who came into the parliament quarters without their husbands or fathers, or who were not bred in the protestant religion. Yet when the war was over, all were allowed their fifths, though in some places they were ill paid, the incumbent being hardly able to allow them, by reason of the smallness of his living, and the devastation of the war. When some pretended to excuse themselves on the forementioned exceptions, the two houses published the following explanation, (viz.) "that the wives and children of all such persons whose estates and livings are, have been, or shall be sequestered by order of either house of parliament, shall be comprehended within the ordinance which allows a fifth part for wives and children, and shall have their fifth part allowed them; and the committee of lords and commons for sequestrations, and the committees for plundered ministers, and all other ministers are required to take notice hereof, and yield obedience hereunto." Afterwards when it was

questioned, whether the fifths should pay their proportion of the public taxes, it was ordained, that the incumbent only should pay them. Under the government of the protector Cromwell it was ordained, that if the ejected minister left the quiet possession of his house and glebe to his successor within a certain time, he should receive his fifths, and all his arrears, provided he had not a real estate of his own of thirty pounds per annum, or five hundred pounds in money.

After all, it was a hard case on both sides ; the incumbents thought it hard to be obliged to all the duties of their place, and another to go away with a fifth of the profit, at a time when the value of church lands was considerably lessened by the neglect of tillage, and exorbitant taxes laid upon all the necessaries of life. To which may be added, an opinion that began to prevail among the farmers, of the unlawfulness of paying tithes : Mr. Selden had led the way to this in his book of tithes, whereupon the parliament, "strictly enjoined all persons fully, truly, and effectually to set out, yield, and pay respectively all and singular tithes, offerings, oblations, obventions, rates for tithes, and all other duties commonly known by the name of tithes." Others who had no scruple about the payment of tithes, refused to pay them to the new incumbent, because the ejected minister had the legal right ; insomuch that the presbyterian ministers were obliged in many places to sue their parishioners, which created disturbances and divisions, and at length gave rise to several petitions, praying, that their ministers might be provided for some other way. The parliament referred them to a committee, which produced no redress, because they could not fix upon another fund, nor provide for the lay-impropriations.

CHAP. XIV.

CHARLES I.

Parties in the Assembly of Divines.—Presbyterians.—Erastians.—Independents.—Remarks.—Proceedings of the Assembly.—Discipline.—Ordination.—Directory for Worship—The King forbids the use of it.—Rise of English Baptists.—Their Confession of Faith.—Their Character.—Their Sufferings.—State of Religion.—Death of Bp. Westfield.—Death of Dr. Downing.

BEFORE we proceed to the debates of the assembly of divines, it will be proper to distinguish the several parties of which it was constituted. The episcopal clergy had entirely deserted it before the bringing in of the covenant, so that the establishment was left without a single advocate. All who remained were for taking down the main pillars of the hierarchy, before they had agreed what sort of building to erect in its room.

The majority at first intended only the reducing episcopacy to the standard of the first or second age, but for the sake of the Scots alliance, were prevailed with to lay aside the name and function of bishops, and attempt the establishing a presbyterial form, which at length they advanced into a divine institution, derived expressly from Christ and his apostles. This engaged them in so many controversies, as prevented their laying the top stone of the building, so that it fell to pieces before it was per-

fects. The chief patrons of presbytery in the house of commons, were Denzil Hollis, Esq. Sir W. Waller, Sir P. Stapleton, Sir J. Clotworthy, Sir B. Rudyard, Serjeant Maynard, Col. Massey, Col. Harley, J. Glynn, Esq. and a few others.

The Erastians formed another branch of the assembly, so called from Erastus, a German divine of the sixteenth century. The pastoral office according to him, was only persuasive, like a professor of the sciences over his students, without any power of the keys annexed. The Lord's supper and other ordinances of the gospel, were to be free and open to all. The minister might dissuade the vicious and unqualified from the communion, but might not refuse it, or inflict any kind of censure; the punishment of all offences either of a civil or religious nature, being reserved to the magistrate. The pretended advantage of this scheme was, that it avoided the erecting two different powers in the same civil government; it effectually destroyed all that spiritual jurisdiction and co-ercive power over the consciences of men, which had been challenged by popes, prelates, presbyteries, &c. and made the government of the church, a creature of the state. Most of our first reformers were so far in these sentiments, as to maintain that no one form of church-government is prescribed in scripture as an invariable rule for future ages. The chief patrons of this scheme in the assembly were Dr. Hughson, Messrs. Colman, Selden, Whitlock; and in the house of commons, besides Selden and Whitlock, Oliver St. John, Esq. Sir T. Widdrington, J. Crew, Esq. Sir J. Hildesley and others of the greatest names.

The Independents or congregational brethren, composed a third party, and made a bold stand against the proceedings of the high presbyterians; their numbers were small at first, though they increased prodigiously in a few years, and grew to a considerable figure under the protectorship of Cromwell. The divines who passed under this denomination in the assembly, had fled their country in the late times, and formed societies according to their own model in Holland, upon the states allowing them the use of their churches, after their own service was ended. Here (as they declare) they set themselves to

consult the holy scriptures as impartially as they could, in order to find out the discipline that the apostles themselves practised in the very first age of the church; the condition they were in, and the melancholy prospect of their affairs affording no temptation to any particular bias. The rest of their history, with their distinguishing opinions, I shall draw from their apologetical narration, presented to the house of commons.

“As to the church of England (say they) we profess before God and the world, that we do apprehend a great deal of defilement in their way of worship, and a great deal of unwarranted power exercised by their church governors, yet we allow multitudes of their parochial churches to be true churches, and their ministers true ministers. In the late times, when we had no hopes of returning to our own country, we held communion with them, and offered to receive to the Lord's supper some that came to visit us in our exile, whom we knew to be godly, upon that relation and membership they held in their parish churches in England, they professing themselves to be members thereof, and belonging thereto. The same charitable disposition we maintained towards the Dutch churches among whom we lived. We mutually gave and received the right hand of fellowship, and a brotherly correspondence with their divines, and admitting some of the members of their churches to communion in the sacrament, and other ordinances, by reason of their relation to those churches.

The scheme they embraced was a middle way between Brownism and presbytery, (viz.) **THAT EVERY PARTICULAR CONGREGATION OF CHRISTIANS HAS AN ENTIRE AND COMPLETE POWER OF JURISDICTION OVER ITS MEMBERS, TO BE EXERCISED BY THE ELDERS THEREOF WITHIN ITSELF.** This they are sure must have been the form of government in the primitive church, before the numbers of christians in any city were multiplied so far as to divide into many congregations, which it is dubious, whether it was the fact in the apostles times. Not that they claim an entire independency with regard to other churches, for

they agree that in all cases of offence, the offending church is to submit to an open examination, by other neighbouring churches, and on their persisting in their error or miscarriage, they then are to renounce all christian communion with them, till they repent, which is all the authority or ecclesiastical power that one church may exercise over another, unless they call in the civil magistrate, for which they find no authority in scripture.

They offered up public and solemn prayers, for Kings, and all in authority ; and though they did not approve of a prescribed form, they admitted that public prayer in their assemblies ought to be framed by the meditation and study of their ministers, as well as their sermons. They profess their agreement in doctrine with the articles of the church of England, and other reformed churches. Their officers and public rulers in the church, were pastors, teachers, ruling elders (not lay but ecclesiastical persons, separated to that service) and deacons. They practised no church censures but admonition and excommunication upon obstinate and impenitent offenders ; which latter they apprehended should not be pronounced but for crimes of the last importance, and which may be reasonably supposed to be committed contrary to the light and conviction of the person's conscience.

In conclusion they call God and man to witness, that out of a regard to the public peace they had forbore to publish their peculiar opinions, either from the pulpit or press, or to improve the present disposition of the people to the increase of their party ; nor should they have published that apology to the world, had not their silence been interpreted as an acknowledgement of those reproaches and calumnies that have been cast upon them by their adversaries ; but should have waited for a free and open debate of their sentiments in the present assembly of divines, though they are sensible they shall have the disadvantage with regard to numbers, learning, and the stream of public interest ; however they are determined in all debates, to yield to the utmost latitude of their consciences, professing it to be as high a point of religion, to acknowledge their mistakes when they are convinced of them, as to hold fast the truth ; and when matters are

brought to the nearest agreement, to promote such a temper as may tend to union, as well as truth. They therefore beseech the honourable houses of parliament, not to look upon them as disturbers of the public peace, but to consider them as persons that differ but little from their brethren ; yea far less than they do from what themselves practised three years ago. They beseech them likewise to have some regard to their past exile, and present sufferings, and upon these accounts to allow them to continue in their native country, with the enjoyment of the ordinances of Christ, and an indulgence in some lesser differences, as long as they continue peaceable subjects. The paper which conveyed these sentiments to parliament was signed by Tho. Goodwin, Sydrach Simpson, Philip Nye, Jer. Burroughs, William Bridge.

Mr. Herle, afterwards prolocutor of the assembly, in his *imprimatur* to this apology, calls it a performance full of peaceableness, modesty, and candor ; and though he wrote against it, yet in his preface to his book, entitled *The Independency upon Scripture of the Independency of Churches*, says—"The difference between us and our brethren who are for independency, is nothing so great as some may conceive ; at most it does but ruffle the fringe, not any way rend the garment of Christ ; it is so far from being a fundamental, that it is scarce a material difference."—The more rigid presbyterians attacked the apology with greater severity ; swarms of pamphlets were published against it in a few months, some reflecting on the persons of the apologists, and others on their principles, as tending to break the uniformity of the church, under the pretence of liberty of conscience. The most furious adversaries were Dr. Bastwick, old Mr. Vicars, and Mr. Edwards, minister of Christ church, London, who printed an *antapologia*, of three hundred pages in quarto, full of such bitter invectives, that the pacific Mr. Burroughs said,—"He questioned whether any good man ever vented so much malice against others, whom he acknowledged to be pious and religious persons."—But we shall have occasion to remember this gentleman hereafter.

Clarendon and Eachard represent the Independents as

ignorant and illiterate enthusiasts ; and though Rapin confesses, he knew nothing of their rise and progress, he has painted them in the most disadvantageous colours. When they were reproached with being enemies to magistracy, a declaration was published by the congregational societies in and about London, wherein they declare,—“ That as magistracy and government in general is the ordinance of God, they do not disapprove of any form of civil government, but do freely acknowledge that a kingly government, bounded by just and wholesome laws, is both allowed by God, and a good accommodation unto men.”—And if we may believe Dr. Welwood, when the army resolved to set aside the present King, the governing party would have advanced the Duke of Gloucester to the throne, if they could have done it with safety. With regard to religion, Rapin says, their principles were contrary to all the rest of the world ; and yet they gave their consent to all the doctrinal articles of the assembly’s confession of faith, and declared in their apology, their agreement with the doctrinal articles of the church of England, and with all the protestant reformed churches in their harmony of confessions, differing only about the jurisdiction of classes, synods and convocations, and the point of liberty of conscience. —Our historian adds, that they were not only averse to episcopacy, but would not endure so much as ordinary ministers in the church. They maintained, that every man might pray in public, exhort his brethren and interpret scripture, without any other call than what himself drew from his zeal and supposed gifts, and without any other authority than the approbation of his hearers. Here his annotator, Mr. Tindal rightly observes, that he has mistaken the Independents for the Brownists ; the Independents had their stated officers in the church for public prayer, preaching, and administering the sacraments, as pastors, teachers, and elders (who were ecclesiastics) and deacons to take care of the poor ; nor did they admit of persons unordained to any office, to exercise their gifts publicly, except as probationers, in order to their devoting themselves to the ministry. The words of their confession are ;—“ The work of preaching is not so peculiarly confined to pastors and teachers, but that others also gifted,

and fitted by the Holy Ghost for it, and approved, being by lawful ways and means, by the providence of God called thereunto, may publicly, ordinarily, and constantly perform it, so that they give themselves up thereunto."—It is necessary the reader should make these remarks, to rectify a train of mistakes which run through this part of Mr. Rapin's history, and to convince him that the King's death was not owing to the distinguishing tenets of any sect or party of christians. There were indeed some republicans and levellers in the army, whose numbers increased after they despaired of bringing the King into their measures, and it is well known that at their first appearance, Cromwell by his personal valour, suppressed them with the hazard of his life. These were chiefly anabaptists, and proved as great enemies to the protector as they had been to the King. But there is nothing in the principles of the presbyterians, independents, or anabaptists, inconsistent with monarchy, or that had a natural tendency to put the kingdom into a flame.

Mr. Baxter who was no friend to the independents, and knew them much better than the above-mentioned writers, admits—"That most of them were zealous, and very many learned, discreet and pious, capable of being very serviceable to the church, and searchers into scripture and antiquity;"—though he blames them on other occasions, for making too light of ordination; for their too great strictness in the qualification of church-members; for their popular form of church-government; and their too much exploding of synods and councils; and then adds, "I saw commendable care of serious holiness and discipline in most of the independent churches; and I found that some episcopal men, of whom Abp. Usher was one, agreed with them in this, that every bishop was independent, and that synods and councils were not so much for government as concord."—And I may venture to declare, that these are the sentiments of almost all the protestant non-conformists in England at this day.

There was not one professed anabaptist in the assembly, though their sentiments began to spread wonderfully without doors. Their teachers were for the most part illiterate, yet Mr. Baxter says, he found many of them sober,

godly, and zealous, not differing from their brethren but as to infant baptism.—These joining with the independents in the point of discipline and toleration, made them the more considerable, and encouraged their opposition to the presbyterians, who were for establishing their own discipline, without regard to such as differed from them.

It is not to be wondered, that so many parties with different views, should entangle the proceedings of this venerable body, and protract the intended union with the Scots, though as soon as the covenant was taken, they entered upon that affair, the parliament having sent order, “That the assembly of divines and others, should forthwith confer, and treat among themselves, of such a discipline and government as may be most agreeable to God’s holy word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the church at home, and a nearer agreement with the church of Scotland, &c. to be settled in this church instead of the present church government, &c. which it is resolved to take away; and to deliver their advice touching the same, to both houses of parliament with all convenient speed.”—Hereupon the assembly set themselves to enquire into the constitution of the primitive church, in the days of the apostles, which being founded upon the model of the Jewish synagogues, gave the Lightfoots, the Seldens, the Colemans, and other masters of Jewish antiquities, an opportunity of displaying their superior learning, by new and unheard-of interpretations of scripture, whereby they frequently disconcerted the warmer presbyterians, whose plan of discipline they had no mind should receive the stamp of an apostolic sanction, in the church of England

It was undoubtedly a capital mistake in the proceedings of parliament, to destroy one building before they were agreed upon another. The ancient order of worship and discipline in the church of England, was set aside above twelve months before any other form was appointed; during which time, no wonder sects and divisions arrived to such a pitch, that it was not in their power afterwards to destroy them. Committees indeed were appointed to prepare materials for the debate of the assembly, some for discipline, and others for worship, which were debated in

order, and then laid aside without being perfected, or sent up to parliament to be framed into a law. Nothing can be alledged in excuse of this, but their backwardness to unite with the Scots, or the prospect the parliament might yet have of an agreement with the King.

The first point that came upon the carpet, was the Ordination of Ministers; which was the more necessary, because the bishops refused to ordain any who were not in the interest of the crown : this gave occasion to enquire into the antient right of presbyters to ordain without a bishop, which meeting with some opposition, the committee proposed a temporary provision till the matter could be settled, and offered these two queries, 1. Whether in extraordinary cases, something extraordinary may not be admitted, till a settled order can be fixed, yet keeping as near to the rule as possible ? 2. Whether certain ministers of this city may not be appointed to ordain ministers in the city and neighbourhood, for a certain time, *jure fraternitatis* ? To the last of which, the independents entered their dissent, unless the ordination was attended with the previous election of some church. New difficulties being continually started, upon this and some other heads, the Scots commissioners were out of all patience, and applied to the city ministers to petition the parliament to call for the advice of the assembly. In this petition they reminded the commons of their remonstrance, wherein they declare, it was not their intention to let loose the golden reins of discipline; and of their national covenant, wherein they had engaged to the most high God, to settle an uniformity in the church.

Upon this the assembly were ordered to send up their humble advice upon this head ; which was to the following effect, (viz.) That in this present exigency, while there were no presbyteries, yet it being necessary that ministers should be ordained for the army and navy, and for the service of many destitute congregations, by some who having been ordained themselves, have power to join in the setting apart of others. They advise, 1. That an association of some godly ministers in and about the city of London, be appointed by public authority, to ordain ministers for the city and neighbouring parts, keeping as near to the

rule as may be.—2. That the like associations be made by the same authority, in great towns and neighbouring parishes in the several counties, which are at present quiet and undisturbed.—3. That such as are chosen or appointed for the service of the army or navy, being well recommended, be ordained as aforesaid, by the associated ministers of London, or some others in the country; and the like for any other congregations that want a minister.

According to this advice the two houses passed an ordinance, for the ordination of ministers *pro tempore*, which appoints ten presbyters and members of the assembly, and thirteen presbyters of the city of London, but not members of the assembly, to examine and ordain, by imposition of hands, all those whom they shall judge qualified to be admitted into the sacred ministry. Their rules for examination and trial of candidates, will be seen the next year, when this affair was fully settled. In the mean time another ordinance passed the houses, for the benefit of the county of Lancaster, whereby Mess. C. Herle, R. Herrick, Hyet, Bradshaw, I. Ambrose and others, to the number of twenty-one, had full power given them to ordain *pro tempore* in the county of Lancaster. And to obviate the reproaches of the Oxford divines, the following clause was added, that—"If any person do publicly preach, or otherwise exercise any ministerial office, that shall not be ordained, or thereunto allowed by seven of the said ministers, their name shall be returned to both houses of parliament, to be dealt with as they in their wisdom shall think fit."—It was voted further, that—"No minister be allowed to preach, unless he has a certificate of his ordination, or at least of his being examined and approved by the assembly."—And at a conference between the two houses it was agreed, that the assembly of divines be desired to admit none into their pulpits, except such whose doctrine they would be answerable for. Such was the concern of the parliament in these distracted times, to have a sober and well regulated clergy.

Next to the providing for a succession of ministers by ordination, the assembly consulted about a form of public devotion. The old liturgy being laid aside there were no public offices in the church; a committee was therefore

appointed, to agree upon certain general heads, for the direction of the minister in the discharge of his office, which having passed through the assembly, were sent into Scotland for the approbation of the general assembly, and then established by an ordinance of parliament, under the title of a directory for public worship.

The reasons which induced the parliament to discard the old liturgy, and form a new plan for the devotion of the church, I shall transcribe from their own preface. "It is evident, say they, after long and sad experience, that the liturgy used in the church of England, notwithstanding all the pains and religious intentions of the compilers, has proved an offence to many of the godly at home, and to the reformed churches abroad. The enjoining the reading all the prayers, heightened the grievances; and the many unprofitable and burdensome ceremonies has occasioned much mischief, by disquieting the consciences of many, who could not yield to them. Sundry good people have by this means, been kept from the Lord's table, and many faithful ministers debarred from the exercise of their ministry, to the ruin of them and their families. The prelates and their faction have raised their estimation of it to such an height, as if God could be worshipped no other way but by the service book; in consequence of which the preaching of the word has been depreciated, and in some places entirely neglected.

In the mean time the papists have made their advantage this way, boasting that the common prayer-book came up to a compliance with a great part of their service; by which means they were not a little confirmed in their idolatry and superstition, especially of late, when new ceremonies were daily obtruded on the church.

"Besides the liturgy has given great encouragement to an idle and unedifying ministry, who chose rather to confine themselves to forms made to their hands, than to exert themselves in the exercise of the gift of prayer, with which our Saviour furnishes all those whom he calls to that office.—For these and many other weighty considerations, relating to the book in general, besides divers particulars which are a just ground of offence, it is thought adviseable to set aside the former liturgy, with the many

rites and ceremonies formerly used in the worship of God, not out of any affectation of novelty, nor with an intention to disparage our first reformers, but that we may answer in some measure the gracious providence of God, which now calls upon us for a further reformation; that we may satisfy our own consciences; answer the expectations of other reformed churches; ease the consciences of many godly persons among ourselves; and give a public testimony of our endeavours after an uniformity in divine worship, pursuant to what he had promised in our solemn league and covenant."

It has been observed, that the directory is not an absolute form of devotion, but agreeably to its title, contains only some general directions, taken partly from the word of God, and partly from rules of christian prudence; it points out the heads of public prayer, of preaching, and other parts of the pastoral function, leaving the minister a discretionary latitude to fill up the vacancies according to his abilities. Mr. Fuller observes, that the independents in the assembly were hardly persuaded to consent to it, for fear of infringing the liberty of prayer, yet being admitted to qualify some things in the preface, they complied. The directory passed the assembly with great unanimity; those who were for set forms of prayer resolving to confine themselves to the very words of the directory, while others made use of them only as heads for their enlargement.

It may not be improper in this place to advise the reader of the following variations introduced into the service of the church upon this occasion. Instead of one prescribed form of prayer, the directory only points out certain topics on which the minister might enlarge. The whole apocrypha is rejected; private and lay baptism, with the use of god-fathers and god-mothers, and the sign of the cross are discontinued. In the sacrament of the Lord's supper no mention is made of private communion, or administering it to the sick. The altar with rails is changed into a communion-table, to be placed in the body of the church, about which the people might stand or sit, kneeling not being thought so proper a posture. The presbyterians were for giving the power of the keys into the hands of the ministers and elders, as the independents

were, to the whole brotherhood ; but Lightfoot, Selden, Coleman and others, were for an open communion, to which the parliament were most inclinable, for all they would yield was, that the minister immediately before the communion should warn in the name of Christ, all such as are ignorant, scandalous, prophane, or that live in any sin or offence against their knowledge or conscience, that they presume not to come to that holy table, shewing them that he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment to himself. The prohibition of marriage in lent, and the use of the ring is laid aside. In the visitation of the sick, no mention is made of private confession, or authoritative absolution. No service is appointed for the burial of the dead. All particular vestments for priests or ministers, and all saints' days are discarded. It has been reckoned a considerable omission, that the directory does not enjoin reading the apostles' creed and the ten commandments ; Clarendon reports, that when this was observed in private conversation at the treaty of Uxbridge, the Earl of Pembroke said, he was sorry for the omission, but that upon a debate in the house of commons, it was carried in the negative by eight or nine voices, which made many smile, but the jest will be lost, when the reader is informed, that the question in the house was not whether the creed should be received or rejected, but whether it should be printed with the directory for worship ; it being apprehended more proper for a confession of faith ; and accordingly the creed and ten commandments were added to the assemblies' confession, published a year or two forwards. The ordinance for establishing the directory, repeals and makes void the acts of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, by which the old liturgy was established, and forbids the use of it within any church, chapel, or place of public worship in England or Wales, appointing the use of a directory in its room ; and thus it continued till the restoration of Charles II. when the constitution being restored, the old liturgy took place again, the ordinance for its repeal having never obtained the royal assent.

It was a considerable time before this great revolution in the form of public worship took place over the whole

kingdom, In some parts of the country the church-wardens could not procure a directory, and in others they despised it, and continued the old common-prayer-book; some would read no form, and others would use one of their own. In order therefore to give life to the directory, the parliament next summer called in all common-prayer-books, and imposed a fine upon those ministers who should read any other form than that contained in the directory. These were the first fruits of presbyterian uniformity, and are equally to be condemned with the severities and oppressions of the late times; for though it should be admitted, that the parliament or legislature had a right to abrogate the use of the common-prayer-book in churches, was it not highly unreasonable to forbid the reading it in private families or closets? Surely the devotion of a private family could be no disturbance to the public; nor is it any excuse to say, that very few suffered by it, because the law is still the same, and equally injurious to the natural rights of mankind.

Though his majesty's affairs were desperate after the battle of Naseby, yet he had the courage to forbid the use of the new directory, and enjoin the continuance of the common-prayer, by proclamation. His majesty likewise issued out warrants under his own hand, to the heads of the university, commanding them to read divine service as usual, morning and evening; and assured his peers at Oxford, that he was still determined to live and die for the privileges of his crown, his friends, and church government.

About this time the Anabaptists began to make a considerable figure, and spread themselves into several separate congregations. We have already distinguished the German Anabaptists from the English, who differed only from their protestant brethren about the subject and mode of baptism; these were divided into general and particular, from their different sentiments upon the arminian controversy; the former appeared in Holland, where Mr. Smith their leader published a confession of faith in the year 1611, which Mr. Robinson the minister of the independent congregation at Leyden, answered in 1614, but the severity of those times would not admit them to venture into England.

The particular baptists were strict calvinists, and were so called from their belief of the doctrines of particular election, redemption, &c. They separated from the independent congregation about 1638, and set up for themselves under the pastoral care of Mr. Jesse, and having renounced their former baptism, they sent over Mr. Blunt to be immersed by one of the Dutch Anabaptists of Amsterdam, that he might be qualified to baptize his friends in England after the same manner. A strange and unaccountable conduct! for unless the Dutch Anabaptists could derive their pedigree in an uninterrupted line from the apostles, the first reviver of this usage must have been unbaptized, and consequently, not capable of communicating the ordinance to others. Upon Mr. Blunt's return he baptized Mr. Blacklock a teacher, and Mr. Blacklock dipped the rest of the society, to the number of fifty-three. So wonderfully did this opinion prevail, that there were no less than forty-seven congregations in the country, and seven in London at this time, who published a confession of their faith, signed in the name of their congregations, by W. Kiffin, T. Patience, C. Tipping, J. Spilsbury, T. Sheppard and others. In 1646 it was reprinted, with the additional names of D. le Barbier, and C. Durell, ministers of the French congregation in London, of the same judgment.

Their confession consisted of fifty-two articles, and is strictly calvinistical in the doctrinal part, and according to the independent discipline; it confines the subject of baptism to grown christians, and the mode to immersion; it admits of gifted lay-preachers, and acknowledges a due subjection to the civil magistrate in all things lawful.

When Dr. Featly had read this confession he owned, they were neither heretics nor schismatics, but tender-hearted christians, upon whom through false suggestions, the hand of authority had fallen heavy whilst the hierarchy stood. The advocates of this doctrine were, for the most part, of the meanest of the people; their preachers were generally illiterate, and went about the country making proselytes of all who would submit to immersion, without a due regard to their acquaintance with the principles of religion, or their moral characters. The writers

of these times represent them as tinctured with a kind of enthusiastic fury against all that opposed them. But still there were among them some learned, and a great many sober and devout christians, who disallowed of the imprudence of their country friends. The two most learned divines that espoused their cause were Mr. Cornwall, M. A. of Emanuel Coll. and Mr. Tombes, B. D. educated in the university of Oxford, a person of incomparable parts, well versed in the Greek and Hebrew languages, and a most excellent disputant. He wrote several letters to Mr. Selden against infant baptism, and published a latin exercitation upon the same subject, containing several arguments, which he represented to the committee appointed by the assembly to put a stop to the progress of this opinion. The exercitation being translated into English, brought upon him a whole army of adversaries, among whom were Dr. Hammond, Dr. Holmes, Mr. Marshal, Fuller, Gere, Baxter, and others. The people of this persuasion were more exposed to the public resentments, because they would hold communion with none but such as had been dipped. All must pass under this cloud before they could be received into their churches; and the same narrow spirit prevails too generally among them even at this day.

Besides the above-mentioned writers, the most eminent divines in the city of London, as Messrs. Vines, Calamy, and others, preached vigorously against these doctrines, which they had a right to do; though it was most unjustifiable to fight them at the same time with the sword of the civil magistrate, and shut them up in prison, as was the case of several in this and the following year, among whom are reckoned, Mr. Denn, formerly possessed of the living of Pyeton, in Herefordshire; Mr. Coppe, minister in Warwickshire, Mr. Knollys, who was several times before the committee for preaching antinomianism and antipædobaptism; and being forbid to preach in the public churches, he opened a separate meeting in Great St. Helen's, from whence he was quickly dislodged and his followers dispersed. Mr. Wyke in the county of Suffolk, was imprisoned on the same account; and Messrs. Oates and Essex, tried for their lives at Chelmsford.

assizes for the murder of Anne Martin, because she died a few days after her immersion, of a cold that seized her at that time. Lawrence Clarkson was imprisoned by the committee of Suffolk, and having lain in gaol six months, signed a recantation and was released. It must be granted that the imprudent behaviour of the baptist lay preachers, who declaimed against human literature, and hireling priests, crying down magistracy, and a regular ministry, and talking in the most exalted strains of a fifth monarchy, and King Jesus, prejudiced the minds of many sober people against them; but still the imprisoning men merely on account of religious principles, not inconsistent with the public peace, nor propagated in a riotous and tumultuous manner, is not to be justified on any pretence whatsoever; and it was the more inexcusable in this case, because Baxter admits, that the presbyterian zeal was in a great measure the occasion of it.

Before we leave the assembly for this year, it will be proper to take notice, that it was honoured with the presence of Charles Lewis, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, eldest son of Frederick, &c. King of Bohemia, who married King James's daughter, and lost his territories by the fatal battle of Prague. The unhappy Frederick died in 1632, and left behind him six sons and five daughters, among whom were Prince Rupert, Prince Maurice, and the Princess Sophia. The young Elector and his mother often solicited the English court for assistance to recover their dominions, and were as often complimented with empty promises. All the parliaments of this reign mention with concern the calamitous condition of the Queen of Bohemia and her children, and offer to venture their lives and fortunes for the recovery of the palatinate, but Charles I. did not approve his sister's principles, who being a resolved protestant, had been heard to say, that rather than have her son bred up in idolatry at the Emperor's court, she had rather be his executioner. And Mr. Eachard adds, that the birth of Charles II. gave no great joy to the puritans, because as one of them declared, God had already provided for them in the family of the Queen of Bohemia, who were bred up in the protestant

religion, while it was uncertain what religion King Charles' children would follow, being to be brought up by a mother devoted to the church of Rome. When the war broke out between the King and parliament, the Elector's younger brothers Rupert and Maurice, served the King in his army, but the Elector himself being in Holland took the covenant, and by a letter to the parliament testified his approbation of the cause in which they were engaged. This summer he made a tour to England, and was welcomed by a committee of the two houses, who promised him their best advice and assistance.

The parliament ordered an apartment to be fitted up for him at Whitehall, and voted him eight thousand pounds a year for his maintenance, and ten thousand for his royal mother, till he should be restored to his electorate. While he stayed here, he frequently attended the assembly in their debates, and after some time had a pass for himself and forty horse into the Low Countries. His sister Princess Sophia, afterwards married the Duke of Brunswick and Hanover, whose son, upon the decease of Queen Anne, succeeded to the crown of Great-Britain, by the name of George I. the numerous posterity of Charles I. being set aside as papists; and thus the descendants of the Queen of Bohemia, Electress palatine, and daughter of James I. came to inherit the imperial crown of these kingdoms, as a reward for their firmness to the protestant religion; and may the same illustrious family continue to be the guardians of our liberties, both sacred and civil, to the end of time!

Religion was the fashion of the age; the assembly was often turned into a house of prayer, and hardly a week passed without solemn fasting and humiliation, in several of the churches of London and Westminster; the laws against profaneness were carefully executed; and because the former ordinances for the observation of the Lord's day proved ineffectual, it was ordained, that all persons should apply themselves to the exercise of piety and religion on the Lord's day,—“ That no wares, fruit, herbs, or goods of any sort, be exposed to sale, or cryed about streets, upon penalty of forfeiting the goods. That no person without cause, shall travel, or carry a burden, or

do any worldly labour, upon penalty of ten shillings for the traveller, and five shillings for every burden, &c."

The solemn league and covenant was in such high repute at this time, that by an order of the house of commons, it was appointed,—“ That on every fast-day, and day of public humiliation, the covenant should be publicly read in every church and congregation within the kingdom; and that every congregation be enjoined to have one of the said covenants fairly printed, in a fair letter, in a table fitted to hang up in some public place of the church to be read.”—Which was done accordingly, and they continued there till the restoration.

But that which occasioned the greatest disturbance over the whole nation, was an order of both houses relating to Christmas day. Dr. Lightfoot says, the London ministers met together last year, to consult whether they should preach on that day; and one of considerable name and authority opposed it, and was near prevailing with the rest, when the doctor convinced them so far of the lawfulness and expediency of it, that the question being put it was carried in the affirmative with only four or five dissenting voices. But this year it happening to fall on the monthly fast, so that either the fast, or the festival, must be omitted, the parliament after some debate, thought it most agreeable to the present circumstances of the nation, to go on with fasting and prayer; and therefore published an order for the purpose. The royalists raised loud clamours on account of the supposed impiety of this transaction, as what had never before been heard of in the christian world, though they could not but know, that this, as well as other festivals, is of ecclesiastical appointment; that there is no mention of the observation of Christmas in the first or second age of christianity; that the kirk of Scotland never observed it since the reformation, except during the short reign of the bishops, and do not regard it at this day. Some of the most learned divines among the presbyterians, as well as independents, were in this sentiment.

This year died Dr. Westfield, Bp. of Bristol, born in the Isle of Ely, educated in Jesus' Coll. Cambridge, and

afterwards rector of Hornsey, and of St. Bartholomew the Great, London, and arch-deacon of St. Alban's. In 1641 he was advanced to the See of Bristol, which he accepted, though he had refused it twenty-five years before. He was a gentleman of great modesty, a good preacher, an excellent orator. The parliament had such an esteem for him, that they named him one of the assembly of divines, and he had the goodness to appear among them for some time. Upon the bishop's complaint, that the profits of his bishopric were detained, the committee ordered them to be restored, and gave him a pass to go to Bristol to receive them, wherein they stile him a person of great learning and merit. He died in possession of his bishopric, aged seventy-one.

Dr. Downing was born of an ancient family in Gloucestershire, educated in Oriel Coll. Oxford, and at length became vicar of Hackney near London, by the procurement of Abp. Laud; which is very strange, if as it was said,—“He always looked awry on the church.”—In a sermon before the artillery company, he maintained, that for the defence of religion and reformation of the church, it was lawful to take up arms against the King, if it could be obtained by no other way. For this he was forced to abscond till the beginning of the present parliament. He was afterwards chaplain in the Earl of Essex's army, and a member of the assembly of divines, but died before he was forty years of age, having the character of a pious man, a warm preacher, and very zealous in the interest of his country.

CHAP. XV.

CHARLES I.

Trial of Abp. Laud.—Articles of Impeachment.—Order of the Trial.—Charges.—Traiterous attempts to subvert the Rights of Parliament.—His design to subvert the Laws, and to introduce Arbitrary Government.—His endeavour to subvert the Protestant Religion, and introduce Popery.—Conclusion of the Trial.—Laud's Speech.—Heard by Counsel.—Censures of his Behaviour.—The City of London petitions for Justice against him.—He is condemned by Bill of Attainder.—His last Speech, and Prayer.—Beheaded.—His Character.—The Treaty of Uxbridge.—Breaking of the Treaty.—Remarks.—Treaty with the Irish.—Death of Mr. White.

NEXT day after the establishment of the directory, Laud, Abp. of Canterbury, received sentence of death. He had been a prisoner in the Tower almost three years, upon an impeachment of high-treason by the house of commons, without once petitioning for a trial, or so much as putting in his answer to the articles; however as soon as the parliament had united with the Scots, it was resolved to gratify that nation by bringing him to the bar; accordingly Serjeant Wild was sent up to the house of lords, with ten additional articles of high treason, and other crimes and misdemeanors; and to pray, that he might be brought to a speedy trial. The

ten additional articles were to the following purpose :—1. That the archbishop had endeavoured to destroy the use of parliaments, and to introduce an arbitrary government.—2. That for ten years before the present parliament, he had endeavoured to advance the council-table, the canons of the church, and the King's prerogative above law.—3. That he had stopt writs of prohibition to stay proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts, when the same ought to have been granted.—4. That he had caused Sir J. Corbet to be committed to the Fleet for six months, only for causing the petition of right to be read at the sessions.—5. That judgment having been given in the court of King's-Bench against Mr. Burley, a clergyman of a bad character, for non-residence, he had caused the judgment to be stayed.—6. That large sums of money having been contributed for buying in impropriations, he had caused the feoffments to be over-thrown in his majesty's Exchequer, and by that means suppressed the design.—7. That he had harboured and relieved divers popish priests, contrary to law.—8. That he had said at Westminster, there must be a blow given to the church, such as had not been given, before it could be brought to conformity, declaring thereby his intention to alter the true protestant religion established in it.—9. That after the dissolution of the last parliament, he had caused a convocation to be held, in which sundry canons were made contrary to the rights and privileges of parliament, and an illegal oath imposed upon the clergy, with certain penalties, commonly known by the *et cætera* oath.—10. That upon the abrupt dissolving of the short parliament he had told the King, he was absolved from all rules of government, and at liberty to make use of extraordinary methods for supply. I omit the charge of the Scots commissioners, because his lordship pleaded the act of oblivion.

The lords ordered the archbishop to deliver in his answer in writing to the above articles in three weeks, which he did, taking no notice of the original ones. The trial was put off from time to time, at the request of the prisoner till September 16, when the archbishop appearing at the bar, one of the managers for the commons moved the lords,

that their articles of impeachment, with the archbishop's answer might be read; but when the clerk of the house had read the articles, there was no answer to the original ones.

The archbishop only replied, that his answer had not been called for; and would have embarrassed them further, by desiring them to hear his counsel, whether the articles were certain and particular enough to receive an answer. He moved likewise, that if he must put in a new answer, his former might be taken off the file; and that they would please to distinguish which articles were treason, and which misdemeanor. But the lords rejected all his motions, and ordered him to put in his peremptory answer to the original articles of the commons by the 22d instant, which he did accordingly.

The trial was deferred all February, as the archbishop insinuates, because Mr. Prynne was not ready with his witnesses. When it came on, Lord Grey, speaker of the house of lords, was appointed president; but Laud complains, that there were seldom more than sixteen or eighteen peers at a time. The managers for the commons were Serjeant Wild and Messrs. Maynard, Brown, Nicolas and Hill; their solicitor was Mr. Prynne, the archbishop's grand enemy. His grace's counsel were, Messrs. Hearne, Hale, Chute, Gerard; and his solicitor Mr. Dell was his secretary. The trial was depending almost five months, in which time he was heard twenty days, with as much liberty and freedom of speech as could reasonably be desired. When he complained of the seizure of his papers, the lords ordered him a copy of all such as he should say were necessary for his defence; and when he acquainted them, that by reason of the sequestration of his estate, he was incapable of seeing his council, they moved the committee of sequestration in his favour, who ordered him two hundred pounds. His counsel had free access to him at all times, and stood by to advise him during the whole of his trial. The method of proceeding was this; the archbishop had three or four days' notice of the day of his appearance, and of the articles they designed to proceed on; he was brought to the bar about ten in the morning, and the managers were till one making good their charge; the

house then adjourned till four, when the archbishop made his defence, after which one of the managers replied, and the archbishop returned to the Tower between seven and eight in the evening.

The trial commenced on the 2d of March, when the managers for the commons, began to make good the first branch of their charge, that the archbishop had traiterously attempted to subvert the rights of parliament, and to exalt the King's power above the laws. In support of which they produced, 1. This passage out of his own diary,—“A resolution was voted at the board to assist the King in extraordinary ways, if says he, the parliament should prove peevish and refuse.”—2. They produced another expression in one of his papers in which he says, ‘that *magna charta* had an obscure birth, and was fostered by an ill nurse.’—3. They averred, that he had said in the council, that the King's proclamation was of as great force as an act of parliament; and that he had compared the King to the stone spoken of in the gospel, “that whosoever falls upon it shall be broken, but upon whomsoever it falls it will grind him to powder.”

The managers then proceeded to produce some other passages tending more immediately to subvert the rights of parliament, and among others, they insisted on these three.—1. That he had said at the council-table, after the ending of the late parliament, that “now the King might make use of his own power.” This was attested by Sir H. Vane the elder, who was a privy-counsellor, and then present. 2. The archbishop had affirmed, that the parliament might not meddle with religion, without the assent of the clergy in convocation. Now if this were so (say the managers) we should have had no reformation, for the bishops and clergy dissented. 3. At a reference between Dr. Gill, school-master of St. Paul's and the mercer's company, the archbishop had said, that the company could not turn him out of the school, without consent of his ordinary; and that upon mention of an act of parliament he replied, I see nothing will down with you but acts of parliament, no regard at all to the canons of the church; but I will rescind all acts that are against the canons, and I hope shortly to see the canons and the

King's prerogative of equal force with an act of parliament.

The managers went on to the second charge against the archbishop, which was his design to subvert the fundamental temporal laws of the kingdom, and to introduce an arbitrary government against law and the liberty of the subject. In maintenance whereof they alledged, his illegal pressures of tonnage and poundage, without act of parliament, ship-money, coat and conduct-money, soap-money, &c. and his commitment of divers persons to prison, for non-payment. They objected further, sundry depopulations, and pulling down houses; that for the repair of St. Paul's above sixty dwelling-houses had been pulled down, by order of council, without any satisfaction to the tenants, because they did not accept of the committee's composition.—That he had obliged a brewer near the court not to burn sea-coal, under penalty of having his brewhouse pulled down; and that by a like order of council many shop-keepers were forcibly turned out of their houses in Cheapside, to make way for goldsmiths, who were forbid to open shop in any other places of the city. When a commission was issued under the broad seal to himself, to compound with delinquents of this kind, Mr. Talboys was fined fifty pounds for non-compliance; and when he pleaded the statute of the 39th of Elizabeth, the archbishop replied, “do you plead law here? either abide the order, or take your trial at the Star-chamber.” When Mr. Wakern had one hundred pounds allowed him for the pulling down his house, he was soon after fined one hundred pounds in the high commission court, for profanation; of which he paid thirty.

The managers objected further to the archbishop,—Several illegal commitments, and exorbitant fines and censures in the Star-chamber, and high commission court: and that when the persons aggrieved brought prohibitions, he threatened to lay them by the heels, saying, “does the King grant us power, and are we then prohibited? Let us go and complain, I will break the back of prohibitions, or they shall break mine.” Accordingly several persons were actually imprisoned for delivering prohibitions, as was testified by many witnesses; nay, Mr. Wheeler swore,

that he heard the archbishop in a sermon say, that "they which granted prohibitions to the disturbance of the church's right, God will prohibit their entrance into the kingdom of heaven."—They further objected his taking undue gifts, and among others, his receiving two butts of sack, in a cause of some Chester men, whom it was in his power to relieve, by mitigating the fine set on them in the high commission, and taking several large sums of money by way of composition for fines in the high commission court, making use of the method of commutation, by virtue of a patent obtained from the King, which took away all opportunity from his majesty of doing justice, and shewing mercy to his poor subjects, and invested the archbishop with the final determination.

It was next objected, that he had made divers alterations in the King's coronation oath, and introduced several unwarrantable innovations with relation to that august ceremony; as particularly, that he had inserted those words into the oath, "agreeable to the King's prerogative," with about twenty other alterations of less moment, which they apprehended to be a matter of most dangerous consequence. That he had revived certain old popish ceremonies, disused since the reformation, as the placing a crucifix on the altar, the consecrating the holy oil, the anointing the King in form of a cross, the offering up the regalia on the altar, without any rubric or direction for these things, and inserting the following charge taken verbatim out of the Roman pontifical, "stand and hold fast, from henceforth, the place to which you have been heir by the succession of your forefathers, being now delivered to you by the authority of almighty God, and by the hands of us and all the bishops and servants of God; and as you see the clergy come nearer the altar than others, so remember, that in place convenient you give them greater honour, that the mediator of God and man may establish you in the kingly throne, to be the mediator between the clergy and the laity, and that you may reign for ever with Jesus Christ, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, who with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth for ever. Amen."

The managers went on, and charged the archbishop,

“ With endeavouring to set up an independent power in the church, by attempting to exempt the clergy from the jurisdiction of the civil magistrate ; of which they produced several examples ; one was, his forbidding the Lord-mayor of the city of London, to carry the sword upright in the church, and then obtaining an order of council for submitting it in time and place of divine service. Another was taken out of his diary ; upon making the Bp. of London, Lord-treasurer, he says, “ no churchman had it since Henry VII. and now if the church will not hold up themselves, under God, I can do no more.” A third was, his saying in the high commission, that “ no constable should meddle with men in holy orders.” A fourth was, his calling some justices of peace into the high commission, for holding the sessions at Tewksbury in the church-yard, being consecrated ground, though they had licence from the bishop, and though the eighty-eighth canon of the church of England gives leave, that temporal courts or leets may be kept in the church or church-yard. And a fifth was, that he had caused certain church-wardens to be prosecuted, for executing the warrant of a justice of peace upon an ale-house-keeper.”

Lastly, The managers objected to the archbishop, the convocation’s sitting after the parliament was dissolved, contrary to law ; their imposing an oath on the subject, and their making sundry canons, which had since been voted by both houses of parliament, contrary to the King’s prerogative, to the fundamental laws of the realm, to the rights of parliament, to the property and liberty of the subject, and containing matters tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence.

These were the principal evidences produced by the commons, in maintenance of the first branch of their charge, (viz.) his endeavours to subvert the rights of parliament, and the fundamental temporal laws of the kingdom.

The commons proceeded next to the third general charge, relating to religion, and here they aver, that the archbishop had traiterously endeavoured and practised to alter and subvert God’s true religion by laws established in this realm, and instead thereof to set up popish superstition

and idolatry, and to reconcile us to the church of Rome." This was divided into two branches, First, his introducing and practising certain popish innovations, and superstitious ceremonies, not warranted by law, nor agreeable to the practice of the church of England since the reformation. Secondly, his countenancing and encouraging sundry doctrinal errors in favour of arminianism and popery. The managers began with popish innovations and ceremonies, in maintenance of which they insisted on the following proofs.

(1.) His countenancing the setting up of images in churches, church windows, and other places of religious worship. That in his own chapel at Lambeth he had repaired the popish paintings on the windows, that had been destroyed at the reformation, and made up the history of Christ crucified between two thieves ; of his rising out of the grave ; of his ascension into heaven ; of the Holy Ghost descending in form of a dove ; of Christ raising Lazarus out of the grave ; and of God himself raining down manna from heaven ; of God's giving the law to Moses on mount Sinai ; of fire descending from heaven at the prayer of Elisha ; of the Holy Ghost over-shadowing the virgin, &c. all taken from the Roman missal, with several superstitious motto's and inscriptions. That he had caused divers crucifixes to be set up in churches over the communion table, in his chapel at Lambeth, at Whitehall, and at the university of Oxford, of which he was chancellor. That in the parish of St. Mary's there was since his time erected a statue of the Virgin Mary, cut in stone, with a child in her arms, to which divers people bowed and did reverence as they went along the streets, which could not be done without his allowance ; nay so zealous was this prelate (say the managers) in defence of images, that he procured Mr. Sherfield to be sentenced in the Star-chamber, for defacing a church window in or near Salisbury, because there was an image in it of God the father ; all which is contrary to the statute of the 3d and 4th of Edward VI. and the injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, which enjoin all pictures, paintings, images, and other monuments of idolatry and superstition to be destroyed, so as that there remain no memory of them in

walls, glass windows, or elsewhere within any church or house.

(2.) Another popish innovation was, his superstitious manner of consecrating chapels, churches, and churchyards; they instanced in Creed-church, and in St. Giles's in the fields, which being fallen to decay, was a part re-edified and finished in Bp. Mountaine's time, divine service, and administration of sacraments having been performed in it three or four years before his death; but no sooner was the archbishop translated to the see of London, than he interdicted the church, and shut up the doors for several weeks, till he had re-consecrated it, after the manner of Creed-church, to the very great cost and charge of the parish, and contrary to the judgment of Bp. Parker, and our first reformers.—They objected further, his consecrating altars with all their furniture, as pattens, chalices, altar-cloths, &c. even to the knife that was to cut the sacramental bread; and his dedicating the churches to certain saints, together with his promoting annual revels, or feasts of dedication on the Lord's-day, in several parts of the country, whereby that holy day was profaned, and the people encouraged in superstition and ignorance.

(3.) He was next charged with giving orders to Sir N. Brent, his Vicar-General, to enjoin the church-wardens of all parish churches within his diocese, that they should remove the communion-table from the middle of the chapel to the upper end, and place it in form of an altar, close to the wall, with the ends north and south, and encompass it with rails, according to the model of cathedrals, &c." To which the archbishop replied, I aver, that I gave no orders or directions to Sir N. Brent, my Vicar-General, neither by letter nor otherwise, to remove or rail in communion-tables in all parish churches; and I desire Sir Nath. may be called to testify the truth upon his oath. Sir Nath. being sworn, the archbishop asked him upon his oath, whether he had ever given him such orders? To which he replied, "My lords, upon the oath I have taken, I received an express direction and command from the archbishop himself to do what I did of this kind, otherwise I durst never have done it." The archbishop insisted that he never gave him such orders, and wondering

that he should be so unworthy as to affirm it upon oath, Sir Nath. produced the following letter under the archbishop's own hand, directed to himself at Maidstone.—“ Sir, I require you to command the communion-table at Maidstone to be placed at the east, or upper end of the chancel, and there railed in, and that the communicants there come up to the rail to receive the blessed sacrament; and the like you are required to do in all churches, and in all other places where you visit metropolitically.” W. CANT.

To which the archbishop, being out of countenance, made no other reply, but that he had forgot it.

Another innovation was his introducing divers superstitions into divine worship, as bowing towards the altar, bowing at the name of Jesus, enjoining the people to do reverence at their entrance into church, reading the second service at the communion-table, standing up at the *gloria patri*, and introducing the use of copes and church music. They objected further, his repairing old crucifixes, his new statutes of the university of Oxford, among which, some were arbitrary, and others very superstitious; of the former sort, are the imposing new oaths; the statute of *bannition*; referring some misdemeanors to arbitrary penalties, and obliging students to go to prison on the vice-chancellor's or proctor's command. Of the latter sort, are bowing to the altar, singing the litany, and reading Latin prayers in lent; together with the above-mentioned superstitions in the manner of divine worship. They further charged him with advising the King to publish his declaration for the use of sports on the Lord's day, in order to suppress afternoon sermons; with obliging the clergy of his diocese to read it in their pulpits, and punishing those that refused.

The managers then went on to the second branch of their charge, to prove the archbishop's design to subvert the protestant religion, by countenancing and encouraging sundry doctrinal errors in favour of arminianism and popery. And here they charged him, first, with being the great patron of that part of the clergy who had declared themselves in favour of these errors, and with procuring their advancement to the highest stations in the church, even though they were under censure of parlia-

ment, as Drs. Manwaring, Montague, &c. They averred, that the best preferments in his majesty's gift, ever since the archbishop's administration, had by his advice, been bestowed on persons of the same principles ; and that he had advised the King to publish a declaration, prohibiting the clergy to preach on the five controverted points, by virtue of which the mouths of the orthodox preachers were stopt, and some that ventured to transgress the King's declaration were punished in the high commission, when their adversaries were left at large to spread their opinions at their pleasure.

The managers objected further, that having obtained the sole licensing of the press, by a declaration of the Star-chamber in 1637, he had prohibited the reprinting sundry orthodox books formerly printed, and sold by authority, as the Geneva bible with notes, Gellibrand's protestant almanack, in which the popish saints were left out of the Calendar, and protestant martyrs put in their places ; that his chaplains had refused to licence the confession of faith of the palatine churches, Fox's book of martyrs, Bp. Jewel's works, some part of Dr. Willet's and the history of the gun-powder treason, as was attested by the clerks of stationers'-hall, and this reason given for the refusal, that we were not now so angry with the papists as formerly, and therefore it was not proper to exasperate them, there being a design on foot to win them by mildness. That the archbishop had suppressed sundry new books written against arminianism and popery, and had mutilated others, expunging such passages as reflected upon the supersition and idolatry of that church ; a large catalogue of which the commons produced ; and many authors appeared in maintenance of this part of the charge. Laud was also charged with severe prosecution of those clergymen, who had dared to preach against the dangerous increase of arminianism and popery, or the late innovations ; they instanced in Mr. Chauncy, Mr. Workman, Mr. Davenport, and others ; some of whom were punished in the high commission for not railing in the communion-table, and for preaching against images ; and when Mr. Davenport fled to New-England to avoid the storm, the archbishop said, his arm should reach him

there. They objected further, his suppressing afternoon sermons on the Lord's day, and the laudable design of buying in impropriations, which was designed for the encouraging such lecturers.

The last charge of the managers, was his open attempts to reconcile the church of England with the church of Rome, as appears, first, by the papal titles he suffered the universities to give him in their letters, as *sanctitas vestra*, your holiness ; *sanctissime pater*, most holy father ; *spiritus sancti effusissime plenus*, full of the holy ghost ; *summus pontifex, optimus maximusque in terris*, &c. agreeably to this he assumed to himself the title of PATRIARCH, or Pope of Great Britain, *alterius orbis papa* ; which gave the Romanists such an opinion of him, that they offered him twice a cardinal's hat ; though as things then stood, he did not think it prudent to receive it. But Sir H. Mildmay, and Sir N. Brent swore, that both at Rome and elsewhere, he was reputed a papist in his heart ; which opinion was not a little confirmed, 1. By his forbidding the clergy to pray for the conversion of the Queen to the protestant faith. 2. By his owning the church of Rome to be a true church ; by denying the Pope to be antichrist, and wishing a reconciliation with her ; and affirming that she never erred in fundamentals, no, not in the worst of times. 3. By his sowing discord between the church of England and foreign protestants, not only by taking away the privileges and immunities of the French and Dutch churches in these kingdoms, but by denying their ministers to be true ministers, and their churches true churches. 4. By maintaining an intimate correspondence with the Pope's nuncio and with divers priests and jesuits, conniving at the liberties they took in the clink, and elsewhere, and threatening those pursuivants who were diligent in apprehending them ; to all which they added, the influence the archbishop had in marrying the King to a papist, and his concealment of a late plot to reduce these kingdoms to popery and slavery.

And whereas the archbishop had said, that it was not proved, that he forbad ministers to pray for the Queen's conversion, the managers produced Mr. Ratcliffe of St. Martin's, Ludgate, who swore, that Sir N. Brent his vicar

general, at a visitation at Bow church, gave in charge to the clergy in his hearing, these words, Whereas divers of you, in your prayers before sermon, used to pray for the Queen's conversion, you are to do so no more, for the Queen does not doubt of her conversion. And both before and after, the archbishop himself caused Mr. Bernard, Mr. Peters, and Mr. Jones, to be prosecuted in the high commission on this account. The archbishop having said, that he never put his hand to the releasing any priest out of prison, the managers produced a warrant under his own hand, for the release of William Walgrave, deposed to be a dangerous seducing priest, in these words :—"These are to will and command you, to set at full liberty the person of William Walgrave, formerly committed to your custody, and for your so doing this shall be your sufficient warrant.

W. CANT. R. EBOR.

Thus we humbly conceive, the managers having produced evidence, and replied to all the bishop's answers, concluded by saying, we have fully made good the whole of our charge, namely, that the archbishop has traiterously endeavoured to destroy our civil liberties, and to introduce tyranny and arbitrary power; and secondly, that he has endeavoured to subvert the protestant religion established by law in these kingdoms, and to subject us to the church of Rome; wherefore we do, in the name of all the commons of England, pray judgment against him as a traitor."

Before the archbishop withdrew from the bar, he moved the lords, that considering the length of his trial, and the distance of time between the several days of hearing, they would allow him a day that he might set before them in one view, the whole of the commons' charge, and his defence; to which they condescended, and appointed Sept. 2, which was five weeks from the last day of his trial. When the archbishop appeared at the bar he began with a moving address, beseeching their lordships to consider his calling, his age, his long imprisonment, his sufferings, his patience, and the sequestration of his estate. He then complained, 1. Of the uncertainty and generality of the commons' charge. 2. Of

the short time that was allowed him for his answer. 3. That he had been sifted to the bran, and had his papers taken from him. 4. That the things he had taken most pains in, were for the public good, and done at his own great expence, as the repair of St. Paul's, and the statutes of Oxford. 5. That many of the witnesses were sectaries and schismatics, whereas by the canon law, no schismatic should be heard against his bishop. He complained also of the number of witnesses produced against him, which were above one hundred and fifty; whereas the civil law says, that the judges should moderate things so as no man should be oppressed with the multitude of witnesses. 6. That he had been charged with passionate and hasty words, which he hopes their lordships will pardon as human frailties. 7. That other men's actions had been laid to his charge, as those of his chaplains, and the actions of the high commission and star-chamber, which he insists cannot by any law be put upon him. He then went over the particular charges above-mentioned, and concluded with a request, that when the commons had replied to the facts, his council might be heard as to matters of law. The commons replied to the archbishop's speech, Sept. 11, and the same day his council delivered in these two queries, 1. Whether in all or any of the articles charged against the archbishop, there be contained any treason by the established laws of this kingdom. 2. Whether the impeachment and articles did contain such certainties, and particularities as are required by law in cases of treason. The lords sent down the queries to the commons, who after they had referred them to a committee of lawyers, agreed that the archbishop's counsel might be heard to the first query, but not to the second. The arguments of his council staggered the house of lords, nor could the managers for the commons satisfy them in their reply; they had no doubts about the truth of the facts, but whether any of them were treason by the laws of the land—this the judges very much questioned, and therefore the lords deferred giving judgment, till the commons thought fit to take another method to obtain it.

Various are the accounts of the archbishop's behaviour on his trial; his friends and admirers flattered him beyond

measure, and said that he perfectly triumphed over his accusers, and his grace seems to be of the same mind, when he tells us, that all men magnified his answer to the house of commons, but he forbore to set down in what language, because it was high. Mr. Prynne allows, that "he made as full, as gallant and pithy a defence, and spake as much for himself as was possible for the wit of man to invent; and that with so much art, sophistry, vivacity, oratory, audacity and confidence, without the least blush, or acknowledgment of guilt in any thing, as argued him rather obstinate than innocent, impudent than penitent, and a far better orator and sophister than protestant or christian." But then he imputes his boldness to the King's pardon, which he had in his pocket.

The archbishop himself has informed us of his great patience under the hard usage he met with at his trial; but his diary furnishes too many examples to the contrary, for it appears from thence, that he sometimes gave the witnesses very rude language at the bar, insinuating to the court, that many of them were perjured; that their evidence was the effect of malice, envy, and a thirst after his blood. Sometimes he threatened them with the judgments of God, and once he was going to bind his sin upon one of them, not to be forgiven till he asked pardon; but he recovered himself. He is pleased sometimes to observe, that his crimes were proved only by one witness; and yet at last he complains that he was oppressed with numbers, no less than one hundred and fifty, and calls them "a pack of such witnesses, as were never produced against any man of his place and calling; pursuivants, messengers, pillory-men, bawds; and such as had shifted their religion to and again." And yet there were among them, men of the best fashion and quality in the kingdom. When his grace was checked at the bar for reflecting upon the witnesses, and put in mind by the managers that some of them were aldermen, some gentlemen, and some men of quality, he replied smartly, "that is nothing, there is not an active separatist in England, but his hand is against me; both gentlemen, aldermen, and men of all conditions, are separatists from the church of England, and I would to God some of my judges were not."

After this it can hardly be expected, that the managers for the commons should escape his grace's censure; it must be admitted, that in the course of their arguments they made use of some harsh expressions, which nothing but the character they sustained could excuse; but it was no argument of the archbishop's patience and discretion, to fight them at their own weapons. But such was the unhappy spirit of this prelate, who "though he had seen the violent effects of his ill counsels, and had been so long shut up, and so much at leisure to reflect upon what had past in the hurry of passion, and in the exaltation of his prosperity, yet, as Burnet observes, he does not in any one part of his diary acknowledge his own errors, nor mix any wise or pious reflections upon the unhappy steps he had made." It was no doubt a great mortification to his spirit, to be exposed to the people, and to wait sometimes an hour or two before he was called to the bar; but as for his charity and patience under his sufferings, I must leave the reader to form his own judgment.

While the proceedings against the archbishop were at a stand, by reason of the lords being dissatisfied, whether the facts proved against him were treason by statute law; the citizens of London assembled, and presented a petition to the house of commons, signed with a great number of hands, praying for speedy justice against delinquents, and particularly against the archbishop; which was no doubt an artful contrivance of his enemies. The commons to prevent all further delays, determined not to press the lords for judgment upon the trial, but ordered a bill of attainder to be brought in; and when it had been twice read, the archbishop was brought to the bar of the house of commons, to hear the evidence on which it proceeded, and to make what further defence he thought proper; Mr. Browne summed up the charge, Nov. 2, and the archbishop had nine days given him to prepare his defence. Nov. 11, he spoke for himself some hours at the bar of the house of commons, and Mr. Browne replied before the archbishop withdrew; after which the bill of attainder passed the house the very same day, with but one dissenting voice, and that not upon the substance of the charge, but upon the manner of proceeding. The bill being sent

up to the lords they made an order, that all books, writings, &c. concerning the archbishop's trial, should be brought in to the clerk of the parliament, which being done, they examined over again, all the heads and principal parts of the evidence, and voted each particular as they went forward ; so tender were they of the life of this prelate, and so careful to maintain the honour and justice of their proceedings. When they had gone through the whole, they voted him guilty of endeavouring to subvert the laws ; of endeavouring to overthrow the protestant religion, and the rights of parliaments. After this they sent a message to the commons, to desire them to answer the argument of the archbishop's counsel, as to the points of law, which they accordingly did, when the lords being satisfied, passed the bill, whereby it was ordained that he should suffer death as in cases of high treason. To stop the consequence of this attainder, the archbishop produced the King's pardon under the great seal ; but it was over-ruled by both houses. 1. Because it was granted before conviction. And 2. If it had been subsequent, yet in the present case of treason they argued that the King could not pardon a judgment of parliament, especially as the nation was in a state of war ; for if the King's pardon was a protection, not a deterrent, nor a spy, nor an incendiary of any kind against the parliament, would have suffered in his life or liberty.

All the favour therefore the archbishop could obtain, was upon his petition to have his sentence altered from hanging, to being beheaded on Tower-Hill. The archbishop being attended on the scaffold by his chaplain, and by Messrs. Marshall and Palmer, sent by the parliament, read his last speech to the people, in which he thanks God that he is as quiet within as ever he was in his life, and hopes that his cause in heaven will look of another colour than it does here. It is clamoured against me (says he) that I designed to bring in popery, but I pray God that the Pope does not come in, by means of these sectaries which clamour so much against me. As for the King, he assured the world, that he was as sound a protestant as any man in the kingdom, and would venture as freely

for it. He complains of the citizens for gathering hands to petitions, and particularly against himself, whereby they were bringing the guilt of innocent blood upon themselves and their city. He laments the ruin of the hierarchy, and concludes with declaring himself a true protestant, according to the church of England established by law, and takes it upon his death, that **HE NEVER ENDEAVOURED THE SUBVERSION OF THE LAWS OF THE REALM, NOR ANY CHANGE OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION INTO POPISH SUPERSTITION; NOR WAS HE AN ENEMY TO PARLIAMENTS.**

In his last prayer he desires that God would give him patience to die for his honour, for the King's happiness, and the church of England. He then prays for the preservation of the King in his just rights; for the parliament in their ancient and just power; for the church, that it may be settled in truth and peace, and in its patrimony; and for the people, that they may enjoy their ancient laws, and other liberties; and then having forgiven his enemies, he concluded with the Lord's prayer. After which he gave his paper to Dr. Sterne, saying, "Doctor I give you this, to shew your fellow chaplains, that they may see how I am going out of the world, and God's blessing and mercy be upon them." When the scaffold was cleared, he pulled off his doublet, and said, God's will be done, I am willing to go out of the world; no man can be more willing to send me out. Then turning to the executioner he gave him some money, and bid him do his office in mercy; he then kneeled down, and after a short prayer laid his head on the block, and said Lord Jesus receive my spirit; which being the sign, the executioner did his office at one blow. The archbishop's corpse was put into a coffin, and by the permission of parliament buried in Barkin church, with the service of the church read over him. But after the restoration, his body was removed to Oxford, and deposited with great solemnity in a brick vault, according to his last will and testament, near the altar of the chapel of St. John Baptist college.

Thus died Dr. William Laud, Abp. of Canterbury, primate of all England, and metropolitan; some time

chancellor of the universities of Oxford and Dublin, one of the commissioners of his majesty's Exchequer, and paivy counsellor to the King, in the seventy-second year of his age, and twelfth of his archiepiscopal translation. He was of low stature, and a ruddy countenance; his natural temper was severe and uncourtly, his spirit active and restless, which pushed him on to the most hazardous enterprizes. His conduct was rash and precipitate, for according to Dr. Heylin, he attempted more alterations in the church in one year, than a prudent man would have done in a great many. His counsels in state affairs were high and arbitrary; he was at the head of all the illegal projects, of ship-money, loans, monopolies, star-chamber fines, &c. which were the ruin of the King and constitution. His maxims in the church were no less severe, for he sharpened the spiritual sword, and drew it against all all sorts of offenders, intending (as Lord Clarendon expresses it) that the discipline of the church should be felt as well as spoken of. There had not been such a crowd of business in the high commission court since the reformation, nor so many large fines imposed, as under this prelate's administration, with little or no abatement, because they were assigned to the repair of St. Paul's, which gave occasion to an unlucky proverb, that the church was repaired with the sins of the people. As to his religion, he declared himself upon the scaffold, a protestant according to the constitution of the church of England, but with more charity to the church of Rome than to the foreign protestants; and though he was an avowed enemy to sectaries and fanatics of all sorts, yet he had a great deal of superstition in his make, as appears from those passages in his diary, in which he takes notice of his dreams, of the falling down of pictures, of the bleeding of his nose, of auspicious and inauspicious days of the year, and of the position of the stars; a variety of which may be collected out of that performance.

He must be allowed to have had a considerable share of knowledge, and to have been a learned man, though he was more a man of business than of letters. He was a great benefactor to the college in which he was educated, enriching it with a variety of valuable manuscripts, besides

five hundred pounds in money. He gave eight hundred pounds to the repair of the cathedral of St. Paul, and sundry other legacies of the like nature. But with all his accomplishments, he was a cruel persecutor, as long as he was in power, and the chief incendiary in the war between the King and parliament, the calamities of which are in a great measure chargeable on him. "That which gave me the strongest prejudices against him (says Burnet) is, that in his diary, after he had seen the ill effects of his violent counsels, and had been so long shut up, and so long at leisure to reflect on what had passed in the hurry of passion, in the exaltation of his prosperity, he does not in any one part of that great work acknowledge his own errors, nor mix any wise or serious reflections on the ill usage he met with, or the unhappy steps he had made." The bishop adds withal, "That he was a learned, sincere, and zealous man, regular in his own life, and humble in his private deportment, but hot and indiscreet, eagerly pursuing such matters as were either very inconsiderable or mischievous; such as setting the communion-table by the east wall of the church, bowing to it and calling it an altar, suppressing the walloon privileges, breaking of lectures, and encouraging of sports on the Lord's day, &c. his severity in the star-chamber and in the high commission court, but above all his violent, and indeed inexcusable injustice, in the prosecution of Bp. Williams, were such visible blemishes, that nothing but the putting him to death in so unjust a manner, could have raised his character. His diary represents him as an abject fawner upon the Duke of Buckingham, and as a superstitious regarnder of dreams; his defence of himself, writ with so much care when he was in the Tower, is a very mean performance; and his friends have really lessened him; Heylin by writing his life, and Wharton by publishing his vindication of himself. Mr. Rapin adds, "Let the archbishop's favourers say what they please, he was one of the chief authors of the troubles that afflicted England, first, by supporting with all his might the principles of that arbitrary power which the court strove for several years to establish. Secondly, by using too much strictness and rigidness in the observance of trifles in divine service,

and in compelling every body to conform themselves thereto." To which I would beg leave to add, that since nothing relating to the doctrine or discipline of the church of England established by law, was objected to him at his trial, but only certain innovations in the church, without or contrary to law, I cannot conceive with what propriety of language, his friends and admirers have canonized him, as the blessed martyr of the church of England.

The last and most memorable transaction of this year, was the treaty of Uxbridge. His majesty had sent the two houses sundry propositions for peace last summer, which took up a great deal of time to form into propositions for his majesty's assent. The commissioners were two lords, four commoners, and those of the Scots commissioners; when they arrived at Oxford though the King had given them a safe conduct, they met with very rude treatment from the populace, who saluted them as they passed along the streets, with the names of traitors, rogues, and rebels, throwing stones and dirt into their coaches; when they came to their inn they were insulted by the soldiers, so they were obliged to shut up the doors till the King ordered them a guard. When they delivered their propositions, his majesty received them coldly; and because they were only to receive his answer, told them, a letter carrier might have done as well. Next day his majesty gave them his answer in writing sealed up; and when they desired to see it, he replied with a frown, "What is it to you, who are but to carry what I send; if I will send the song of Robin Hood, or Little John, you must carry it." At length they obtained a copy, which was only to desire a safe conduct for the Duke of Lenox and Earl of Southampton to come to London with his majesty's answer; but the letter not being directed to the parliament of England, the houses would not consent but upon that condition. The King's council advised him to yield, which did not prevail, till his majesty had found out an evasion, and entered it upon record in the council books, as appears by his letter to the Queen, in which he says, "That his calling them a parliament did not imply his acknowledging them as such; upon which construction,

and no other, says he, I called them, as it is registered in the council books, and if there had been but two of my opinion, says the King, 'I would not have done it.' In another the King informs the Queen, that the parliament were sending him propositions for peace, which, "IF SHE LIKES, he thinks may be the best way for settlement as things stand;" so that the fate of England was to be determined by the Queen and her popish council. Besides his majesty was unhappily elevated at this time by the divisions at Westminster, which produced the new modelling the army; and with a false and romantic account of the successes of the Marquis of Montrose in Scotland, which were so magnified, that it was expected the Scots must immediately march back into their own country; whereas in reality they were not so considerable, as to oblige them to draw off a single regiment.

In this situation of affairs it was agreed, according to the proposals of the King's commissioners, that there should be a treaty of peace at Uxbridge, to continue twenty days. There were sixteen commissioners for the King, viz. nine lords, six commoners, and one divine; twelve for the parliament, and ten for the Scots, and one divine. The propositions to be treated of were religion, the militia, and Ireland, each of which were to be debated three days successively, till the twenty days were expired.

The treaty was preceded by a day of fasting and prayer on both sides, for a blessing, but was interrupted the very first day, by a sermon preached occasionally in the church of Uxbridge by Mr. Love, then preacher to the garrison of Windsor, wherein he had said, that his majesty's commissioners "came thither with hearts full of blood, and that there was as great a distance between this treaty and peace, as between heaven and hell." The commissioners having complained of him next day, the parliament commissioners laid it before the two houses, who sent for him to London, where he gave this account of the affair; that the people being under a disappointment at their lecture, he was desired unexpectedly to give them a sermon; which was the same he had preached at Windsor the day before. He admits that he cautioned the

people not to have too great a dependance upon the treaty, because "whilst our enemies, says he, go on in their wicked practices, and we keep to our principles, we may as soon make fire and water to agree; and I had almost said, reconcile heaven and hell, as their spirits and ours. They must grow better, or we must grow worse, before it is possible for us to agree." He added further, "That there was a generation of men that carried blood and revenge in their hearts, against the well affected in the nation, who hated not only their bodies but their souls, and in their cups would drink an health to their damnation." Though there might be some truth in what the preacher said, yet these expressions were unbecoming any private man in so nice a conjuncture; he was therefore confined to his house during the treaty, and then discharged.

It was too evident that neither party came to the treaty with a healing spirit; the King's commissioners were under such restraints, that little good was to be expected from them, and the parliament commissioners would place no manner of confidence in his majesty's promises, nor abate a tittle of the fullest security for themselves and the constitution. The King therefore in a letter to the Queen, assures her of the utter improbability that this present treaty should produce a peace, "considering the great, and strange difference, if not contrariety of grounds, that were between the rebels' propositions and his; and that I cannot alter mine, nor will they ever theirs, but by force."

We shall only just mention the propositions relating to the militia and Ireland, our principal view being to religion. The King's commissioners proposed to put the militia into the hands of trustees for three years, half to be named by the King, and half by the parliament, and then to revert absolutely to the crown on pain of high treason. But the parliament commissioners replied, that by the King's naming half the commissioners, the militia would be rendered inactive, and that after three years, they should be in a worse condition than before the war; they therefore proposed, that the parliament should name the commissioners for seven years, and then to be settled

as the king and parliament should agree, or else to limit their nomination to three years, after the King and parliament should declare the kingdom to be in a settled peace. It had been easy to form this proposition so as both parties might have complied with honour and safety, if they had been in earnest for an accommodation; but his majesty's commissioners could yield no further.

As to Ireland, the King's commissioners justified his majesty's proceedings in the cessation, and in sending for the rebels over to fill up his armies; and when the commissioners on the other side, put them in mind of his majesty's solemn promises to leave that affair to the parliament, and to have those rebels punished according to law; the others replied, they wished it was in his majesty's power to punish all rebellion according as it deserved; but since it was otherwise, he must condescend to treaties, and to all other expedients necessary to reduce his rebellious subjects to their duty and obedience. Admirable arguments to heal divisions, and induce the parliament to put the sword into the King's hands.

The article of religion was, in the opinion of Clarendon, of less consequence with many in the parliament house, for if they could have obtained a security for their lives and fortunes, he apprehends this might have been accommodated, though considering the influence of the Scots, and the growing strength of the presbyterian and independent parties, it is very much to be doubted. However this being the first point debated in the treaty, and a church controversy, it will be more proper to represent the instructions on both sides.

His majesty's instructions to his commissioners on the head of religion were these:—"Here says the King the government of the church will be the chief question, wherein two things are to be considered, conscience and policy; for the first, I must declare, that I can't yield to the change of the government by bishops, not only because I fully concur with the most general opinion of christians in all ages, in episcopacy's being the best government, but likewise I hold myself particularly bound by the oath I took at my coronation, not to alter the government of this church from what I found it; and as

for the church patrimony, I cannot suffer any diminution or alienation of it, it being without peradventure sacrilege, and likewise contrary to my coronation oath; but whatsoever shall be offered for rectifying abuses, if any have crept in, or for the ease of tender consciences, (provided the foundation be not damaged) I am content to hear and willing to return a gracious answer. Touching the second, that is the point of policy, as it is the King's duty to protect the church, so the church is reciprocally bound to assist the King, in the maintenance of his just authority. Upon these views my predecessors have been always careful (especially since the reformation,) to keep the dependence of the clergy entirely upon the crown, without which it will scarce sit fast on the King's head, therefore you must do nothing to change or lessen this natural dependence."

The commissioners from the two houses of parliament at Westminster, instead of being instructed to treat about a reformation of the hierarchy, were ordered to demand the passing of a bill for abolishing and taking away episcopal government; for confirming the ordinance for the calling and sitting of the assembly of divines; that the directory for public worship, and the propositions concerning church government, hereunto annexed, be confirmed as a part of reformation of religion and uniformity; that his majesty take the solemn league and covenant, and that an act of parliament be passed, enjoining the taking it by all the subjects of the three kingdoms. The propositions annexed to these demands were these, viz. "That the ordinary way of dividing christians into distinct congregations, as most expedient for edification, be by the respective bounds of their dwellings.—That the ministers and other church-officers in each particular congregation, shall join in the government of the church, in such manner as shall be established by parliament.—That many congregations shall be under one presbyterial government. That the church be governed by congregational, classical, and synodical assemblies, in such manner as shall be established by parliament.—That synodical assemblies shall consist both of provincial and national assemblies.

One may easily observe the distance between the in-

structions of the two parties ; one being determined to maintain episcopacy, and the other no less resolute for establishing presbytery. After several papers had passed between the commissioners, about the bill for taking away episcopacy, it was debated by the divines for two days together. Mr. Henderson, one of the parliament's commissioners, in a laboured speech, endeavoured to shew the necessity of changing the government of the church, for the preservation of the state. "That now the question was not, whether the government of the church by bishops was lawful, but whether it was so necessary that christianity could not subsist without it.—That this latter position could not be maintained in the affirmative, without condemning all other reformed churches in Europe.—That the parliament of England had found episcopacy a very inconvenient and corrupt government.—That the hierarchy had been a public grievance from the reformation downwards—That the bishops had always abetted popery, had retained many superstitious rites and customs in their worship and government ; and over and above had lately brought in a great many novelties into the church, and made a nearer approach to the Roman communion, to the great scandal of the protestant churches of Germany, France, Scotland, and Holland. That the prelates had embroiled the British Island, and made the two nations of England and Scotland fall foul upon each other.—That the rebellion in Ireland, and the civil war in England, may be charged upon them—That for these reasons the parliament had resolved to change this inconvenient, mischievous government, and set up another in the room of it, more naturally formed for the advancement of piety—That this alteration was the best expedient to unite all protestant churches, and extinguish the remains of popery—He hoped therefore the King would concur in so commendable and godly an undertaking ; and conceived his majesty's conscience could not be urged against such a compliance, because he had already done it in Scotland ; nor could he believe that episcopacy was absolutely necessary to the support of the christian religion."

Dr. Steward, clerk of the King's closet, addressing

himself to the commissioners, replied, "he knew their lordships were too well acquainted with the constitution of the church of England, and the basis upon which it stood, to imagine it could be shaken by the force of Mr. Henderson's rhetoric—That he was firmly of opinion, that a government, which from the planting of christianity in England had continued without interruption; that a government under which christianity had spread and flourished to a remarkable degree, could have nothing vicious or antichristian in its frame; that he expected, that those who had sworn themselves to an abolition of this primitive constitution, and came hither to persuade their lordships and his majesty to a concurrence, would have endeavoured to prove the unlawfulness of that government they pressed so strongly to remove—But though in their sermons and prints they gave episcopacy an antichristian addition, Mr. Henderson had prudently declined charging so deep, and only argued from the inconveniences of that government, and the advantages which would be consequent on an alteration—Forasmuch as an union with the protestant churches abroad was the chief reason for this change, the doctor desired to know what foreign church they designed for a pattern—That he was sure the model in the directory, had no great resemblance to any foreign reformed church—And though he would not enter upon a censure of those communions, yet it was well known that the most learned men of those churches, had lamented a defect in their reformation; and that the want of episcopacy was an unhappy circumstance—That they had always paid a particular reverence to the church of England, and looked on it as the most perfect constitution, upon the score of its having retained all that was venerable in antiquity—from hence he proceeded to enlarge upon the apostolical institution of episcopacy, and endeavoured to prove, that without bishops the sacerdotal character could not be conveyed, or the sacraments administered to any significancy.

As to his majesty's consenting to put down episcopacy in Scotland he would say nothing, though he knew his majesty's present thoughts upon that subject. But he observed that the King was further obliged in this king-

dom than in the other ; that in England he was tied by his coronation oath, to maintain the rights of the church, and that this single engagement was a restraint upon his majesty's conscience, not to consent to the abolition of episcopacy, or the alienation of church lands.

Mr. Henderson and Mr. Marshal declared it to be false in fact, and a downright imposition upon the commissioners, that the foreign protestants lamented the want of episcopacy, and esteemed our constitution more perfect than their own. They then ran out into a high commendation of presbyterial government, as that which had the only claim to a divine right. Upon which the Marquis of Hereford spoke to this effect.—My lords, here is much said concerning church government in the general ; the reverend doctors on the King's part affirm, that episcopacy is *jure divino* ; the reverend ministers on the other part affirm, that presbytery is *jure divino* ; for my part, I think neither the one nor the other, nor any government whatsoever to be *jure divino* ; and I desire we may leave this argument, and proceed to debate on the particular proposals.—Dr. Steward desired they might dispute syllogistically, as became scholars, to which Mr. Henderson readily agreed ; in that way they proceeded about two days ; but neither party were convinced or satisfied. When the debate concerning religion came on a second time, his majesty's commissioners delivered in their answer to the parliament's demands in writing, with their reasons why they could not consent to the bill for abolishing episcopacy, and establishing the directory in the room of the common-prayer, nor advise his majesty to take the covenant ; but for the uniting and reconciling all differences in matters of religion, and procuring a blessed peace, they were willing to consent,—1. That freedom be left to all persons, of what opinion soever, in matters of ceremony, and that all the penalties of the laws and customs which enjoin those ceremonies be suspended.—2. That the bishop shall exercise no act of jurisdiction or ordination, without the consent of the presbyters, who shall be chosen by the clergy of each diocese, out of the most learned and grave ministers of the diocese.—3. That the bishop keep his constant residence in his diocese,

except when he shall be required by his majesty to attend him on any occasion, and that, if he be not hindered by the infirmities of old age, or sickness, he preach every Sunday in some church within his diocese. 4. That the ordination of ministers shall be always in a public and solemn manner, and very strict rules observed concerning the sufficiency, and other qualifications of those men, who shall be received into holy orders, and the bishops shall not receive any into holy orders, without the approbation and consent of the presbyters, or the major part of them.—5. That a competent maintenance be established by act of parliament, to such vicarages as belong to bishops, deans, and chapters, out of the impropriations, and according to the value of those impropriations of the several parishes.—6. That for time to come no man shall be capable of two parsonages or vicarages, with cure of souls.—7. That towards settling the public peace, one hundred thousand pounds shall be raised by act of parliament, out of the estates of bishops, deans, and chapters, in such manner as shall be thought fit by the King and two houses of parliament, without the alienation of any of the said lands.—8. That the jurisdiction in causes testamentary, decimal, matrimonial, be settled in such manner as shall seem most convenient by the King and two houses of parliament.—9. That one or more acts of parliament be passed for regulating of visitations, and against immoderate fees in ecclesiastical courts, and abuses by frivolous excommunication, and all other abuses in the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in such manner as shall be agreed upon by the King and both houses of parliament. And if your lordships shall insist upon any other thing, which your lordships shall think necessary for reformation, we shall very willingly apply ourselves to the consideration thereof.” But they absolutely refused their consent to the main points (*viz.*) the abolishing episcopacy, establishing the directory, confirming the assembly of divines, and taking the covenant.

Mr. Rapin observes upon the first of these concessions, that since the penal laws were not to be abolished, but only suspended, it would be in the King's power to take

off the suspension whensoever he pleased. Upon the third, fourth, and fifth, that they were so reasonable and necessary, that it was not for the King's honour to let them be considered as a condescension to promote the peace; and the remainder, depending upon the joint consent of King and parliament, after a peace, it would always be in the King's breast to give or withhold his assent, as he thought fit.

The commissioners for the parliament replied to these concessions, that they were so many new propositions, wholly different from what they had proposed, that they contained little or nothing more, than what they were already in possession of by the laws of the land; that they were no way satisfactory to their desires, nor consisting with that reformation to which both nations are obliged by the solemn league and covenant; therefore they can give no other answer to them, but insist to desire their lordships, that the bill may be passed, and their other demands concerning religion granted. The parliament commissioners, in their last papers say, that all objections in favour of the present hierarchy, arising from conscience, law, or reason, being fully answered, they must now press for a determinate answer to their proposition concerning religion.

The King's commissioners deny, that their objections against passing the bill for abolishing episcopacy have been answered, or that they had received any satisfaction in those particulars, and therefore cannot consent to it.—The parliament commissioners add, that after so many days' debate, and their making it appear, how great a hindrance episcopal government is, and has been to a perfect reformation, and to the growth of religion, and how prejudicial it has been to the state; they hoped their lordships would have been ready to answer their expectations.—The King's commissioners replied: "It is evident, and we conceive consented to on all sides, that episcopacy has continued from the apostles' time, by a continued succession, in the church of Christ, without intermission or interruption, and is therefore *jure divino*."—The parliament commissioners answered, "so far were we from consenting that episcopacy has continued from

the apostles' time, by a continued succession, that the contrary was made evident to your lordships, and the unlawfulness of it fully proved."—The King's commissioners replied, that they conceived the succession of episcopacy from the apostles was consented to on all sides, and did not remember that the unlawfulness of it had been asserted and proved. However they apprehend all the inconveniencies of that government are remedied, by the alterations which they had offered. Nor had the parliament commissioners given them a view in particular, of the government they would substitute in place of the present; if therefore the alterations proposed do not satisfy, they desire the matter may be suspended till after the disbanding the armies, and both King and parliament can agree in calling a national synod.

The above-mentioned concessions would surely have been a sufficient foundation for peace, if they had been made twelve months sooner, before the Scots had been called in, with their solemn league and covenant, and sufficient security had been given for their performance; but the commissioners' hands were now tied; the parliament apprehending themselves obliged by the covenant to abolish the hierarchy; and yet if the commissioners could have agreed about the militia, and the punishment of evil counsellors, the affair of religion would not, in the opinion of Clarendon, have hindered the success of the treaty; his words are these; "The parliament took none of the points of controversy less to heart, or were less united in any thing than in what concerned the church; the Scots would have given up every thing into the hands of the King for their beloved presbytery; but many of the parliament were for peace, provided they might have indemnity for what was past, and security for time to come." And were not these reasonable requests? why then did not the commissioners prevail with the King to give them security, and divide the parliament, or put an end to the war?

The last day of the treaty the parliament continued sitting till nine of the clock at night, in hopes of hearing something from their commissioners, that might encourage

them to prolong the treaty ; but when an express brought word, that the King's commissioners would not yield to one of their propositions ; they broke up without doing any thing in the business. Each party laid the blame upon the other ; the King's commissioners complained, that the parliament would not consent to prolong the treaty ; and the others, that after twenty days' conference not one proposition had been yielded. All sober men, and even some of the King's commissioners, were troubled at the event ; but considering the state of the King's affairs, and his servile attachment to the counsels of a popish Queen, it was easy to foresee it could not be otherwise.

Bp. Burnet, in the history of his life and times, says, that Lord Hollis, who was one of the commissioners, told him, " that the King's affairs were now at a crisis, for the treaty of Uxbridge gave him an opportunity of making peace with the parliament, but all was undone by the unhappy success of the Marquis of Montrose at this time in Scotland, which being magnified to the King far beyond what it really was, prevailed with his majesty to put such limitations on his commissioners, as made the whole design miscarry."

Most of the King's commissioners who were not excepted out of the article of indemnity, were for accommodating matters before they left Uxbridge. The Earl of Southampton rode post from Uxbridge to Oxford, to entreat the King to yield something to the necessity of the times ; several of his counsel pressed him to it on their knees ; and it is said his majesty was at length prevailed with, and appointed next morning to sign a warrant to that purpose, but that Montrose's romantic letter, of his conquest in Scotland, coming in the mean time, made the unhappy King alter his resolution.

But there was something more in the affair than this ; Lord Clarendon is of opinion, that if the King had yielded some things to the demands of the parliament, relating to religion, the militia, and Ireland, there were still other articles in reserve that would have broke off the treaty ; in which I cannot but agree with his

lordship ; for not to mention the giving up delinquents to the justice of parliament, of which himself was one, there had been as yet, no debate about the Roman catholics, whom the parliament would not tolerate, and the King was determined not to give up. As for Ireland, his majesty had already commanded the Duke of Ormond to make peace with the papists, cost what it would. If the suspending Poyning's act will do it, says he, and taking away the penal laws, I shall not think it a hard bargain.—When the Irish give me that assistance they have promised, I will consent to the repeal by law.

It appears from hence, that the peace which the King seemed so much to desire was an empty sound. The Queen was afraid he might be prevailed with to yield too far ; but his majesty bids her be confident of the contrary, for his commissioners would not be disputed from their ground ; and when the treaty was ended, he writes thus to her, “ Now is come to pass what I foresaw, the fruitless end of this treaty.—Now if I do any thing unhandsome to myself or my friends it will be my own fault—I was afraid of being pressed to make some mean overtures to renew the treaty, but now if it be renewed it shall be to my honour and advantage.” Such was the Queen's ascendant over the King, and his majesty's servile submission to her imperious dictates ; the fate of three kingdoms was at her disposal ; no place at court or in the army must be disposed of without her approbation ; no peace must be made but upon her terms ; the Oxford mungrel parliament (as his majesty calls it) must be dismissed with disgrace, because they voted for peace ; the Irish protestants must be abandoned to destruction ; and a civil war permitted to continue its ravages throughout England and Scotland, that a popish religion and arbitrary government might be encouraged and upheld.

As a farther demonstration of this melancholy remark, his majesty authorized the Earl of Glamorgan, to conclude privately a peace with the Irish papists upon the best terms he could, though they were such as his Lieutenant the Duke of Ormond might not well be seen in, nor his majesty himself think fit to own publicly at present,

engaging upon the word of a King and a christian, to ratify and perform whatsoever he should grant under his hand and seal, on condition they would send over into England, a body of ten thousand men, under the command of the said Earl. The date of this warrant is remarkable, as it was at a time when his majesty's affairs were far from being desperate ; when he thought the divisions in the parliament-house would quickly be their ruin, and that he had little more to do than to sit still and be restored upon his own terms, for which reason he was so unyielding at the treaty of Uxbridge ; and yet the Earl, by his majesty's commission, granted every thing to the Irish, even to the establishing the Roman catholic religion, and putting it on a level with the protestant ; he gave them all the churches and revenues they were possessed of since the rebellion, and not only exempted them from the jurisdiction of the protestant clergy, but allowed them jurisdiction over their several flocks, so that the reformed religion in that kingdom, was in a manner sold for ten thousand Irish papists to be transported into England, and maintained for three years. Let the reader now judge, what prospect there could be of a well-grounded peace by the treaty of Uxbridge ! What security there was for the protestant religion ! How little ground of reliance on the King's promises ! and consequently, to whose account the calamities of the war, and the misery and confusions which followed after this period, ought to be placed.

The day before the commencement of the treaty of Uxbridge, the members of the house of commons attended the funeral of Mr. J. White, chairman of the grand committee of religion, and publisher of the century of scandalous ministers ; he was a grave lawyer, says Clarendon, and made a considerable figure in his profession. He had been one of the feoffees for buying in impropriations, for which he was censured in the Star-chamber. He was representative in parliament for the borough of Southwark ; having been a puritan from his youth, and in the opinion of Mr. Whitlock, an honest, learned, and faithful servant of the public, though somewhat severe at the committee for plundered ministers.

CHAP. XVI.

CHARLES I.

The Army new modelled.—Character of the Generals.—Rise of enthusiasm in the Army.—Strict Discipline.—Battle of Naseby.—Affairs of the Church.—Directory for Ordination.—Debates upon it.—Sentiments of Independents.—Of Presbyterians.—Question of Divine Right lost in the Commons.—Power of the Keys.—Ordinance for Suspension and Excommunication.—Presbyterians dissatisfied.—Remarks.—Presbyterians threatened.—Questions sent to the Assembly of Divines relating to the Jus Divinum.—Committee of Accommodation.—Remarks.—Debates about Toleration.—Divisions.—The King foments them.—Revenues of Cathedrals seized.—Death of Dr. Featly.

THE King's commissioners had been told at the treaty of Uxbridge, that the fate of the English monarchy depended upon its success ; that if the treaty was broken off abruptly, there were a set of men in the house, who would remove the Earl of Essex, and constitute such an army, as might force the parliament and King to consent to every thing they demanded, or change the government into a commonwealth ; whereas if the King would yield to the necessity of the times, they might preserve the general, and not only disappoint the designs of the enemies to monarchy, but soon be in circumstances to enable his majesty to recover all he should resign. However,

the commissioners looked upon this as the language of despair, and made his majesty believe the divisions at Westminster, would soon replace the scepter in his own hands.

The house of commons had been dissatisfied with the conduct of the Earls of Essex and Manchester last summer, as tending to protract the war, least one party should establish itself upon the ruins of the other; but the warmer spirits in the house, seeing no period of their calamities this way, apprehended a decisive battle ought to be fought as soon as possible, for which purpose, after a solemn fast, it was moved that all the present officers should be discharged, and the army intrusted in such hands as they could confide in. Dec. 9, it was resolved, that no member of either house should execute any office civil or military, during the present war; accordingly the ordinance commonly called the self-denying ordinance was brought in, and passed the commons ten days after, but was laid aside by the lords till after the treaty of Uxbridge, when it was revived and carried with some little opposition. The Earls of Essex, Manchester, Warwick, and Denbigh, the Lords Roberts, Willoughby, and others were dismissed by this ordinance, and all members of the house of commons, except Lieutenant-General Cromwell, who after a few months was dispensed with, at the request of the new General. All the regiments were disbanded, and such only listed under the new commanders, as were determined to conquer or die. Sir T. Fairfax was appointed General, and Oliver Cromwell, after some time, Lieutenant-General; the clause for preservation of the King's person was left out of Sir Thomas' commission; nor did it run in the name of the King and parliament, but of the parliament only. The army consisted of twenty-one thousand resolute soldiers, and was called in contempt by the royalists the new modelled army; but their courage quickly revenged the contempt.

Sir T. Fairfax was a gentleman of no quick parts or elocution; but religious, faithful, valiant, and of a grave, sober, resolved disposition; neither too great, nor too cunning to be directed by the parliament. Oliver Crom-

well was more bold and aspiring ; and being a soldier of undaunted courage and intrepidity, proved at length too powerful for his masters. The army was more at his disposal than at Fairfax's, and the wonders they wrought sprung chiefly from his counsels.

When the old regiments were broken, the chaplains being discharged of course, returned to their cures ; and as new ones were formed, the officers applied to the parliament and assembly for a fresh recruit ; but the presbyterian ministers being possessed of warm benefices, were unwilling to undergo the fatigues of another campaign, or it may be, to serve with men of such desperate measures. This fatal accident proved the ruin of the cause, in which the parliament were engaged ; for the army being destitute of chaplains, who might have restrained the irregularities of their zeal, the officers set up for preachers in their several regiments, depending upon a kind of miraculous assistance of the divine spirit, without any study or preparation ; and when their imaginations were heated ; they gave vent to the most crude and undigested absurdities ; nor did the evil rest there, for from preaching at the head of their regiments, they took possession of the country pulpits where they were quartered, till at length they spread the infection over the whole nation, and brought the regular ministry into contempt. Most of the common soldiers were religious and orderly, and when released from duty, spent their time in prayer and religious conferences, like men who carried their lives in their hands ; but for want of prudent and regular instruction, were swallowed up in the depths of enthusiasm. Mr. Baxter therefore observes very justly, "it was the ministers that lost all by forsaking the army, and betaking themselves to an easier and quieter way of life. When the Earl of Essex's army went out, each regiment had an able chaplain, but after Edge-hill fight most of them went home, and left their army to their own conduct." But even after the decisive battle of Naseby he admits, great numbers of the officers and soldiers were sober and orthodox ; and from the little good which he did whilst among them, concludes that if their ministers, would have followed his measures, the King, the parliament and religion, might have been saved.

The new modelled troops were kept under the severest discipline, commissioners being appointed to take care that the country was not oppressed; that no soldiers were quartered in any place but by appointment of the quartermaster; that ready money be paid for all provisions and ammunition; every soldier had six-pence a day for his diet, and every trooper eight-pence. No inhabitants were compelled to furnish more provisions than they were able and willing to spare, under the severest penalties; whereas the royal army having no regular pay, lived upon the plunder of those places that had the misfortune to receive them.

May 30, the King took the town of Leicester by storm, with a very great treasure, which the country people had brought thither for security, his soldiers dividing the spoil, and treating the inhabitants in a most cruel and unmerciful manner; after this conquest, his majesty writ to the Queen, that his affairs were never in so hopeful a posture since the rebellion. The parliament army were preparing to lay siege to the city of Oxford, but upon news of this disaster, had orders to follow the King, and hazard a battle at all events; whereupon Sir T. Fairfax petitioned the two houses, to dispense with their self-denying ordinance with respect to Lieutenant-general Cromwell, whose courage and counsels would be of great service in the present crisis; Cromwell was accordingly dispensed with during pleasure, and having joined the army with six hundred horse and dragoons, they overtook the King, and gave him battle June 14, at Naseby, about three miles from Harborough in Leicestershire.

The action began about ten in the morning, and ended about three or four in the afternoon, in an absolute defeat of the King's forces, which was owing, in a great measure, to the wise conduct, and resolution of Lieutenant-General Cromwell on the one hand, and to the indiscreet fury and violence of Prince Rupert on the other. The armies were pretty equal in number, about twelve or fourteen thousand on a side, but the parliament soldiers were better disciplined, and fought with all the bravery and magnanimity that an enthusiastic zeal could inspire. General Fairfax having his helmet beat off, rode up and down the field

bare-headed; Major-General Skippon received a wound in the beginning of the engagement, upon which being desired to go off, he answered, he would not stir as long as a man would stand. Ireton was run through the thigh with a pike, had his horse killed under him, and was made a prisoner, but found means to escape upon the turn of the battle. The King shewed himself a courageous commander, but his soldiers were struck with such a panic, that when they were once disordered they would never rally, whereas if their enemies were beaten from their ground they presently returned, and kept their ranks till they received fresh instructions. When Prince Rupert had routed Ireton's left wing, he lost his advantage, first, by following the chase almost three miles, and then by trying to become master of the train of artillery, before he knew the success of the main body; whereas when Cromwell had broke the right wing of the enemy, he pursued them only a quarter of a mile, and leaving a small party of horse to prevent their rallying, returned immediately to the battle, and with his victorious troops charged the royal infantry in flank. The parliament army took above five thousand prisoners; all the King's train of artillery, bag and baggage, with his cabinet of letters, some of which were afterwards published to the world; not above six or seven hundred of his men being killed, with about one hundred and fifty officers. The King with a party of horse, fled into Wales, and Prince Rupert to Bristol; but the parliament forces pursued their victory with such eagerness, and marched with that rapidity over the whole west of England, to the very land's end, that in a few months all the royal forces were dispersed, and his majesty's garrisons surrendered almost before they were summoned. The city of Bristol, into which Prince Rupert had thrown himself, capitulated before the besiegers approached the walls, which provoked the King to that degree, that he commanded him by letter to depart the land, as did also the Prince of Wales, for the security of his person; so that by the end of this campaign, the unhappy King was exposed to the mercy of his enemies, and shut up all the winter little better than a prisoner in his garrison of Oxford.

To return to the affairs of the church. When it is recollected what great number of clergymen had deserted to the King, or were otherwise dissatisfied with the new terms of conformity, we must conclude it very difficult to supply the vacant pulpits in the country, with a learned and regular clergy: one of the universities was entirely useless, and the young students who adhered to the parliament, could not obtain ordination in a legal way, because all the bishops were in the opposition, and would ordain none except those of their own principles, which was another cause of the increase of unqualified preachers. To put some stop to the clamours of the royalists, and to the mischiefs of lay-preaching, which began to appear in the army, the parliament ordained, "that no person shall be permitted to preach who is not ordained a minister in this or some other reformed church, except such as intend the ministry who shall be allowed for the trial of their gifts, by those that shall be appointed thereunto by both houses of parliament; and it is earnestly desired, that Sir T. Fairfax take care, that this ordinance be put in execution in the army. It is further ordered to be sent to the lord-mayor, and committee of the militia in London; to the governors and commanders of all forts, garrisons, forces, cities and towns, with the like injunction; and the mayor, sheriffs, and justices of the peace, are to commit all offenders to safe custody, and give notice to the parliament, who will take a speedy course for their punishment."

At the same time the lords sent to the assembly, to prepare a new directory for the ordination of ministers of the church in England, without the presence of a diocesan bishop. This took them up a great deal of time, by reason of the opposition it met with from the erastians and independents, but was at last accomplished, and passed into an ordinance, and was to continue in force by way of trial for twelve months.

To give a short specimen of the debates upon this ordinance; when the passage in Timothy, of laying on of the hands of the presbytery, was voted a full warrant for presbyters ordaining without a bishop, Mess. Selden, Lightfoot, and some others, entered their dissent, declaring that the imposition of hands there spoken of, was only upon the

ordination of an elder; and though elders might ordain elders, it did not necessarily follow they might ordain bishops.

The independents maintained the right of every particular congregation to ordain its own officers; this was debated ten days; and the arguments on both sides were afterwards published by consent of the several parties, in a book entitled, the grand debate between presbytery and independency. At length the question being put, that it is requisite no single congregation that can conveniently associate with others, should assume to itself the sole right of ordination, it was carried in the affirmative, seven independent ministers entering their dissent.

It was next debated, whether ordination might precede election to a particular cure or charge; Dr. Temple, Messrs. Herle, Vines, Palmer, Whitaker, and Calamy, argued for the affirmative, 1. from the ordination of Timothy, Titus, and Apollos, without any particular charge. 2. Because it is a different thing to ordain to an office, and to appropriate the exercise of that office to any particular place. 3. If election must precede ordination, then there must be a new ordination upon every new election. 4. It would then follow, that a minister was no minister out of his own church or congregation. And, 5. then a minister could not gather or plant churches, or baptize new converts, because according to the independents, there must first be a church before there can be a minister.

Messrs. Goodwin, Nye, Bridge, and the rest of the independents, replied to the foregoing reasons, that Timothy and Titus were extraordinary officers—that it appeared to them absurd, to ordain an officer without a province to exercise the office in—that they saw no great inconvenience in re-ordination, though they did not admit the consequence, that a person regularly ordained to one church, must be re-ordained upon every removal; but they asserted, that a pastor of one particular church might preserve his character in all places; and if there was extraordinary service to be done in planting new churches, or baptizing converts, the churches might send out their officers, or create new ones for that purpose. The grand difficulty with the independents lay here, that ordination without election to a particular charge, seemed to imply

a conveyance of office power, which in their opinion, was attended with all the difficulties of a lineal succession. The debates upon this article continued several days, and issued at last in a compromise in these words; "It is agreeable to the word of God, and very expedient, that those who are to be ordained ministers, be designed to some particular church, or other ministerial charge." And with regard to the ceremony of imposition of hands, the independents acquiesced in the practice, provided it was attended with an open declaration, that it was not intended as a conveyance of office power.

It may seem absurd to begin the reformation of the church, with an ordinance appointing classical presbyters to ordain ministers within their several districts, when there was not as yet one classical presbytery in all England; but the urgency of affairs required it; the scarcity of ministers would not suffer delay till the whole fabric of presbytery was erected; therefore to supply this defect for the present, the whole business was intrusted with the assembly, who voted that a committee for examination of ministers should sit every Tuesday and Thursday in the afternoon, and the members of the assembly should attend in their turns, as they shall be nominated and appointed by the scribe, according to the order of their names in the register book, five at a time, and each to attend a week.

While the point of ordination was depending, committees were chosen to prepare materials for a new form of discipline and church government; a measure of the greater consequence, because the old form was dissolved, and no other as yet established in its room. Here the independants agreed with the presbyterians, that there was a certain form of church government laid down in the new testament, which was of divine institution; but when they came to the question, what that government was? and, whether it was binding in all ages of the church? both the erastians and independents divided against them. The proposition was this, that the scripture holds forth, that many particular congregations may, and by divine institution ought, to be under one presbyterial government. The debate lasted thirty days; when the

main foundations of the presbyterial government were voted of divine appointment, by a very great majority; but the independents entered their dissent in writing, and complained "of the unkind usage they met with in the assembly; that the papers they offered were not read; that they were not allowed to state their own questions, being told, they set themselves industriously to puzzle the cause, and render the clearest propositions obscure, rather than argue the truth or falseness of them—that it was not worth the assembly's while to spend so much time, in debating with so inconsiderable a number of men; they also declared, that the assembly refused to debate their main proposition, (viz.) Whether a divine right of church government, did not remain with every particular congregation—." To all which it was replied, that the assembly were not conscious they had done them any injustice, and as for the rest, they were the proper judges of their own methods of proceeding.

The erastians seeing how things were carried, reserved themselves for the house of commons, where they were sure to be joined by all the patrons of the independents. The English and Scots commissioners being no less solicitous about the event, gave their friends notice to be early in their places, hoping to carry the question before the house should be full; but Mr. Glyn perceiving their intention, spoke an hour to the point of *jus divinum*; and after him Mr. Whitlock stood up and enlarged upon the same argument, till the house was full, when the question being put, it was carried in the negative; and that the proposition of the assembly should stand thus, "that it is lawful and agreeable to the word of God, that the church be governed by congregational, classical and synodical assemblies."

The disappointment of the Scots commissioners and their friends at the loss of this question in the house is not to be expressed; they alarmed the citizens with the danger of the church, and prevailed with the common council to petition the parliament that the presbyterian discipline might be established as the discipline of Jesus Christ; but the commons answered with a frown, that the citizens must have been misinformed of the proceedings of the

house; or else they would not have precipitated the judgment of parliament. Not discouraged at this rebuke, they prevailed with the city ministers to petition, who when they came to the house were told by the speaker, they need not wait for an answer, but go home and look to the charges of their several congregations, and immediately appointed a committee to enquire into the rise of these petitions.

The presbyterian ministers despairing of success with the commons, instead of yielding to the times, resolved to apply to the house of lords, who received them civilly, and promised to take their request into consideration; but no advances being made in two months, they were out of all patience, and determined to renew their application; and to give it the greater weight, prevailed with the lord mayor and court of aldermen to join with them in presenting an address, but the houses were not to be moved as yet by such disagreeable importunity; however this laid the foundation of those jealousies and misunderstandings between the city and parliament, which in the end proved the ruin of the presbyterian cause.

But the fiercest contention between the assembly and parliament, arose upon the power of the keys, which the former had voted to be in the eldership or presbytery in these words; "The keys of the kingdom of heaven were committed to the officers of the church, by virtue whereof they have power respectively to retain and remit sins, to shut the kingdom of heaven against the impenitent both by word and censures, and to open it to the penitent by absolution, and to prevent the profanation of the holy sacrament by notorious and obstinate offenders, the said officers are to proceed by admonition, suspension from the sacrament of the Lord's supper for a season, and by excommunication from the church, according to the nature of the crime and demerit of the person;" all which power they claimed, not by the laws of the land, but *jure divino*, or by divine appointment.

The independents claimed a like power for the brotherhood of every particular congregation, but without any civil sanctions or penalties annexed; the erastians were for laying the communion open, and referring all crimes to the civil magistrate.

Though the parliament did not deem it prudent wholly to reject the ordinance for excommunication, because it had been the popular complaint in the late times, that pastors of churches had not power to keep unworthy communicants from the Lord's table; yet the speeches delivered on the occasion made such an impression, that they resolved to render it ineffectual to all the purposes of church tyranny; accordingly they sent to the assembly to specify in writing, what degrees of knowledge in the christian religion were necessary to qualify persons for the communion? and, what sorts of scandal deserved suspension or excommunication? Which after much controversy, they presented to the houses, who inserted them in the body of their ordinance for suspension from the Lord's supper, together with certain provisos of their own.

The ordinance sets forth, that the several elderships within their respective limits, shall have power to suspend from the sacrament of the Lord's supper, all ignorant and scandalous persons, within the rules and directions hereafter mentioned, and no others. The rules enumerated are twenty-seven; and refer to every essential article of faith and morality.

And then follows the provisos, which stripped the presbyteries of that power of the keys which they were reaching at:—

Provided always, “that if any person find himself aggrieved with the proceedings of the presbytery to which he belongs, he may appeal to the classical eldership; from them to the provincial assembly; from them to the national; and from them to the parliament. That the cognizance and examination of all capital offences shall be reserved entire to the magistrate appointed by the laws of the kingdom, who upon his committing the party to prison, shall make a certificate to the eldership of the congregation to which they belonged, who may thereupon suspend them from the sacrament. The presbytery or eldership shall not have cognizance of any thing relating to contracts, payments, or demands; or of any matter of conveyance, title, interest, or property, in lands or goods. No use shall be made of any confession, or

proof made before an eldership, at any trial at law of any person for any offence. And it is further ordained, that those members of parliament who are members of the assembly of divines, or any seven of them, shall be a standing committee, to consider of such other offences or scandals not mentioned in this ordinance, which may be conceived to be a sufficient cause of suspension from the sacrament, and shall lay them before the parliament. By an ordinance of June 5, 1646, a discretionary power was lodged in a committee of lords and commons, not less than nine, to adjudge and determine scandalous offences, not formerly enumerated, and report them to the two houses, that if they concurred with the committee they might be added to the catalogue.

By these provisos it is evident the parliament were determined not to part with the spiritual sword, or subject their civil properties to the power of the church, which gave great offence to the Scots commissioners, and to most of the English presbyterians, who declaimed against the ordinance as built upon erastian principles, and depriving the church of that which it claimed by a *divine institution*. They allowed of appeals from one spiritual court to another, but declared openly from the pulpit and press, that appeals to the parliament or civil magistrate, as the *dernier resort*, were insufferable. The parliament observing their ambition, of making the church independent of the state, girt the laws closer about them, and subjected their determinations more immediately to the civil magistrate by an ordinance dated March 14, 1645-6, which enacts, "That an appeal shall lie from the decisions of every class to the commissioners chosen by parliament out of every province, and from them to the parliament itself. That if any person commit any scandalous offences not mentioned in the ordinance, the minister may forbear to administer the sacrament to him for that time; but then he shall within eight days, certify the same to the commissioners, who shall send up the case, with their opinions to the parliament, by whose determination the eldership shall abide."

The ordinance of suspension from the sacrament, was extorted from them before the time by the importunate

solicitations of the city clergy, for as yet there were no classes or presbyteries in any part of England, which ought to have been erected before they had determined their powers. The houses had voted that there should be a choice of lay-elders throughout England and Wales, and had laid down some rules for this purpose, but it was the 14th of March following, before it passed into a law; and after it had passed the commons, it stuck a considerable time with the lords, insomuch that the presbyterian clergy thought it necessary to quicken them by a petition, under the hands of three hundred ministers of Suffolk and Essex, lamenting the decay of religion, and the want of church-discipline, and beseeching their lordships to put the finishing hand to the bill so long depending; which they did accordingly. And thus the presbyterian form of church-government became the national establishment, by way of probation, as far as an ordinance of parliament could make it.

The parliament apprehended they had now established the plan of the presbyterian discipline, though it proved not to the satisfaction of any one party of christians; so hard is it to make a good settlement when men dig up all at once old foundations. The presbyterian hierarchy was as narrow as the prelatical; and as it did not allow a liberty of conscience, claiming a civil as well as ecclesiastical authority over men's persons and properties, it was equally, if not more insufferable. Bp. Kennet observes, that the settling presbytery was supported by the fear and love of the Scots army, and that when they were gone home it was better managed by the English army, who were for independency and a principle of toleration; but as things stood no-body was pleased; the episcopalians and independents were excluded; and because the parliament would not give the several presbyteries an absolute power over their communicants, but reserved the last appeal to themselves, neither the Scots nor English presbyterians would accept it.

When the scheme was laid before the Scots parliament and general assembly, as a plan for uniformity between the two nations, they insisted upon the following amend-

ments.—1. That no godly minister may be excluded from being a member of classical, provincial, or national assemblies.—2. That the ordinary time for the meeting of the national assembly may be fixed; with a reserve of power to the parliament to convene them when they please, and a liberty to the church to meet oftner on necessary occasions.—3. That the congregational eldership may have power to judge in cases of scandal not expressed.—4. That the ordinance for ordination of ministers may be perpetual.—5. The manner of subjecting church-assemblies to the controul and decision of parliament, being very liable to mistakes; the exemption likewise of persons of distinction from ecclesiastical censures; and the administering the sacrament to some persons, against the conscience of the ministry and elderships; these and some other particulars, being more than they can admit, they desire may be altered to general satisfaction.—6. As to the articles relating to the perpetual officers of the church, with their respective functions; the order and power of church-assemblies; the directions for public repentance or penance; the rules for excommunication and absolution; all these they desire may be fixed, and settled pursuant to the covenant, and with the joint advice of the divines of both kingdoms.

After the delivery of these papers by the Scots commissioners, and before the houses had returned an answer, they were published with a preface by a private hand, which provoked the houses to such a degree, that they voted it to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, which was done accordingly. April 17 the commons published their answer to the commissioners papers, in which they declare to the world, that their real intentions are to settle religion according to the covenant, and to maintain the ancient and fundamental government of this kingdom. They think it strange that any sober and modest men should imagine, they are unwilling to settle any government in the church, after they have declared so fully for the presbyteriān; have taken so much pains for the settling it; have passed most of the particulars brought to them by the assembly of divines, without any material alteration, save in the point of commissioners,

and have published so many ordinances for putting the same in execution, only because they cannot consent to the granting an arbitrary and unlimited power and jurisdiction to near ten thousand judicatories to be erected within this kingdom, and this demanded in such a way, as is not consistent with the fundamental laws and government of the same, and by necessary consequence, excluding the parliament of England from the exercise of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This, say they, has been the great cause that church-government has not been long since settled; and we have the more reason not to part with this power out of the hands of the civil magistaate, since the experience of all ages will manifest, that the reformation and purity of religion, and the preservation, and protection of the people of God in this kingdom, has under God, been owing to the parliament's exercise of this power. If then the minds of any are disturbed for want of the present settling of church-government, let them apply to those ministers, who having sufficient power and direction from the houses on that behalf, have not as yet put the same in execution."

The English presbyterians having resolved to stand and fall with the Scots, refused peremptorily to comply with the ordinance, relying upon the assistance and support of that nation. Mr. Marshall stood up in the assembly, and said, that since an ordinance of parliament for church-government was now published, and speedily to be put in execution; and since there were some things in that ordinance which lay very hard upon his conscience, and upon the consciences of many of his brethren, (though he blessed God for the zeal of the two houses in settling the government of the church thus far); yet being much pressed in spirit with some things contained therein, he moved that a committee might be appointed to examine what things in the ordinance were contrary to their consciences, and to prepare a petition to present them to the two houses.—A petition was accordingly drawn up, and presented by the whole assembly with Mr. Marshall at their head, in this petition they assert the divine right of

the presbyterian government, and complain of a clause in the late ordinance, which establishes an appeal from the censures of the church to a committee of parliament. It was a sanguine and daring attempt of these divines, who were called together only for their advice, to examine and censure the ordinances of parliament, and dispute in this manner with their superiors; the commons alarmed at this petition, appointed a committee to take into consideration the matter and manner of it, who after some time reported it as their opinion, that the assembly of divines in their late petition had broken the privileges of parliament, and were guilty of a *præmunire*; and whereas they insisted so peremptorily on the *jus divinum* of the presbyterian government, the committee had drawn up certain queries, which they desired the assembly might resolve for their satisfaction; the house agreed to the report of the committee, and sent Sir J. Evelin, Mr. N. Fiennes, and Mr. Browne, to the assembly, to acquaint them with their resolutions. These gentlemen set before them their rash and imprudent conduct, and in several speeches shewed wherein they had exceeded their province, which was, "to advise the houses in such points as they should lay before them, but not to dictate to those to whom they owed their being an assembly." Then they read the votes above-mentioned, and delivered in the following questions with the orders of the house thereupon.

1. "Whether the congregational or presbyterial elderships appointed by parliament, or any other congregational or presbyterial elderships are *jure divino*, and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ? and whether any particular church-government be *jure divino*? and what that government is? 2. Whether all the members of said elderships, or which of them are *jure divino*, and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ? 3. Whether the classical, provincial and national assemblies, or any of them, and which of them are *jure divino*, and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ? 4. Whether appeals from congregational elderships, to classical, provincial and national assemblies, or any of them, and to which of them are *jure divino*, and by the will and appointment of Jesus

Christ? and whether their powers upon such appeals are *jure divino*, and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ? 5. Whether œcumenical assemblies are *jure divino*? and whether there be appeals from any of the former assemblies to the said œcumenical *jure divino*, and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ? 6. Whether by the word of God, the power of judging and declaring what are such scandalous offences, for which persons are to be kept from the Lord's supper, and of convening before them, trying, and actually suspending from the Lord's supper such offenders, is either in the congregational eldership, presbytery, or in any other eldership congregation or persons? and whether such powers are in them only, or any of them, and in which of them *jure divino*, and by the will and appointment of Jesus Christ? 7. Whether there be any particular rules in the word of God, to direct the elderships or presbyteries, congregations or persons, or any of them, in the exercise and execution of the powers aforesaid, and what are those rules? 8. Is there any thing in the word of God, that the supreme magistracy in a christian state, may not judge and determine what are the aforesaid scandalous offences, and the manner of suspension for the same; and in what particulars concerning the premises is the said supreme magistracy by the word of God excluded? 9. Whether the provision of commissioners to judge of scandals not enumerated (as they are authorized by parliament) be contrary to that way of government which Christ has appointed in his church? and wherein are they so contrary?"

In the assembly's answer to these propositions, the house of commons ordered the proofs from scripture to be set down, with the several texts at large in the express words of the same; and that every minister of the assembly, who should be present at the debate of any of these questions, should subscribe his respective name in the affirmative or negative, according as he gave his vote; and that those who dissented from the major part should set down their positive opinions, with the express texts of scripture upon which their opinions are grounded.

It is easy to discover the masterly hands of Messrs. Selden

and Whitlock in these questions ; which were sent to the assembly not with any prospect of a satisfactory answer, but to employ, and it may be to divide them, till they saw how they were like to settle with the King. The houses were afraid of being fettered with the Scots discipline, and yet the Scots were not to be disgusted, because they had an army in the north, to whom the King had committed the custody of his person.

As soon as the assembly had heard the resolutions of the house of commons above-mentioned, and the questions read, first by Sir J. Evelin, and then by their scribe, they adjourned in a very great fright till next morning, in order to consult their brethren in the city ; and then appointed a day of fasting and humiliation for themselves, in reference to their present circumstances, and sent letters to all the members to give their attendance ; and committees were appointed to consider of an answer to the questions, whose report we shall consider under the next year.

In the mean time we must go back a little, to take a view of the attempts which were making to comprehend the independents, or dissenting brethren in the assembly, within the new establishment, or at least to obtain a toleration for them ; the parliament had ordered that the “ committee of lords and commons appointed to treat with the Scots commissioners and the committee of divines, do take into consideration the differences of the opinions of the members of the assembly in point of church-government, and endeavour an union of possible ; and if that cannot be accomplished, endeavour to find out some way how far tender consciences, who cannot in all things submit to the same rule, may be borne with according to the word of God, and consistent with the public peace.” This was called the grand committee of accommodation, which chose a sub-committee of six divines of the assembly, to consider the points of difference, and to prepare materials for the consideration of the grand committee ; the names of these divines were Mr. Marshall, Mr. Herle, Mr. Vines, Dr. Temple, Mr. Goodwin, and Mr. Nye, who after several consultations among themselves, delivered to the committee certain propositions, which were read by

Mr. Vines, their chairman : the Independents would have stated the points in variance between the two parties, and endeavoured a compromise while the discipline of the church was depending ; but the presbyterians insisted, that the new form of government should first pass into a law as a standard, before the exceptions of the independents were received ; upon which they were adjourned by order of the house of commons, till the affair should be determined in the assembly, who agreed that the brethren who had entered their dissent against the presbyterian government, should be a committee to bring in the whole frame of their government in a body, with their grounds and reasons. The independents desired liberty to bring in their objections by parts, as the presbyterians had done their advices ; but this not being admitted, they desired time to perfect their plan before any other scheme passed into a law ; but the presbyterians without any regard to the compromise, by the assistance of their Scots friends, pushed the affair to a conclusion in parliament ; upon which the independents laid aside their own model, and published a remonstrance, complaining of the artful conduct of the assembly, and that the discipline of the church being fixed, it was too late to think any more of a comprehension. The house of commons having seen their mistake, resumed this affair with their own hands, and revived the committee of accommodation.

The committee met Nov. 17, and would have entered upon a scheme for comprehension, but the independents moved only for an indulgence or toleration, observing that as they had already moved in the assembly and elsewhere, that their scheme of government might be debated before the presbyterian had passed into a law, and for this purpose had offered to prepare a complete model, if they might have been indulged a few days, and that having been over-ruled, and another form of government settled ; they apprehended themselves shut out from the establishment, and precluded from any further attempts towards an union or comprehension ; but still they were willing to enter upon the second part of the parliament's order, which was to consider, how far tender consciences who cannot in all things submit to the established rule, may be indulged

consistent with the word of God and the public peace. Accordingly in their next meeting they offered the following proposals. Taking for granted that both sides shall agree in one confession of faith, they humbly crave, 1. That their congregations may have the power of ordination within themselves. 2. That they may not be brought under the power of classes, nor forced to communicate in those parish churches where they dwell, but that they may have liberty to join with such congregations as they prefer, and that such congregations may have power of all church censures within themselves, subject only to parliament; and be as so many exempt, or privileged places.

To the preamble the presbyterians replied, that only such as agreed to their confession of faith and directory should have the benefit of the forbearance to be agreed on, with which the committee concurred; but the independents would admit only of the affirmative, that such as agreed with them should be tolerated; and would not consent to the negative, so as to set bounds or limits of forbearance to tender consciences, nor make such an agreement a necessary qualification for receiving the sacrament.

To the request of the independents, of being exempted from the jurisdiction of their classes, and having a liberty of erecting separate congregations the presbyterians replied, 1. That this implied a total separation from the established rule. 2. The lawfulness of gathering churches out of other true churches. 3. That the parliament would then destroy what they had set up. 4. That the members of independent churches, would then have greater privilege than those of the establishment. 5. That this would countenance a perpetual schism. And, 6. Introduce all manner of confusion in families. They therefore proposed, that such as after conference with their parish minister were not satisfied with the establishment, should not be compelled to communicate in the Lord's supper, nor be liable to censures from classes or synods, provided they joined with the parish congregation where they lived, and were under the government of it in other respects.

The independents replied, that they did not intend a

total separation, but should agree with their brethren in the most essential points ; as in worshipping according to the directory, in choosing the same officers, pastors, teachers, ruling-elders, with the same qualifications as in the rule ; that they should require the same qualifications in their members as the assembly had advised, that is, visible saints professing faith in Christ, and obedience to him, according to the rules of faith and life taught by Christ and his apostles ; that they should practise the same church-censures, being accountable for their conduct to their civil superiors. They would also hold occasional communion with the presbyterian churches, in baptism and the Lord's supper, communicating occasionally with them, and receiving their members to communion as occasion required. Their ministers should preach for each other, and in cases of difficulty they would call in their assistance and advice ; and when an ordination falls out, they would desire the presence and approbation of their ministers with their own. Now surely say they, this does not imply a total separation ; but if in some things men cannot comply with the established rule without sin, we think such persons ought not to live without communicating in the Lord's supper all their days, rather than gather into churches where they may enjoy all ordinances without offence to their consciences.—Nor ought such separation to be accounted schism, which is a name of reproach we desire not to be branded with, when we are willing to maintain christian love and communion with our neighbours, as far as our consciences will permit.—They add further, that if the state is pleased to grant them this liberty, they will refer themselves to the wisdom of the legislature, to consider of limiting their congregations to a certain number, to be as so many receptacles for pious persons of tender consciences.

The presbyterians in the next reply, after having blamed the independents for not going upon a comprehension, argue against the lawfulness of a separation after this manner : “ That if a pretence of conscience be a sufficient ground of separation, men may gather impure and corrupt churches out of purer, because upon the dictate of an erring conscience they may disallow that

which is pure, and set up that which is agreeable to their erring consciences ; and we very much doubt (say they), whether tenderness of conscience in doubtful points will justify a separation ; it may oblige men to forbear communion, but not to set up a contrary practice. If a church impose any thing that is sinful we must forbear to comply yet without separation, as was the practice of the puritans in the late times.”—They then argue from the concessions of the independents, that because they agree with them in so many material points, therefore they should not separate. “If say they, you can communicate with our church occasionally, once, or a second and third time without sin, we know no reason why you may not do it constantly, and then separation will be needless.—As for such a toleration as our brethren desire, we apprehend it will open a door to all sects ; and though the independents now plead for it, their brethren in New-England do not allow it.”

As to the charge of schism they admit, that difference in judgment in some particular points is not schism ; nor does an inconformity to some things enjoined deserve that name ; but our brethren desire further to set up separate communions, which is a manifest rupture of our societies into others, and is therefore a schism in the body. This is setting up altar against altar, allowing our churches, as the independents do, to be true churches. And we conceive it is the cause of the separation that makes schism, and not the separation itself ; if then the cause of our brethren’s separation be not sufficient, by what other name can it be called ? To all which they add, that this indulgence if granted, will be the mother of all contentions, strifes, heresies, and confusions in the church ; and contrary to their covenant, which obliges them to endeavour to their utmost an uniformity.

When the committee met the next time, the independents replied chiefly to the point of uniformity, and argued that it was not necessary to the peace of the churches ; and ought not to extend beyond people’s light and measure of understanding, according to the apostolical canon, “as far as we have attained let us walk by the same rule,” Phil. iii. 15. As for a mere exemp-

tion from the censure of the classes, they declared frankly they could not acquiesce in it, because it would deprive them of the enjoyment of the Lord's supper ; and that it was very hard to urge, that because they came so near their brethren, therefore they should be obliged to a total and constant conformity.

The committee met the last time, March 9, when the sub-committee of presbyterian divines answered the last paper of the independents, maintaining all their former positions, and concluding in this strange and wonderful manner : " That whereas their brethren say, that uniformity ought to be urged no further than is agreeable to all mens consciences, and to their edification ; it seems to them, as if their brethren not only desired liberty of conscience for themselves, but for all men, and would have us think, that we are bound by our covenant, to bring the churches in the three kingdoms to no nearer a conjunction and uniformity, than is consistent with the liberty of all men's consciences ; which whether it be the sense of the covenant we leave with the honourable committee."

Hereupon Mr. J. Burroughs, a divine of great candor and moderation ; declared in the name of the independents, " that if their congregations might not be exempted from that coercive power of the classes ; if they might not have liberty to govern themselves in their own way, as long as they behaved peaceably towards the civil magistrate, they were resolved to suffer, or go to some other place of the world, where they might enjoy their liberty. But while men think there is no way of peace, but by forcing all to be of the same mind, says he, while they think the civil sword is an ordinance of God to determine all controversies of divinity, and that it must needs be attended with fines and imprisonment to the disobedient ; while they apprehend there is no medium between a strict uniformity, and a general confusion of all things ; while these sentiments prevail, there must be a base subjection of men's consciences to slavery, a suppression of much truth, and great disturbances in the christian world."

Thus ended the last committee of lords and commons

and assembly of divines for accommodation, which adjourned to a certain day, but being then diverted by other affairs never met again. Little did the presbyterian divines imagine, that in less than twenty years all their artillery would be turned against themselves; that they should be excluded the establishment by an act of prelati- cal uniformity; that they should be reduced to the necessity of pleading for that indulgence which they now denied their brethren; and esteem it their duty to gather churches for separate worship out of other churches, which they allowed to be true ones. If the leading presbyterians in the assembly and city, had carried it with temper towards the independents, and allowed even of a limited toleration, they had, in all likelihood, prevented the disputes between the army and parliament, which involved them in one common ruin; they might then have saved the constitution, and made their own terms with the King, who was now their prisoner; but they were enamoured with the charms of their covenant uniformity, and the divine right of presbytery, which, after all, the parliament would not admit in its full extent.

Great was the resort of the city divines to Sion college at this time, where there was a kind of synod every Monday, to consult proper methods to propagate religion, and support the assembly at Westminster in their opposition to the toleration of sectaries; for this purpose they wrote them a letter, in which they capitulate the arguments of the committee, and beseech them to oppose with all their might, the great Diana of the Independents, and not suffer their new establishment to be strangled in the birth by a lawless toleration.

The whole Scots nation was also commanded into the service; the parliament of that kingdom wrote to the two houses at Westminster, acquainting them, that "it was expected the honourable houses would add the civil sanction to what the pious and learned assembly have advised; and I am commanded by the parliament of this kingdom, says the president, to demand it, and I do in their names demand it. And the parliament of this kingdom is persuaded, that the piety and wisdom of the honourable houses will never admit toleration of any sects or

schisms contrary to our solemn league and covenant." At the same time they appealed to the people, and published a declaration against toleration of sectaries and liberty of conscience ; in which, after having taken notice of their own great services, they observe that here is a party in England who are endeavouring to supplant the true religion, by pleading for *liberty of conscience*, which, say they, is the nourisher of all heresies and schisms. They then declare against all such notions as are inconsistent with the truth of religion, and against opening a door to licentiousness, which to the utmost of their power, they will endeavour to oppose ; and as they have all entered into one covenant, so to the last man in the kingdom they will go on in the preservation of it. And however the parliament of England may determine in point of toleration and liberty of conscience, they are resolved not to make the least start, but to live and die, for the glory of God, in the entire preservation of the truth.

Most of the sermons before the house of commons, at their monthly fasts, spoke the language of severity, and called upon the magistrate to draw his sword against the sectaries, and the press teem'd with pamphlets of the same nature.

But the cause of liberty was not destitute of advocates, the independents pleaded for a toleration so far, as to include themselves and the sober anabaptists, but did not put the controversy on the most generous foundation ; they were for tolerating all who agreed in the fundamentals they were sadly embarrassed, as all must be who plead the cause of liberty, and yet do not place the religious and civil rights of mankind on a separate basis ; a man may be an orthodox believer and yet deserve death as a traitor to his King and country ; and on the other hand an heretic or errant non-conformist to the established religion, may be a loyal and dutiful subject, and deserve the highest preferment his prince can bestow.

The letter of the city divines to the assembly received a quick reply from a writer of more generous principles, who complains,—“ that the presbyterians not content with their own freedom and liberty, nor with having their form of government made the national establishment, were

grasping at as much power as the prelates before them had usurped ; for this purpose they had obtained the privilege of licensing the press, that nothing might be writ against them but what they should please to approve ; they were continually soliciting the parliament to establish their church government, which they called the government of Christ, with a coercive power ; they were always busy in framing petitions, and engaging the magistrates of the city to present them to the houses ; and not content with this, they were now moving the assembly of divines, of whom themselves are a considerable part, to become the patrons of oppression." Our author maintains, that "liberty of conscience is the natural right of every man, though of all parties of men those deserve least the countenance of the state, who would persecute others if it were in their power, because they are enemies of the society in which they live. He that will look back on past times, and examine into the true causes of the subversion and devastation of states and countries, will find it owing to the tyranny of princes, and the persecution of priests. All governments therefore which understand their true interests, will endeavour to suppress in every sect, or division of men, whether papist, episcopal, presbyterian, independent, or anabaptist, the spirit of dominion and persecution, which is the disturber of mankind, and the off-spring of the devil. But the ministers say, if we tolerate one sect we must tolerate all ; which our author admits, and adds, that they have as good a right to the liberty of their consciences as to their clothes or estates ; no opinions or sentiments of religion being cognizable by the magistrate, any further than they are inconsistent with the peace of the civil government. The way to put an end to diversity of opinions is not by fines and imprisonments ; can Bedlam, or the Fleet, open men's understandings, and reduce them from error ? No certainly, nothing but sound reason and argument can do it, which it is to be feared, they are not furnished with, who have recourse to any other weapons. Schism and heresy are to be rooted out, not by oppression, but by reason and debate ; by the sword of the spirit, not of the flesh ; by argument, not by blows, to which men have recourse when

they are beat out of the other. Schism and heresy are words of terror thrown upon the adversary by all parties of men ; and perhaps, there may need an infallible judge to determine where the schism lies, before we venture upon extraordinary methods to extirpate it." He adds, "that persecution will breed more confusion and disturbance than toleration ; and that their solemn league and covenant ought to bind them no farther than it is consistent with the word of God. Now, that toleration, or liberty of conscience, is the doctrine of scripture, is evident, 1. From the parable of the tares and wheat growing together till the harvest. 2. From the apostle's direction, let every man be persuaded in his own mind. 3. That whatsoever is not of faith is sin. 4. From our Saviour's golden rule, whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, that do ye to them.—"

This pamphlet was answered by another, entitled *Anti-Toleration*, in which the author endeavours to vindicate the most unbounded licence of persecution ; but neither the assembly, nor the city divines, nor the whole Scots nation, could prevail with the parliament to deliver the sword into their hands. The high behaviour of the presbyterians lost them the affections of great numbers of people, who began to discover that the contention between them and the prelates was not for liberty but power, and that all the spiritual advantage they were like to reap from the war was to shift hands, and instead of episcopal government to wear the yoke of presbyterial uniformity.

Lord Clarendon admits, that the King endeavoured to make his advantage of these divisions, by courting the independents, and promising some of them very valuable compensations for any service they should do him ; intimating, that it was impossible for him to expect relief in their scruples from persons who pretended they were erecting the kingdom of Christ ; but though the independents were enemies to the presbyterian discipline, they had no confidence in the King's promises. Mr. Whitlock agrees with the noble historian, that the King was watchful to take advantage of these divisions,

and commanded one Ogle to write to Mr. T. Goodwin, and Mr. P. Nye, two of the independent ministers, and make them large overtures, if they would oppose the presbyterian government intended to be imposed upon England by the Scots; but these two gentlemen very honestly acquainted their friends with the proposal, which put an end to the correspondence; all which might have convinced the presbyterians of the necessity of coming to some terms with the dissenters; but the King's affairs were so low, that they were under no apprehensions of disturbance from that quarter at present.

The assembly perfected nothing further this year; however complaint being made of the obsolete version of the psalms by Sternhold and Hopkins, the parliament desired them to recommend some other to be used in churches; accordingly they read over Mr. Rouse's version, and after several amendments sent it up to the house; which was accordingly authorized. Care was also taken to prevent the importation of incorrect bibles printed in Holland.

To return to the proceedings of parliament; the committee for plundered ministers having reported to the house of commons, certain blasphemies of Paul Best, who denied the Holy Trinity; the house ordered an ordinance to be brought in to punish him with death also. Several divines being appointed to confer with him in order to convince him of his error, he confessed his belief of that doctrine in general terms before he was brought to his trial, and that he hoped to be saved thereby, but persisted in denying the personality, as a jesuitical tenet; upon this confession his trial was adjourned, and he was at length discharged.

The government of the church being now changed into a presbyterian form, and the war almost at an end, the parliament resolved to apply the revenues of the cathedrals to other public uses, and accordingly it was ordained, "that whereas the present dean and prebendaries of Westminster had deserted their charge, and were become delinquents to the parliament, they did therefore ordain, that the Earl of Northumberland, with about ten other lords, and twenty-two commoners, should be a

committee; and that any person, or more of them, should have authority to order, direct, and dispose of the rents, issues, and profits, belonging to the college or collegiate church, and to do and execute all other acts that did any way concern either of them." They ordained further, "that the dean, prebendaries, and all other officers belonging either to the college or church, who had absented themselves, and were become delinquents, or had not taken the covenant, should be suspended from their several offices and places, and all manner of benefit and profit arising from them, or from the arrears of them, Mr. Osbaldeston only excepted."

When the cathedral of Hereford fell into the parliament's hands the dean and chapter of that church were dispossessed, and their lands and revenues seized into the hands of the committee of that county. The dignities of the cathedral churches of Winchester and Carlisle were served in the same manner the latter end of this year, when the whole frame of the hierarchy was dissolved.

The parliament at the request of the assembly of divines, gave some marks of their favour to the university of Cambridge, which was reduced to such necessitous circumstances, by reason of the failure of their college rents, that they could not support their students. They likewise confirmed all their ancient rights and privileges, and ordered the differences between the university and town, to be determined according to law. On the same day the ordinance for regulating the university, and removing scandalous ministers in the associated counties by the Earl of Manchester, was revived and continued.

This year died Dr. D. Featly; he was born at Charlton in Oxfordshire, and educated at Corpus Christi college, of which he was fellow; upon his leaving the university he went chaplain to Sir T. Symonds, the King's ambassador to the French court, where he gained reputation by his sermons and disputations with the papists. When he returned home, he became domestic chaplain to Abp. Abbot, and was presented by him to the rectory of Lambeth, and in the year 1627, to

that of Acton. In 1643, he was nominated of the assembly of divines, and sat among them till his correspondence with the court was discovered, by an intercepted letter to Abp. Usher, relating to their proceedings; upon which he was committed to Lord Peter's house for a spy, both his livings were sequestered, and himself expelled the assembly. The doctor was a thorough calvinist, but very zealous for the hierarchy of the church. He was a little man, of warm passions, and exceedingly inflamed against the parliament for his imprisonment, as appears by his last prayer a few hours before his death, which happened at Chelsea, whither he had been removed for the benefit of the air, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. His prayer had these words in it,—“Lord, strike through the reins of them that rise against the church and King, and let them be as chaff before the wind, and as stubble before the fire; let them be scattered as partridges on the mountains, and let the breath of the Lord consume them, but upon our gracious sovereign and his posterity let the crown flourish.—” A prayer not formed after the model of St. Stephen's, or that of our blessed Saviour on the cross.

Soon after died famous old Mr. John Dod, whose pious and remarkable sayings are remembered to this day; he was born at Shotlidge in Cheshire, and educated in Jesus' Coll. Cambridge, of which he was fellow. At thirty years of age he removed to Hanwell in Oxfordshire, where he continued preaching twice on the Lord's day, and once on the week days, for above twenty years; at the end of which he was suspended for non-conformity by Dr. Bridges, Bp. of the diocese. Being driven from Hanwell he removed to Canons Ashby in Northamptonshire, and lived quietly several years, till upon complaint made by Bp. Neal, to King James, he commanded Abp. Abbot to silence him. After the death of King James, Mr. Dod was allowed to preach publicly again, and settled at Faustly, in the same county, where he remained till his death. He was a most humble, pious and devout man, and universally beloved; an excellent hebrician, a plain, practical, fervent preacher, a noted casuist, and charitable almost to a fault? his conversation was heavenly; but being a noted puritan, though he never meddled with

state-affairs, he was severely used by the King's cavaliers, who plundered his house, and would have taken away his very sheets, if the good old man, hardly able to rise out of his chair, had not put them under him for a cushion; all which he endured patiently, calling to mind one of his own maxims, sanctified afflictions are spiritual promotions. He died of the strangury in the ninety-sixth year of his age, and lies buried in his parish church at Faustly.

CHAP. XVII.

CHARLES I.

The King's melancholy condition.—Surrenders his Person to the Scots.—Conclusion of the first Civil War.—Articles of Peace with the Irish Papists.—Petitions against Toleration, and for the Divine Right of Presbyterial Government.—Conference between the King and Mr. Henderson.—Parliament's Propositions to the King.—He refuses them.—The Scots Parliament deliver up the King.—Presbyterians Petition against Sectaries.—The number of them.—Baxter's account of them.—Death of Earl of Essex.—Death of Mr. Colman, Dr. Twisse, and Mr. Burroughs.

THE King being returned to Oxford, Nov. 6, after an unfortunate campaign, in which all his armies were beaten out of the field, and dispersed, had no other remedy left but to make peace with his subjects, which his friends in London encouraged him to expect he might be able to accomplish, by the help of some advantage from the growing divisions among the members, the majority of whom were inclined to an accommodation, provided the King would consent to abolish episcopacy, and offer sufficient assurances to goverh for the future according to law. But though his majesty was willing to yield a little to the times, with regard to the security of the civil government, nothing could prevail with him to give up the church. Besides as the King's circumstances obliged him to recede, the parliament as conquerors advanced in

their demands. In the month of December, his majesty sent several messages to the parliament, to obtain a personal treaty at London, upon the public faith for himself and a certain number of his friends, residing there with safety and honour forty days; but the parliament would by no means trust their enemies within their own bowels, and therefore insisted peremptorily upon his signing the bills they were preparing to send him, as a preliminary to a well grounded settlement.

The King made some concessions on his part, relating to the militia and liberty of conscience, but very far short of the demand of the two houses, who were so persuaded of his art and ability in the choice of ambiguous expressions, capable of a different sense from what appeared at first sight, that they durst not venture to make use of them as the basis of a treaty. Thus the winter was wasted in fruitless messages between London and Oxford, while the unfortunate King spent his time musing over his papers in a most disconsolate manner, forsaken by some of his best friends, and rudely treated by others. Mr. Locke says, the usage the King met with from his followers at Oxford made it an hard, but almost an even choice, to be the parliament's prisoner, or their slave. In his majesty's letter to the Queen he writes, "If thou knew what a life I lead in point of conversation, I dare say thou wouldst pity me." The chief officers quarrelled, and became insupportably insolent in the royal presence; nor was the King himself without blame; for being deprived of his oracle the Queen, he was like a ship in a storm without sails or rudder.

The King having neither money nor forces, and the Queen's resources from abroad failing, his majesty could not take the field in the spring, which gave the parliament army an easy conquest over his remaining forts and garrisons. All the west was reduced before midsummer, by the victorious army of Sir T. Fairfax; the city of Exeter surrendered April 9, in which one of the King's daughters, Princess Henrietta, was made prisoner, but her governess the Countess of Dalkeith, found means afterwards to convey her privately into France. Dennington-castle surrendered April 1, Barnstaple the 12th,

and Woodstock the 26th ; upon which it was resolved to strike the finishing blow, by besieging the King in his head quarters at Oxford ; upon the news of which, like a man in a fright, he left the city by night, April 27, and travelled as a servant to Dr. Hudson and Mr. Ashburnham, with his hair cut round to his ears, and a cloke bag behind him to the Scots army before Newark : his majesty surrendered himself to General Leven, May 5, who received him with respect, but sent an express immediately to the two houses, who were displeased at his majesty's conduct, apprehending it calculated to prolong the war, and occasion a difference between the two nations ; which was certainly intended, as appears by the King's letter from Oxford to the Duke of Ormond, in which he says, he had good security, that he and all his adherents should be safe in their persons, honours, and consciences in the Scots army, and that they would join with him, and employ their forces to obtain a happy and well grounded peace ; whereas the Scots commissioners, in their letter to the house of peers aver, "They had given no assurance, nor made any capitulation for joining forces with the King, or combining against the two houses, or any other private or public agreement whatsoever, and they called the contrary assertion a damnable untruth ; and add, "that they never expect a blessing from God any longer than they continue faithful to their covenant." So that this must be the artifice of Montrevil, the French ambassador, who undertook to negotiate between the two parties, and drew the credulous and distressed King into that snare, out of which he could never escape.

His majesty's surrendering his person to the Scots, and sending orders to the governors of Newark, Oxford, and all his other garrisons and forces to surrender and disband, concluded the first civil war ; upon which most of the officers, with Princes Rupert and Maurice, retired beyond sea ; so that by the middle of August all the King's forces and castles were in the parliament's hands ; Ragland-Castle being the last ; which was four years wanting three days, from the setting up the royal standard at Nottingham.

Some time before the King left Oxford he had commissioned the Marquis of Ormond to conclude a peace with the Irish papists, in hopes of receiving succours from thence, which gave great offence to the parliament; but though his majesty upon surrendering himself to the Scots writ to the marquis not to proceed; he ventured to put the finishing hand to the treaty, upon the following scandalous articles, among others, which surely the marquis durst not have consented to, without some private instructions from the King and Queen.

1. That the Roman catholics of that kingdom shall be discharged from taking the oath of supremacy.—2. That all acts of parliament made against them shall be repealed; that they be allowed the freedom of their religion, and not be debarred from any of his majesty's graces or favours.—3. That all acts reflecting on the honour of the Roman catholic religion since August 7, 1641, be repealed.—4. That all indictments, attainders, out-lawries, &c. against them, or any of them, be vacated and made void.—5. That all impediments that may hinder their sitting in parliament, or being chosen burgesses, or knights of the shire, be removed.—6. That all incapacities imposed upon the nation be taken way, and that they have power to erect one or more inns of court in or near the city of Dublin; and that all catholics educated there, be capable of taking their degrees without the oath of supremacy.—7. That the Roman catholics shall be empowered to erect one or more universities, and keep free-schools for the education of their youth, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.—8. That places of command, honour, profit and trust, shall be conferred on the Roman catholics, without making any difference between them and protestants, both in the army and in the civil government.—9. That an act of oblivion shall be passed in the next parliament, to extend to all the Roman catholics and their heirs, absolving them of all treasons and offences whatsoever, and particularly of the massacre of 1641, so that no persons shall be impeached, troubled, or molested, for any thing done on one side or the other.—10. That the Roman catholics shall continue in possession of all those

cities, forts, garrisons, and towns, that they are possessed of, till things are come to a full settlement."

Was this the way to establish a good understanding between the King and his two houses? or could they believe, that his majesty meant the security of the protestant religion, and the extirpation of popery in England, when his general consented to such a peace in Ireland, without any marks of his sovereign's displeasure? nay, when after a long treaty with the parliament commissioners, he refused to deliver up the forts and garrisons into their hands, insomuch that after six weeks attendance, they were obliged to return to their ships, and carry back the supplies they had brought for the garrisons, having only published a declaration, that the parliament of England would take all the protestants of Ireland into their protection, and send over an army to carry on the war against the papists with vigour.

The King being now in the hands of the Scots, the English presbyterions at London resumed their courage, concluding they could not fail of a full establishment of their discipline, and of bringing the parliament at Westminster to their terms of uniformity; for this purpose they framed a bold remonstrance in the name of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common council, and presented it to the house.

This remonstrance was supported by the whole Scots nation, who acted in concert with their English brethren, as appears by a letter of thanks to the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council, from the general assembly. The letter commends their courageous appearance against sects and sectaries; their firm adherence to the covenant, and their maintaining the presbyterial government to be the government of Jesus Christ. It beseeches them to go on boldly in the work they had begun, till the three kingdoms were united in one faith and worship. At the same time they directed letters to the parliament, beseeching them also, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to give to him the glory that is due to his name, by an immediate establishing of all his ordinances in their full integrity and power, according to the covenant. Nor did they forget to encourage the Assembly at Westminster to

proceed in their zeal against sectaries, and to stand boldly for the sceptre of Jesus Christ against the encroachments of earthly powers. These letters were printed and dispersed over the whole kingdom.

The wise parliament received the lord-mayor and his brethren, with marks of great respect and civility; for neither the Scots nor English presbyterians were to be disgusted; while the prize was in their hands, for which both had been contending; but the majority of the commons were displeased with the remonstrance and the high manner of enforcing it, as aiming, by an united force, to establish a sovereign despotic power in the church, with an uniformity, to which themselves, and many of their friends were unwilling to submit; however they dismissed the petitioners with a promise to take the particulars into consideration.

But the independents and sectarians in the army being alarmed at the impending storm, procured a counterpetition from the city with great numbers of hands, "applauding the labours and successes of the parliament in the cause of liberty, and praying them to go on with managing the affairs of the kingdom according to their wisdoms, and not suffer the free-born people of England to be enslaved upon any pretence whatsoever; not to suffer any set of people to prescribe to them in matters of government or conscience, and the petitioners will stand by them with their lives and fortunes." Mr. Whitlock says, the hands of the royalists were in this affair, who being beaten out of the field, resolved now to attempt the ruin of the parliament, by sowing discord among their friends.

The houses were embarrassed between the contenders for liberty and uniformity, and endeavoured to avoid a decision, till they saw the effect of their treaty with the King. They kept the presbyterians in suspense, by pressing the assembly for their answer to the questions relating to the *jus divinum* of presbytery already mentioned, insinuating that they themselves were the obstacles to a full settlement, and assuring them, when this point was agreed, they would concur in such an ordinance as they desired. Upon this the assembly appointed three committees to take the questions into consideration; but the

independents took this opportunity to withdraw, refusing absolutely to be concerned in the answer.

The first committee was appointed to determine, whether any particular church government was *jure divino*, and to bring their proofs from scripture. But here they stumbled at the very threshold, for the erastians divided them, and entered their dissent, so that when the answer was laid before the assembly, it was not called the answer of the committee; but of some brethren of the committee; and when the question was put, they withdrew from the assembly, and left the high presbyterians to themselves, who agreed with only one dissenting voice, that Jesus Christ as King of the church, hath himself appointed a church government distinct from the civil magistrate.

The discussing the remaining questions, engaged the assembly from May till the latter end of July, and even then they thought it not safe to present their determinations to parliament for fear of a *præmunire*; upon which the city divines at Sion college took up the controversy, in a treatise entitled, "The divine right of Church-government, by the London Ministers." Wherein they gave a distinct answer to the several queries of the house of commons, and undertake to prove every branch of the presbyterial discipline to be *jure divino*, and that the civil magistrate had no right to intermeddle with the censures of the church.

And to shew the parliament they were in earnest, they resolved to stand by each other, and not comply with the present establishment, till it was delivered from the yoke of the civil magistrate; for which purpose they drew up a paper of reasons, and presented it to the lord-mayor, who having advised with the common-council, sent a deputation to Sion-College, offering to concur in a petition for redress, which they did accordingly, though without effect; for the parliament taking notice of the combination of the city ministers, published an order requiring those of the province of London to observe the ordinance relating to church government, enjoining the members for the city to send copies thereof to their several parishes, and to take effectual care that they were immediately put in execution. Upon this the ministers of London and Westmin-

ster met again at Sion-College, June 19, and being a little more submissive, published "Certain considerations and cautions according to which they agree to put the presbyterial government in practice, according to the present establishment."

The kingdom of England, instead of so many dioceses, was now divided into a certain number of provinces, made up of representatives from the several classes within their respective boundaries; every parish had a congregational, or parochial presbytery for the affairs of the parish; the parochial presbyteries were combined into classes; these returned representatives to the provincial assembly, as the provincial did to the national; for example the province of London being composed of twelve classes, each class chose two ministers, and four lay-elders, to represent them in a provincial assembly, which received general appeals from the parochial, and classical presbyteries, as the national assembly did from the provincial.

Thus the presbyterian ecclesiastical government began to appear in its proper form; but new obstructions arising amongst the ministers in the choice of representatives, the provincial assembly did not meet till next year, nor did it ever obtain except in London and Lancashire. The parliament never heartily approved it, and the interest that supported it being quickly disabled, Mr. Eachard says, "the presbyterians never saw their dear presbytery settled in any one part of England." But Mr. Baxter who is a much better authority, says the ordinance was executed in London and Lancashire, though it remained unexecuted in all other parts. However the presbyterian ministers had their voluntary associations for church affairs in most counties, though without any authoritative jurisdiction.

To return to the King, who marched with the Scots army from Newark to Newcastle, where he resided about eight months, being treated with some respect, though not with all the duty of subjects to a sovereign. The first sermon that was preached before him gave hopes, that they would be mediators between him and the parliament; it was from 2 Sam. xix. 41, 42, 43. "And behold all the men of Israel came to the King, and said to the King,

why have the men of Judah stolen thee away?—And all the men of Judah answered the men of Israel, because the King is near of kin to us; wherefore then be ye angry for this matter, have we eaten at all of the King's cost? Or hath he given us any gift?—And the men of Israel answered the men of Judah and said, we have ten parts in the King; and we have also more right in David than ye; why then did ye despise us, that our advice should not be first had in bringing back our King? And the words of the men of Judah were fiercer than the words of the men of Israel." But it quickly appeared, that nothing would be done except upon condition of the King's taking the covenant and establishing the presbyterial government in both kingdoms. When the King was pressed upon these heads, he pleaded his conscience, and declared that though he was content the Scots should enjoy their own discipline, he apprehended his honour and conscience were concerned to support episcopacy in England, because it had been established from the reformation, and that he was bound to uphold it by his coronation oath; however he was willing to enter into a conference, with any person whom they should appoint, protesting he was not ashamed to change his judgment, or alter his resolution, provided they could satisfy him in two points.—First, That the episcopacy he contended for was not of divine institution.—Secondly, That his coronation oath did not bind him to support and defend the church of England as it was then established.

To satisfy the King in these points, the Scots sent for Mr. A. Henderson from Edinburgh, pastor of a church in that city, rector of the university, and one of the King's chaplains, a divine of great learning and abilities, discretion and prudence, as well as of learning, elocution and judgment. The debate was managed in writing; the King drew up his own papers, and gave them Sir R. Murray to transcribe, and deliver to Mr. Henderson; and Mr. Henderson's hand not being so legible as his, Sir Robert by the King's appointment, transcribed Mr. Henderson's papers for his majesty's use.

The King in his first paper declares, his esteem for the English reformation, because it was effected without

tumult; and was directed by those who ought to have the conduct of such an affair. He apprehends they kept close to apostolical appointment, and the universal custom of the primitive church; that therefore the adhering to episcopacy must be of the last importance, as without it the priesthood must sink, and the sacrament be administered without effect; for these reasons he conceives episcopacy necessary to the being of a church, and also that he is bound to support it by his coronation oath. Lastly, His majesty desires to know of Mr. Henderson, what warrant there is in the word of God, for subjects to endeavour to force their King's conscience, or to make him alter laws against his will.

Mr. Henderson in his first paper after an introduction of modesty and respect, wishes when occasion requires, that religion might always be reformed by the civil magistrate, and not left either to the prelates or the people; but when princes or magistrates are negligent of their duty, God may stir up the subject, to perform this work. He observes, that the reformation of Henry VIII. was very defective in the essentials of doctrine, worship, and government, that it proceeded with a Laodicean lukewarmness; that the supremacy was transferred from one wrong head to another, and the limbs of the antichristian hierarchy were visible in the body. He adds that the imperfection of the English reformation, had been the complaint of many religious and godly persons; that it had occasioned more schism and separation than had been heard of elsewhere, and been matter of unspeakable grief to other churches. As to the King's argument, that the validity of the priesthood, and the efficacy of the sacraments depended upon episcopacy, he replies, that episcopacy cannot make out its claim to apostolical appointment; that when the apostles were living, there was no difference between a bishop and a presbyter, no inequality in power or degree, but an exact parity in every branch of their character: that there is no mention in scripture of a pastor or bishop superior to other pastors. There is a beautiful subordination in the ministry of the new testament; one kind of ministers being placed in degree and dignity above another, as first apostles, then evangelists, then pastors

and teachers, but in offices of the same rank and kind we do not find any preference; no apostle is constituted superior to other apostles; no evangelist is raised above other evangelists; nor has any pastor or deacon a superiority above others of their order.

Farther, Mr. Henderson humbly desires his majesty to take notice, that arguing from the practice of the primitive church, and the consent of the fathers, is fallacious and uncertain, and that the law and testimony of the word of God is the only rule. The practice of the primitive church, in many things, cannot certainly be known, as Usebius confesses; that even in the apostle's time Diotrephes moved for the pre-eminence, and "the mystery of iniquity began to work;" and that afterwards ambition and weakness quickly made way for a change in church government.

Mr. Henderson hopes his majesty will not deny the lawfulness of the ministry, and due administration of the sacraments, in those reformed churches where there are no diocesan bishops; that it is evident from scripture, and confessed by many champions for episcopacy, that presbyters may ordain presbyters; and to disengage his majesty from his coronation oath, as far as relates to the church, he conceives, when the formal reason of an oath ceases, the obligation is discharged: when an oath has a special regard to the benefit of those to whom the engagement is made, if the parties interested relax upon the point, dispense with the promise, and give up their advantage, the obligation is at an end. Thus when the parliaments of both kingdoms have agreed to the repealing of a law, the King's conscience is not tied against signing the bill, for then the altering any law would be impracticable.—He concludes with observing, that King James never admitted episcopacy upon divine right; and that could his ghost now speak, he would not advise your majesty to run such hazards, for men [prelates] who would pull down your throne with their own, rather than that they perish alone.

The King in his second paper avers, no reformation is lawful, unless under conduct of the royal authority; that Henry the VIII.th's reformation being imperfect is no

proof of defects in that of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth; that Mr. Henderson can never prove, God has given the multitude leave to reform the negligence of princes; that his comparing our reformation to the Laodicean lukewarmness, was an unhandsome way of begging the question, for he should first have made out, that those men, the puritans, had reason to complain, and that the schism was chargeable upon the conformists. His majesty is so far from allowing the presbyterian government to be practised in the primitive times, that he affirms, it was never set up before Calvin; and admits, that it was his province to shew the lawfulness, and uninterrupted succession, and by consequence the necessity of episcopacy, but that he had not then the convenience of books, nor the assistance of such learned men as he could trust, and therefore proposes a conference with his divines. And whereas Mr. Henderson excepts to his reasoning from the primitive church, and consent of the fathers; his majesty conceives his exception indefensible, for if the sense of a doubtful place of scripture is not to be governed by such an authority, the interpretation of the inspired writings must be left to the direction of every private spirit, which is contrary to St. Peter's doctrine, 2 Pet. i. 20. "No prophecy of scripture is of private interpretation," it is likewise the source of all sects, and without prevention will bring these kingdoms into confusion. His majesty adds, that it is Mr. Henderson's part to prove, that presbyters without a bishop may ordain other presbyters. As to the administration of the sacraments Mr. Henderson himself will not deny, a lawfully ordained presbyter's being necessary to that office; so that the determination of this latter question will depend in some measure on the former. With regard to oaths, his majesty allows Mr. Henderson's general rule, but thinks he is mistaken in the application; for the clause touching religion in the coronation oath was made only for the benefit of the church of England; that therefore it is not in the power of the two houses of parliament to discharge the obligation of this oath, without their consent. That this church never made any submission to the two houses, nor owned herself subordinate to

them; that the reformation was managed by the King and clergy, and the parliament assisted only in giving a civil sanction to the ecclesiastical establishment. These points being clear to his majesty, it follows by necessary consequence, that it is only the church of England, in whose favour he took this oath, that can release him from it, and that therefore, when the church of England lawfully assembled, shall declare his majesty, he shall then, and not till then, reckon himself at liberty.

Mr. Henderson, in his reply to this second paper, agrees with the King, that the prime reforming power is in Kings and princes, but adds that in case they fail of their duty, this authority devolves upon the inferior magistrate, and upon their failure, to the body of the people, upon supposition that a reformation is necessary, and that people's superiors will by no means give way to it; he allows that such a reformation is more imperfect with respect to the manner, but commonly more perfect and refined in the product and issue. He adds that the government of the church of England is not supposed to be built on the foundation of Christ and his apostles, by those who confess that church government is mutable and ambulatory, as was formerly the opinion of most of the English bishops; that the divine right was not pleaded till of late by some few; that the English reformation has not perfectly purged out the Roman leaven, but rather depraved the discipline of the church by conforming to the civil policy, and adding many supplemental officers to those instituted by the Son of God. To his majesty's objection, that the presbyterian government was never practised before Calvin's time, he answers, that it is to be found in scripture; and the assembly of divines at Westminster had made it evident, that the primitive church at Jerusalem was governed by a presbytery; that the church at Jerusalem consisted of more congregations than one; that all these congregations were combined under one presbyterial government, and made but one church; that this church was governed by elders of the same body, and met together for functions of authority, and that the apostles acted not in quality of apostles, but only as elders, Acts xv. that the same government was

settled in the churches of Ephesus, Corinth, Thessalonica, and continued many years after, and at last, when one of the presbytery presided over the rest with the stile of bishop, even then, as St. Jerom says, churches were governed with the joint consent of the presbytery; and it was custom rather than divine appointment which raised a bishop above a presbyter. To his majesty's argument, that where the meaning of scripture is doubtful, we must have recourse to the fathers, Mr. Henderson replies, that notwithstanding the decrees of councils, and the resolutions of the fathers, a liberty must be left for a judgment of discretion, as had been sufficiently shown by Bp. Davenant and others. To prove presbyters may ordain other presbyters without a bishop, he cites St. Paul's advice to Timothy, 1 Tim. iv. 14. not to neglect the gift that was given him by the "Laying on of the hands of the presbytery;" but granting bishops and presbyters to be distinct functions, it will not follow, that the authority and force of the presbyter's character was derived from the bishop; for though the evangelists and seventy disciples were inferior to the apostles, they received not their commission from the apostles, but from Christ himself.

Concerning the King's coronation oath, Mr. Henderson apprehends nothing need be added. As to the supremacy, he thinks such an headship as the Kings of England claim, or such an one as the two houses of parliament now insist on, that is, an authority to receive appeals from the supreme ecclesiastical judicatures, in things purely spiritual, is not to be justified; nor does he apprehend the consent of the clergy to be absolutely necessary to church reformation, for if so, what reformation can be expected in France, in Spain, or in Rome itself; it is not to be imagined, that the pope or prelates will consent to their own ruin. His majesty had said, that if his father King James had been consulted upon the question of resistance, he would have answered, that prayers and tears are the church's weapons. To which Mr. Henderson replies, that he could never hear a good reason to prove a necessary defensive war, a war against unjust violence, unlawful; and that Bps. Jewel and Bilson

were of this mind. To the question, what warrant there was in scripture for subjects to endeavour to force their King's conscience? He replies, that when a man's conscience is mistaken it lies under a necessity of doing amiss; the way therefore to disentangle himself is to get his conscience better informed, and not to move till he has struck a light and made further discoveries.

The King in his answer to Mr. Henderson's second paper, still insists, that inferior magistrates and people have no authority to reform religion. If this point can be proved by scripture his majesty is ready to submit; but the sacred history in the book of Numbers, chap. xvi. is an evidence of God's disapproving such methods. Private men's opinions disjoined from the general consent of the church signify little, for rebels, says his majesty, never want writers to maintain their revolt. Though his majesty has a regard for Bps. Jewel and Bilson's memories, he never thought them infallible; as for episcopal government, he is ready to prove it an apostolical institution, and that it has been handed down through all ages and countries till Calvin's time, as soon as he is furnished with books, or such divines as he shall make choice of; he does not think that Mr. Henderson's arguments to prove the church of England not built on the foundation of Christ and his apostles are valid, nor will he admit that most of the prelates about the time of the reformation, did not insist upon the divine right. The King adds, Mr. Henderson would do well to show, where our Saviour had prohibited the addition of more church officers than those named by him, and yet the church of England has not so much as offered at this, for an archbishop is not a new officer, but only a distinction in the order of government, like the moderator of assemblies in Scotland. His majesty denies that the bishops and presbyteries always import the same thing in scripture, and when they do, it only respects the apostles' times, for it may be proved, that the order of bishops succeeded that of the apostles, and that the title was altered in regard to those who were immediately chosen by our Saviour. As for the several congregations of Jerusalem, united in one church, his majesty replies, are there not many parishes.

in one diocese? And do not the deans and chapters, and sometimes the inferior clergy assist the bishop? So that unless some positive and direct proof can be brought of an equality between the apostles and other presbyteries, all arguments are with him inconclusive. The King confesses; that in case he cannot prove from antiquity that ordination and jurisdiction are peculiar branches of authority belonging to bishops, he shall begin to suspect the truth of his principles. As for Bp. Davenant's testimony, he refuses to be governed by that; nor will he admit of Mr. Henderson's exception against the fathers, till he can find out a better rule of interpreting scripture. And whereas Mr. Henderson urged the precedent of foreign reformed churches in favour of presbytery, his majesty does not undertake to censure them, but supposes necessity may excuse many things which would be otherwise unlawful; the church of England, in his majesty's judgment, has this advantage, that it comes nearest the primitive doctrine and discipline; and that Mr. Henderson has failed in proving presbyters may ordain without a bishop, for it is evident St. Paul had a share in Timothy's ordination, 2. Tim. i. 6. As to the obligation of the coronation oath, the King is still of opinion, none but the representative body of the clergy can absolve him; and as for the impracticableness of reformation upon the King's principles, he cannot answer for that, but thinks it sufficient to let him know, that *incommodum non solvit argumentum*. His majesty then declares, that as it is a great sin for a prince to oppress the church; so on the other hand, he holds it absolutely unlawful for subjects to make war, though defensively, against their lawful sovereign; upon any pretence whatsoever.

Mr. Henderson in his third paper of July 2, considers chiefly the rules his majesty had laid down for determining the controversy of church government, which are the practice of the primitive church, and the universal consent of the fathers, and affirms, there is no such primitive testimony, no such universal consent in favour of modern episcopacy; the fathers very often contradicting one another, or at least not concurring in their testimony.

But to shew the uncertainty of his majesty's rule for determining controversies of faith, Mr. Henderson observes,

1. That some critics join the word of God and antiquity together, others make scripture the only rule, and antiquity the authentic interpreter. Now he thinks the latter a greater mistake than the former, for the papists bring tradition no farther than to an equality of regard with the inspired writings, but the others make antiquity the very ground of their belief of the sense of scripture, and by that means exalt it above the scripture; for the interpretation of the fathers is made the very formal reason why I believe the scripture interpretable in such a sense; and thus, contrary to the apostle's doctrine, "Our faith must stand in the wisdom of man, and not in the power of God."—2. He observes that scripture can only be authentically interpreted by scripture itself. Thus the Levites had recourse only to one part of scripture for the interpreting another, Neh. viii. 8. So likewise our Saviour interprets the old testament, by comparing scripture with scripture, and not having recourse to the Rabbies. This was likewise the apostle's method. Besides when persons insist so much upon the necessity of the fathers, they are in danger of charging the scriptures with obscurity or imperfection.—3. The fathers themselves say, that scripture is not to be interpreted but by scripture.—4. Many errors have passed under the shelter of antiquity and tradition; Mr. Henderson cites a great many examples under this head.—And lastly, he insists, that the universal consent and practice of the primitive church is impossible to be known; that many of the fathers were no authors; that many of their tracts are lost; that many performances which go under their names are spurious, especially upon the subject of episcopacy, and that therefore they are an uncertain rule.

The King in his papers of July 3d and 16th says, no man can reverence scripture more than himself; but when Mr. Henderson and he differ about the interpretation of a text, there must be some judge or umpire, otherwise the dispute can never be ended; and when there are no parallel texts, the surest guide must be the Fathers. In

answer to Mr. Henderson's particulars his majesty answers, that if some people over-rule tradition, that can be no argument against the serviceableness of it ; but to charge the primitive church with error, and to call the customs and practices of it unlawful, unless the charge can be supported from scripture, is an unpardonable presumption. Those who object to the ancient rites and usages of the church must prove them unlawful, otherwise the practice of the church is sufficient to warrant them. His majesty denies it is impossible to discover the universal consent, and understanding the practice of the primitive church ; and concludes with this maxim, that though he never esteemed any authority equal to the scriptures, yet he believes the unanimous consent of the fathers, and the universal practice of the primitive church, the best and most authentic interpreters, and by consequence the best qualified judges between himself and Mr. Henderson.

One may learn from this controversy, some of the principles in which King Charles I. was instructed ; as, 1. The divine right of diocesan episcopacy.—2. The uninterrupted succession of bishops, rightly ordained, from the time of the apostles ; upon which the whole validity of the administration of the christian sacraments depends.—3. The necessity of a judge of controversies, which his majesty lodges with the fathers of the christian church, and by that means leave little or no room for private judgment.—4. The independency of the church upon the state.—5. That no reformation of religion is lawful but what arises from the Prince or legislature ; and this only in cases of necessity, when a general council cannot be obtained.—6. That the multitude or common people may not in any case take upon them to reform the negligence of Princes. Neither—7. May they take up arms against their Prince, even for self-defence, in cases of extreme necessity.

How far these principles are defensible in themselves, or consistent with the English constitution, I leave with the reader ; but it is very surprizing that his majesty should be so much entangled with that part of his coronation oath which relates to the church, when for fifteen years together he broke through all the bounds of it with re-

lation to the civil liberties of his subjects, without the least remorse.

Upon the close of this debate, and the death of Mr. Henderson, which followed within six weeks; the King's friends gave out, that his majesty had broke his adversary's heart. Bp. Kennet, and Mr. Eachard have published a recantation, which they would have the world believe this divine dictated, or signed upon his death-bed.

But Mr. Eachard confesses he had been informed, that this declaration was spurious, but could find no authority sufficient to support such an assertion. It will be proper therefore to trace the history of this imposture, and set it in a clear and convincing light, from a memorial sent me from one of the principal Scots divines, Professor Hamilton of Edinburgh; the story was invented by one of the Scots episcopal writers, who had fled to London, and was first published in the beginning of 1648, about two years after Mr. Henderson's death. From this pamphlet Dr. Heylin published it as a credible report; between 30 and 40 years after Heylin had published it, Dr. Hollingworth in his character of Charles I. republished the paper above-mentioned, entitled the declaration of Mr. Alexander Henderson, principal minister of the word of God at Edinburgh, and chief commissioner of the kirk of Scotland to the parliament and synod of England; which paper the doctor says he had from Mr. Lamplugh, son to the late Abp. of York, of that name, from whom the historians above-mentioned, and some others have copied it; but (says my memorial) upon publishing the aforesaid story to the world, the assembly of the kirk of Scotland appointed a committee to examine into the affair, who after a full enquiry, declared the whole to be a forgery, as may be seen in the printed acts of the general assembly for that year, quarto, page 420, &c. in which they signify their satisfaction and assurance, that Mr. Henderson persisted in his former sentiments to his death; that when he left the King at Newcastle, he was greatly decayed in his natural strength; that he came from thence by sea in a languishing condition, and died within eight days after his arrival at Edinburgh; that he was not able to frame such a declaration as is palmed upon him; and that all he

spoke upon his death-bed shewed his judgment was the same as it ever had been about church reformation. This was attested before the assembly by several ministers who visited him upon his death-bed, and particularly by two who constantly attended him from the time he came home till the time he expired.

While the King was debating the cause of episcopacy, the parliament were preparing their propositions for a peace, which were ready for the royal assent by the 11th of July. The Scots commissioners demurred to them for some time, as not coming up fully to their standard, but at length acquiescing, they were engrossed, and carried to the King by the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, and the Earl of Suffolk, of the house of peers; and by Sir Walter Erle, Sir John Hippisly, Robert Goodwin, and Luke Robertson, Esq. of the house of commons; the Earls of Argyle and Loudon were commissioners for Scotland, and the reverend Mr. Marshall was ordered to attend as their chaplain. The commissioners arrived at Newcastle, July 23, next day they waited upon his majesty, and Mr. Goodwin delivered the following propositions.—

Those relating to the civil government were, 1. That the King should call in all his declarations against the parliament.—2. That he should put the militia into their hands for twenty years, with a power to raise money for their maintenance.—3. That all peerages since May 21, 1642, should be made void.—4. That the delinquents therein mentioned should undergo the penalties assigned in the bill. And—5. That the cessation with the Irish be disannulled, and the management of the war left to the parliament.

The propositions relating to religion were, 1. That his majesty, according to the laudable example of his father, would be pleased to swear and sign the late solemn league and covenant, and give his consent to an act of parliament, enjoining the taking it throughout the three kingdoms, under certain penalties, to be agreed upon in parliament.—2. That a bill be passed for the utter abolishing, and taking away all archbishops, bishops, their chancellors, commissaries, deans, sub-deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, canons and prebendaries, and all chaunters,

chancellors, treasurers, sub-treasurers, succentors, sacristis ; and all vicars and choristers, old vicars and new vicars of any cathedral or collegiate church, and all other under offices, out of the church of England, and out of the church of Ireland, with such alterations as shall agree with the articles of the late treaty of Edinburgh, Nov. 29, 1643, and the joint declaration of both kingdoms.—3. That the ordinance for the calling and sitting of the assembly of divines be confirmed.—4. That reformation of religion according to the covenant, be settled by act of parliament in such manner as both houses have agreed, or shall agree, after consultation with the assembly of divines.—5. For as much as both kingdoms are obliged by covenant to endeavour such an uniformity of religion, as shall be agreed upon by both houses of parliament in England, and by the church and kingdom of Scotland, after consultation had with the divines of both kingdoms assembled, that this be confirmed by acts of parliament of both kingdoms respectively.—6. That for the more effectual disabling jesuits, priests, papists, and popish recusants, from disturbing the state, and eluding the laws, an oath be established by act of parliament, wherein they shall abjure and renounce the pope's supremacy, the doctrine of transubstantiation, purgatory, worshipping of the consecrated host, crucifixes and images, and all other popish superstitions and errors ; and the refusal of the said oath, legally tendered, shall be a sufficient conviction of recusancy.—7. That an act of parliament be passed, for educating of the children of papists by protestants, in the protestant religion.—8. That an act be passed for the better levying the penalties against papists ; and another for the better preventing their plotting against the state ; and that a stricter course may be taken to prevent saying, or hearing mass in the court, or any other part of the kingdom : the like for Scotland, if the parliament of that kingdom shall think fit.—9. That his majesty give his royal assent to an act for the due observation of the Lord's day ; to the bill for the suppression of innovations in churches and chapels in and about the worship of God ; to an act for the better advancement of the preaching of God's holy word in all parts of the kingdom ; to the bill against

pluralities of benefices and non-residency; and to an act to be framed for the reforming and regulating both universities, and the colleges of Westminster, Winchester, and Eaton.

About sixty persons were by name excepted out of the general pardon; besides—1. All papists that had been in the army.—2. All persons that been concerned in the Irish rebellion.—3. Such as had deserted the two houses at Westminster and went to Oxford.—4. Such members of parliament as had deserted their places, and bore arms against the two houses. And—5. Such bishops or clergymen, masters or fellows of colleges, or masters of schools or hospitals, or any ecclesiastical living, who had deserted the parliament, and adhered to the enemies thereof, were declared incapable of any preferment or employment in church or commonwealth, all their places, preferments and promotions, were to be utterly void, as if they were naturally dead; nor might they be permitted to use their function of the ministry, without advice and consent of both houses of parliament; provided that no lapse shall incur by the vacancy till six months after notice thereof.

When Mr. Goodwin had done, the King asked the commissioners if they had power to treat, to which they replied, that they were only to receive his majesty's answer; then said the King, saving the honour of the business, a trumpeter might have done as well; the very same language as at the treaty of Oxford; but the Earl of Pembroke told his majesty, they must receive his peremptory answer in ten days, or return without it.

Great intercessions were made with the King to comply with these proposals, particularly in the point of religion, for without full satisfaction in that, nothing would please the Scots nation, nor the city of London, by whom alone his majesty could hope to be preserved; but if this was yielded they would interpose for the moderating other demands; the Scots general, at the head of one hundred officers, presented a petition upon their knees, beseeching his majesty to give them satisfaction in the point of religion, and to take the covenant. Duke Hamilton and the rest of the Scots commissioners, pressed his majesty in the most earnest manner, to make use of the present opportunity.

tunity for peace. The lord chancellor for that kingdom spoke to the same effect: and all the King's best friends prayed his majesty to consider his present circumstances, and not hazard his crown for a form of church government; or if he had no regard to himself, to consider his royal posterity; but the King replied, his conscience was dearer to him than his crown; that till he had received better satisfaction about the divine right of episcopacy, and the obligation of his coronation oath, no considerations should prevail with him; he told the officers of the army, he neither could nor would take the covenant till he had heard from the Queen. Which was only an excuse to gain time to divide his enemies, for the King had then actually heard from his Queen by Monsieur Bellievre, the French ambassador, who pressed his majesty, pursuant to positive instructions given him for that purpose, as the advice of the King of France, of the Queen, and of his own party, to give the presbyterians satisfaction about the church. Bellievre not being able to prevail, dispatched an express to France, with a desire, that some person of more weight with the King might be sent. Upon which Sir W. Davenant came over, with a letter of credit from the Queen, beseeching him to part with the church for his peace and security. When Sir William had delivered the letter, he ventured to support it with some arguments of his own, and told his majesty in a most humble manner, that it was the advice of Lords Culpeper, Jermyn, and of all his friends; upon which the King was so transported with indignation, that he forbid him his presence. When therefore the ten days for considering the propositions were expired, instead of consenting, his majesty gave the commissioners his answer in a paper, directed to the speaker of the house of peers, to this effect, "that the propositions contained so great alterations both in church and state, that his majesty could not give a particular and positive answer to them," but after some few concessions hereafter to be mentioned, "he proposes to come to London, or any of his houses thereabouts, and enter upon a personal treaty with both houses; and he conjures them, as christians and subjects, and as men that desire to leave a good name behind them, to accept of this proposal, that

the unhappy distractions of the nation may be peaceably settled."

When this answer was reported to the house, it was resolved, to settle accounts with the Scots, and to receive the King into their own custody; but in the mean time his majesty attempted to bring that nation over to his interest, by playing the independents against them, and telling them, the only way to destroy the sectarians was to join with the episcopalians, and admit of the establishment of both religions. "I do by no means persuade you, says the King, to do any thing contrary to your covenant, but I desire you to consider whether it be not a great step towards your reformation (which I take to be the chief end of your covenant), that the presbyterial government be legally settled. It is true, I desire that the liberty of my own conscience, and those who are of the same opinion with myself may be preserved, which I confess, does not as yet totally take away episcopal government. But then consider withal, that this will take away all the superstitious sects and heresies of the papists and independents, to which you are no less obliged by your covenant, than to the taking away of episcopacy. And this that I demand is likely to be but temporary; for if it be so clear as you believe, that episcopacy is unlawful, I doubt not but God will so enlighten my eyes that I shall soon perceive it, and then I promise to concur with you fully in matters of religion; but I am sure you cannot imagine, that there is any hopes of converting or silencing the independent party, which undoubtedly will get a toleration in religion from the parliament of England, unless you join with me in that way that I have proposed for the establishing of my crown; or at least, that you do not press me to do this (which is yet against my conscience) till I may do it without sinning, which as I am confident, none of you will persuade me to do, so I hope you have so much charity, as not to put things to such a desperate issue as to hazard the loss of all, because for the present you cannot have full satisfaction from me in point of religion, not considering, that besides the other mischiefs that may happen, it will infallibly set up the innumerable sects of the independents, nothing being more against your

covenant, than the suffering these schisms to increase." His majesty then added, "that he should be content to restrain episcopal government to the dioceses of Oxford, Winchester, Bath and Wells, and Exeter, leaving all the rest of England fully to the presbyterial discipline, with the strictest clauses that could be thought of in an act of parliament, against the papists and independents." But the Scots would abate nothing in the article of religion; even for the overthrow of the sectaries. Duke Hamilton left no methods unattempted to persuade his majesty to comply, but without effect.

When the King could not gain the commissioners, he applied by his friends to the kirk, who laid his proposals before the general assembly, with his offer to make any declaration they should desire against the independents, and that really, without any reserve or equivocation; but the kirk were as peremptory as the commissioners; they said the King's heart was not with them, nor could they depend upon his promises, any longer than it was not in his power to set them aside.

In the mean time the English parliament were debating with the Scots commissioners at London, the right of disposing of the King's person, the latter claiming an equal right to him with the former; and the parliament voted that the kingdom of Scotland had no joint right to dispose of the person of the King, in the kingdom of England. To which the Scots would hardly have submitted, had it not been for fear of engaging in a new war, and losing all their arrears. His majesty would willingly have retired into Scotland, but the clergy of that nation would not receive him, as appears by their solemn warning to all estates and degrees of persons throughout the land.

Upon reading of which the Scots parliament resolved, that his majesty be desired to grant the whole propositions; that in case of refusal, the kingdom should be secured without him. They declared further, that the kingdom of Scotland could not lawfully engage for the King, as long as he refused to take the covenant, and give them satisfaction in point of religion. Nor would they admit him to come into Scotland, unless he gave a satisfactory answer

to the propositions lately presented to him in the name of both kingdoms.

The resolutions above-mentioned were not communicated in form to the King, till the beginning of January, when the Scots commissioners pressing him again in the most humble and importunate manner to give them satisfaction, at least, in the point of religion, his majesty remained immoveable; which being reported back to Edinburgh, the question was put in that parliament, whether they should leave the King in England, to his two houses of parliament? and it was carried in the affirmative.

While the parliament and kirk of Scotland were debating the King's proposals, his majesty writ to the parliament of England in the most pressing terms, for a personal treaty at London, "It is your King (says he in his letter of Dec. 10) that desires to be heard, the which, if refused to a subject by a King, he would be thought a tyrant, wherefore I conjure you, as you would shew yourselves really what you profess, good christians and good subjects, that you accept this offer." But the houses were afraid to trust his majesty in London, and therefore appointed commissioners to receive him from the Scots, and convoy him to Holmby-House in Northamptonshire. The sum of two hundred thousand pounds, being half the arrears due to the Scots army, having been paid them by agreement before they marched out of Newcastle, it has been commonly said, they sold their King. An unjust and malicious aspersion! It ought to be considered, that the money was their due before the King delivered himself into their hands; for that in settling the accounts between the two nations his majesty's name was not mentioned; that it was impossible to detain him without a war with England, and that the officers of the army durst not carry the King to Edinburgh, because both parliament and kirk had declared against receiving him.

But how amazing was his majesty's conduct! What cross and inconsistent proposals did he make at this time! While he was treating with the Scots, and offering to concur in the severest measures against the independents, he was listening to the offers of those very independents

to set him upon the throne, without taking the covenant, or renouncing the liturgy of the church, provided they might secure a toleration for themselves. This agreeing with the King's inclinations had too great a hearing from him, says Bp. Burnet, till Lauderdale writ from London, that he was infallibly sure, they designed the destruction of monarchy, and the ruin of the King and his posterity; but that if he would consent to the propositions, all would be well, in spite of the devil and the independents too." If his majesty had in good earnest fallen in with the overtures of the army at this time, I am of opinion they would have set him upon the throne, without the shackles of the Scots covenant.

While the King was at Holmby-House he was attended with great respect, and suffered to divert himself at bowls with gentlemen in the neighbouring villages, under a proper guard. The parliament appointed two of their clergy, viz. Mr. Caryl and Mr. Marshall, to preach in the chapel, morning and afternoon on the Lord's day, and perform the devotions of the chapel on week days, but his majesty never gave his attendance. He spent his Sundays in private; and though they waited at table, he would not so much as admit them to ask a blessing.

Before the King removed from Newcastle, the parliament put the finishing hand to the destruction of the hierarchy, by abolishing the very names and titles of archbishops, bishops, &c. and alienating their revenues for payment of the public debts. This was done by two ordinances, entitled, " Ordinances for abolishing archbishops and bishops, and providing for the payment of the just and necessary debts of the kingdom, into which the same has been drawn by a war, mainly promoted by, and in favour of the said archbishops, bishops, and other their adherents and dependants."

The presbyterians were now in the height of their power, the hierarchy being destroyed, the King their prisoner, and the best, if not all the livings in the kingdom distributed among them; yet still they were dissatisfied for want of the *top-stone* to their new building, which was church-power; the pulpits, and conversation of the city, were filled with invectives against the men in power,

because they would not leave the church independent on the state; the presbyterian ministers were very troublesome, the parliament being teased every week with church grievances of one kind or another. Dec. 19, the lord-mayor and his brethren went up to Westminster with a representation of some of them, and a petition for redress. Their grievances were:—1. “The contempt that began to be put upon the covenant.—2. The growth of heresy and schism.

To satisfy the petitioners the house of commons published a declaration Dec. 31, “wherein they express their dislike of lay-preachers, and their resolutions to proceed against all such as shall take upon them to preach or expound the scriptures in any church or chapel, or any other public place, except they be ordained either here, or in some other reformed churches; likewise against all such ministers, and others, as shall publish, or maintain by preaching, writing, printing, or any other way, any thing against, or in derogation of the church government which is now established by authority of parliament; and also against all and every person or persons who shall willingly or purposely interrupt or disturb a preacher in the public exercise of his function; and they command all officers of the peace, and officers of the army, to take notice of the declaration, and by all lawful means to prevent offences of this kind, and to apprehend offenders, that a course may be speedily taken for a due punishment to be inflicted upon them.” The house of lords published an order, bearing date Dec. 22, requiring the headboroughs and constables, in the several parishes of England and Wales, to arrest the bodies of such persons, as shall disturb any minister in holy orders, in the exercise of his public calling, by speech or action, and carry them before some justice of peace, who is required to put the laws in execution against them. Feb. 4, they published an ordinance to prevent the growth, and spreading of errors, heresies, and blasphemies; but these orders not coming up to their covenant uniformity, the lord-mayor and common-council presented another petition to the two houses, March 17, and appointed a committee

to attend the parliament from day to day, till their grievances were redressed, of which we shall hear more under the next year.

We have already accounted for the unhappy rise of the sectarians in the army when it was new modelled, who were grown so extravagant as to call for some proper restraint, the mischief being spread not only over the whole country, but into the city of London itself; it was first pleaded in excuse for this practice, that a gifted brother had better preach and pray to the people than nobody; but now learning, good sense, and the rational interpretation of scripture, began to be cried down, and every bold pretender to inspiration was preferred to the most grave and sober divines of the age; some advanced themselves into the rank of prophets, and others uttered all such crude and undigested absurdities as came first into their minds, calling them the dictates of the spirit within them; by which the public peace was frequently disturbed, and great numbers of ignorant people led into the belief of the most dangerous errors. The assembly of divines did what they could to stand in the gap, by writing against them, and publishing "a Detestation of the errors of the times." The parliament also appointed a fast on that account, and many books were published against the antinomians, anabaptists, seekers, &c. not forgetting the independents, whose insisting upon a toleration was reckoned the inlet to all the rest.

The most furious writer against the sectaries was Mr. Edwards, minister of Christ-Church, London, a zealous presbyterian, who became remarkable by a book entitled *Gangræna*, or a catalogue of many of the errors, heresies, blasphemies and pernicious practices of this time. He enumerates one hundred and seventy-six erroneous passages from sundry pamphlets printed about this time, and from the reports of friends in all parts of the kingdom, to whom he sent for materials to fill up his book; however the heretics are at length reduced under sixteen general heads:—Independents, Brownists, Millenaries, Antinomians, Anabaptists, Arminians, Libertines, Familists, Enthusiasts, Seekers, Perfectists, Socinians, Arians, Antitrinitarians, Antiscripturists, Sceptics.

The industrious writer might have enlarged his catalogue with Papists and Prelates, Deists, Ranters, Behemists, &c. &c. or if he had pleased, a less number might have served his turn, for very few of these sectaries were collected into societies; but his business was to blacken the adversaries of presbyterian uniformity, that the parliament might crush them by sanguinary methods. Among his heresies there are some which do not deserve that name, and among his errors, some that never grew into a sect, but fell occasionally from the pen or lips of some wild enthusiast, and died with the author. The independents are put at the head of the sectaries, because they were for toleration of all christians who agreed in the fundamentals of religion; to prove this, which they never denied, he has collected several passages out of their public prayers; one independent minister (says he) prayed that presbytery might be removed, and the kingdom of Christ set up; another prayed two or three times, that the parliament might give liberty to tender consciences; another thanked God for the liberty of consciences granted in America; and said, Why Lord, not in England? Another prayed since God had delivered both presbyterians and independents from prelatical bondage, that the former might not be guilty of bringing their brethren into bondage. The reader will judge of the spirit of this writer, by the foregoing specimen of his performance, which I should not have thought worth remembering, if our church-writers had not reported the state of religion from his writings. I knew Mr. Edwards very well (says Fuller) my cotemporary in Queen's-college, who often was transported beyond due bounds with the keenness and eagerness of his spirit, and therefore I have just cause in some things to suspect him. He adds farther, I am most credibly informed by such, who I am confident will not abuse me and posterity therein, that Mr. Herbert Palmer, an anti-independent to the height, being convinced that Mr. Edwards had printed some falshoods in one sheet of his *Gangræna*, proffered to have a sheet reprinted at his own charge, but some accident obstructed it. However our author went on publishing a second and third *Gangræna*, full of most

bitter invectives and reproaches, till his own friends were nauseated with his performances.

Mr. Baxter when he went into the army he found "almost one half of the religious party among them orthodox, or but very lightly touched with the above-mentioned mistakes, and almost another half honest men, that had stepped further into the contending way than they ought, but with a little help might be recovered; a few fiery, self-conceited men among them kindled the rest, and made all the noise and bustle; for the greatest part of the common soldiers were ignorant men, and of little religion; these would do any thing to please their officers, and were instruments for the seducers in their great work, which was to cry down the covenant, to vilify parish ministers, and especially the Scots and the presbyterians. These fiery hot men were hatched among the old separatists; that they were fierce with pride and conceit, and uncharitableness, but many of the honest soldiers, who were only tainted with some doubts about liberty of conscience, and independency, would discourse of the points of sanctification and christian experience very savourly; the seducers above-mentioned were great preachers, and fierce disputants, but of no settled principles of religion; some were of levelling principles as to the state, but all were agreed, that the civil magistrate had nothing to do in matters of religion, any further than to keep the peace, and protect the church's liberties. To speak impartially, some of the presbyterian ministers frightened the sectaries into this fury, by the unpeaceableness and impatience of their minds; they ran from libertinism into the other extreme, and were so little sensible of their own infirmity, that they would not have them tolerated, who were not only tolerable, but worthy instruments and members in the churches."—Lord Clarendon says, that Cromwel and his officers preached and prayed publicly with their troops, and admitted few or no chaplains in the army, except such as bitterly inveighed against the presbyterian government, as more tyrannical than episcopacy; and that the common soldiers as well as the officers, did not only pray and preach among themselves, but went up into the pulpits in all churches, and preached to the people, who quickly became

inspired with the same spirit ; women as well as men taking upon them to pray and preach ; which made as great a noise and confusion in all opinions concerning religion, as there was in the civil government of the state.

Bp. Bramhall in one of his letters to Abp. Usher writes, that the papists took advantage of these confusions, and sent over above one hundred of their clergy, that had been educated in France, Italy, and Spain, by order from Rome. In these nurseries the scholars were taught several handicraft trades and callings, according to their ingenuities, besides their functions in the church ; they have many yet at Paris (says the bishop) fitting up to be sent over, who twice in the week oppose one the other ; one pretending presbytery, the other independency, some anabaptism, and others contrary tenets. The hundred that went over this year (according to the bishop), were most of them soldiers in the parliament army." But Mr. Baxter after a most diligent enquiry declares, that he could not find them out ; which renders the bishop's account suspected. "The most that I could suspect for papists among Cromwel's soldiers (says he), were but a few that began as strangers among the common soldiers, and by degrees rose up to some inferior officers, but none of the superior officers seemed such." The body of the army had a vast aversion to the papists, and the parliament took all occasions of treating them with rigour ; for June 30, Morgan a priest was drawn, hanged, and quartered, for going out of the kingdom to receive orders from Rome, and then returning again. However without all question, both church and state were in the utmost disorder and confusion at the close of this year.

Among the illustrious men of the parliament's side who died about this time, was Robert D'Evereux, Earl of Essex, son of the famous favourite of Queen Elizabeth ; he was educated to arms in the Netherlands, and afterwards served the King and Queen of Bohemia for the recovery of the Palatinate. King Charles I. made him Lieutenant of his army in his expedition against the Scots, and lord chamberlain of the household ; but the Earl being unwilling to go into the arbitrary measures of the court in

favour of popery and slavery, engaged on the side of the parliament, and accepted of the commission of Captain-General of their forces, for which the King proclaimed him a traitor. He was a person of great honour, and served the parliament with fidelity; but being of opinion, that the war should be ended rather by treaty than conquest, did not always push his successes as far as he might. Upon the new modelling of the army, the cautious General was dismissed with an honourable pension for his past services; after which he retired to his house at Eltham in Kent, where he died of a lethargy, occasioned by overheating himself in the chase of a stag, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. He was buried with great funeral solemnity in Westminster-Abbey, at the public expence, both houses of parliament attending the procession. His effigy was afterwards erected in Westminster-Hall, but some of the King's party found means in the night to cut off the head, and break the sword, arms, and escutcheons. Mr. Vines preached his funeral sermon, and gave him a very high encomium, though Lord Clarendon has stained his character for taking part with the parliament, which he says was owing to his pride and vanity. The Earl's countenance appeared stern and solemn, but to his familiar acquaintance his behaviour was mild and affable. Upon the whole, he was a truly great and excellent person; his death was an unspeakable loss to the King, for he was the only nobleman, perhaps in the kingdom, who had interest enough with both parties, to have put an end to the civil war, at the very time when providence called him out of the world.

Among the remarkable divines may be reckoned the learned Mr. Thomas Colman, rector of St. Peter's church, Cornhill; he was born at Oxford, and entered in Magdalen-Coll. in the seventeenth year of his age; he afterwards became so perfect a master of the Hebrew language, that he was commonly called Rabbi Colman. In the beginning of the civil war he left his rectory of Blyton, in Lincolnshire, being persecuted from thence by the cavaliers. Upon his coming to London, he was preferred to the rectory of St. Peter's, and made one of the assembly of divines. Mr. Wood says, he behaved modestly and learn-

edly in the assembly; and Mr. Fuller gives him the character of a modest and learned divine; he was equally an enemy to presbytery and prelacy, being of erastian principles; he fell sick while the assembly was debating the *jus divinum* of presbytery; and when they sent some of their members to visit him, he desired they would not come to an absolute determination till they heard what he had to offer upon the question; but his distemper increasing, he died in a few days, and the whole assembly did him the honour to attend his funeral in a body.

About the middle of July died the learned Dr. William Twisse, vicar of Newbury, and prolocutor of the assembly of divines; he was born at Speenham-Land, near Newbury; his father was a substantial clothier in that town, and educated his son at Winchester school, from whence he was translated to New-Coll. in Oxford, of which he was fellow; here he employed himself in the study of divinity with the closest application, for sixteen years together. In the year 1604, he proceeded master of arts; about the same time he entered into holy orders, and became a diligent and frequent preacher; he was admired by the university for his subtle wit, exact judgment, exemplary life and conversation, and many other valuable qualities which became a man of his function. In the year 1614, he proceeded doctor of divinity, after which he travelled into Germany, and became chaplain to the Princess palatine, daughter of King James I. After his return to England, he was made vicar of Newbury, where he gained a vast reputation by his useful preaching and exemplary living. His most able adversaries have confessed, that there was nothing then extant more accurate and full, touching the arminian controversy, than what he published: and hardly any who have written upon this argument since the publishing Dr. Twisse's works, but have made an honourable mention of him. The doctor was offered the prebend of Winchester, and several preferments in the church of England; the states of Friesland invited him to the professorship of divinity in their university of Franeker, but he refused all. In the beginning of the civil war, he was forced from his living at Newbury,

by the cavaliers, and upon convening the assembly of divines, was appointed by parliament their prolocutor, in which station he continued to his death, which happened after a lingering indisposition, in the seventy-first year of his age. He died in very necessitous circumstances, having lost all his substance by the King's soldiers, inso-much that when some of the assembly were deputed to visit him in his sickness, they reported, that he was very sick, and in great straits. He was allowed to be a person of extensive knowledge in school divinity; a subtle disputant, and withal, a modest, humble, and religious person. He was buried, at the request of the assembly, in the collegiate church of St. Peter's, Westminster, near the upper end of the poor folks table, next the vestry, and was attended by the whole assembly of divines: There his body rested till the restoration of Charles II, when his bones were dug up by order of council, and thrown with several others, into a hole in the church-yard of St. Margaret's before the back-door of the lodgings of one of the prebendaries.

Towards the end of the year died, about forty-seven years of his age, Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs; he was educated in Cambridge, but obliged to quit the university and kingdom for non-conformity in the late times. Upon his leaving England, he was chosen minister of an English congregation at Rotterdam, with which he continued till the year 1642, when he returned to England, and became preacher to two of the largest and most numerous congregations about London, viz. Stepney and Cripplegate. He was one of the dissenting brethren in the assembly, but was a divine of great candor, modesty and charity. He never gathered a separate congregation, nor accepted of a parochial living, exhausting his strength in continual preaching, and other services of the church. He was an excellent scholar, a good expositor, a popular preacher; he published several treatises while he lived, and his friends have published many others since his death, which have met with a general acceptance. It was said, the divisions of the times broke his heart, because one of the last subjects he preached upon, and printed, was his *Irenæum*, or an attempt to heal divisions among christians.

Mr. Baxter used to say, if all the presbyterians had been like Mr. Marshall, and the independents like Mr. Burroughs, their differences might easily have been compromised.

CHAP. XVIII.

CHARLES I.

Proceedings of the Assembly upon their Confession.—Their Catechisms.—Provincial Assemblies.—London Ministers' Testimony.—Views of different Parties concerned in the War.—Controversy between the Parliament and Army.—The King seized and carried to the Army.—Commutations in the City.—The Army marches to London.—The City submits.—Remarks.—Cromwel's Conference with the King.—The King's Conduct.—The Army desert the King.—The King confined in the Isle of White.—Prospects for restoring Tranquillity.—The King's Treaty with the Scots.—His Concessions.—Remarks.—The Army unite with the Parliament.—Observation of Christmas abolished.—Tumults.

MR. C. HERLE succeeded to the prolocutor's chair by order of parliament, in the room of the late Dr. Twisse, when the discipline of the church being pretty well settled, it was moved to finish their confession of faith. The English divines would have been content with revising and explaining the thirty-nine articles of the church of England, but the Scots insisting on a system of their own, a committee was appointed to prepare materials for this purpose ; their names were Dr. Gouge, Dr. Hoyle, Messrs. Herle, Gataker, Tuckney, Reynolds, and Vines, with the Scots divines, who having first settled the titles of the several chapters, as they now stand, in their confession of faith, in number thirty-two, distributed them for greater expedition, among several sub-committees, which sat two days every week, and then reported what they had finished

to the committee, and so to the assembly, where it was debated paragraph by paragraph. The disputes about discipline had occasioned so many interruptions that it was a year and a half before this work was finished, but the prolocutor returned thanks to the several committees, in the name of the assembly, for their great pains in perfecting the work committed to them. At the same time Dr. Burges was appointed to get it transcribed, in order to its being presented to parliament, which was done by the whole assembly in a body, under the title of, *The humble advice of the assembly of divines and others, now by authority of parliament, sitting at Westminster, concerning a confession of faith.* The house of commons having voted the assembly thanks, desired them to insert the proofs of the several articles in their proper places, and then to print six hundred copies, and no more, for the perusal of the houses. Mr. Wilson, Mr. Byfield, and Mr. Gower, were appointed, to be a committee to collect the scriptures for confirmation of the several articles; all which after examination by the assembly were inserted in the margin. And then the whole confession was committed once more to a review of the three committees, who made report to the assembly of such further amendments as they thought necessary; which being agreed to by the house it was sent to the press. Mr. Byfield, by order of the house of commons, delivered to the members the printed copies of their confession of faith with scripture notes.

And because no more were to be given out at present, every member subscribed his name to the receipt thereof.

The house of commons began their examination of this confession May 19, when they considered the whole first chapter, article by article, but the disturbances which arose between the parliament and army, interrupted their proceeding the whole summer; but when these were quieted they resumed their work, and ordered a chapter of the confession of faith at least to be debated every Wednesday, by which means they soon got through the whole; for at a conference with the house of Lords, March 22, 1647-8, the commons presented them with the confession of faith as passed by their house, with some alterations:

they agreed with the assembly in the doctrinal part of the confession, and ordered it to be published, for the satisfaction of the foreign churches, under the title of, Articles of religion approved and passed by both houses of parliament, after advice had with an assembly of divines called together by them for that purpose." The parliament not thinking it proper to call it a confession of faith, because the sections did not begin with the words I confess ; nor to annex matters of church government, about which they were not agreed, to doctrinal articles ; those chapters therefore, which relate to discipline, as they now stand in the assembly's confession, were not printed by order of the house, but re-committed, and at last laid aside ; as the whole thirtieth chapter, of church censures, and of the power of the keys ; the thirty-first chapter, of synods and councils, by whom to be called, and of what force in their decrees and determinations ; a great part of the twenty-fourth chapter, of marriage and divorce, which they referred to the laws of the land ; and the fourth paragraph of the twentieth chapter, which determines what opinions and parties disturb the peace of the church, and how such disturbers ought to be proceeded against by the censures of the church, and punished by the civil magistrate. These propositions, in which the very life and soul of presbytery consists, never were approved by the English parliament, nor had the force of a law in this country : but the whole confession, as it came from the assembly, being sent into Scotland, was immediately approved by the general assembly and parliament of that kingdom, as the established doctrine and discipline of their kirk ; and thus it has been published to the world ever since, though the chapter above-mentioned, relating to discipline, received no parliamentary sanction in England ; nevertheless, as the entire confession was agreed to by an assembly of English divines, I have given it a place in the appendix.

Nor is it to be supposed, that the confession of faith it self, which determines so many abstruse points of divinity, should have the unanimous and hearty assent of the whole assembly or parliament : for though all the divines were in the anti-arminian scheme, yet some had a greater

latitude than others. I find in my MS. the dissent of several members against some expressions relating to reprobation, to the imputation of the active as well as passive obedience of Christ, and to several passages in the chapters of liberty of conscience and church discipline ; but the confession, as far as it related to articles of faith, passed the assembly and parliament by a very great majority.

Various censures have been passed by learned men upon this laboured performance: some have loaded it with undeserved reproaches ; and others, perhaps, have advanced its reputation too high. Mr. Collier condemns it, for determining in favour of the morality of the sabbath ; for pronouncing the pope to be antichrist ; and for maintaining the calvinian rigours of absolute predestination, irresistible grace, and the impotency of man's will ; doctrines in his opinion, inconsistent with christianity. But then he observes, very justly, that it falls very short of the Scots claim in points of discipline ; it yields the magistrate a power of convening church assemblies, and of superintending their proceedings ; it is silent as to the independency of the church, and the divine right of presbytery, &c. Upon the whole, the assembly's confession, with all its faults, has been ranked by very good judges among the most perfect systems of divinity, that have been published upon the calvinistic or anti-arminian principles in the last age.

While the confession was carrying through the assembly, committees were appointed to reduce it into the form of catechisms ; one longer, for the service of a public exposition in the pulpit, according to the custom of foreign churches ; the other smaller, for the instruction of children ; in both which the articles relating to church discipline are entirely omitted. The larger catechism is a comprehensive system of divinity, and the smaller, a very accurate summary, though it has been thought a little too long, and in some particulars too abstruse for the capacities of children. The shorter catechism was presented to the house of commons, Nov. 5, but the larger, by reason of the marginal references to scripture, which the houses desired might be inserted, was not ready till the

14th of April, 1648, when the house ordered six hundred copies to be printed for the service of the members; and having examined and approved it, they allowed it to be printed by authority, for public use. The King after many solicitations, at the treaty of the Isle of Wight, offered to license the shorter catechism, with a suitable preface; but that treaty proving unsuccessful it was not accomplished.

The chief affairs committed to the assembly being thus finished, Mr. Rutherford one of the Scots divines, moved that it might be recorded that the assembly had enjoyed the assistance of the honourable, reverend and learned commissioners of the church of Scotland, during all the time they had been debating and perfecting these four things mentioned in the covenant (viz.) their composing a directory for public worship; an uniform confession of faith; a form of church government and discipline; and a public catechism; some of their number having been present during the whole of these transactions; which being done, about a week after, he and the rest of the commissioners took their leave and returned home, under a very heavy concern for the storm that was gathering over England, and for the hardships the presbyterians lay under with respect to their discipline; and having obtained the establishment of the directory, the confession of faith and catechisms, the presbyterian discipline, and Rouse's psalms in metre, for the service of their kirk, they appointed a general fast, to lament their own defection from the solemn league and covenant, and the distressed condition of their brethren in England, who were zealous for carrying on the work of God, but were now oppressed, under pretence of liberty, when no less was aimed at than tyranny and arbitrary power.

If the parliament had dissolved the assembly at this time, as they ought to have done, they had broke up with honour and reputation, for after this they did little more than examine candidates for the ministry, and squabble about the *jus divinum* of presbytery; the grand consultations concerning public affairs, and practising upon the new establishment, being translated to the provincial

assemblies, and weekly meetings of the London clergy at Sion-college.

Though the city and suburbs of London had been formed into a province, and divided into 12 classical presbyteries. New complaints were still made to the parliament of certain obstructions to their proceedings; upon which the houses published their resolutions entitled, "remedies for removing some obstructions in church government;" in which they ordered letters to be sent from the speakers of both houses to the several counties of England, immediately to divide themselves into distinct presbyteries and classes; they then appointed the elders and ministers of the several classes of the province of London, to hold their provincial assembly in the convocation house of St. Paul's in London, upon the first Monday in May next ensuing, and to adjourn their meetings *de die in diem*, and conclude them with adjournment to the next opportunity, according to the ordinance of parliament; but that no act shall pass or be valid in the said province of London, except it be done by the number of thirty-six present, or the major part of them, whereof twelve to be ministers, and twenty-four ruling elders. That in the classical meetings, that which shall be done by the major part present, shall be esteemed the act of the whole; but no act done by any classes shall be valid, unless it be done by the number of fifteen present, or the major part of them, whereof five to be ministers and ten ruling-elders." So that the number of lay-elders in these assemblies was double to the number of ministers.

According to this appointment the first provincial assembly met at the convocation house of St. Paul's, consisting of three ministers and six ruling elders from the several classes, in all about one hundred and eight persons; at their first session they chose Dr. Gouge prolocutor, who opened the assembly with a sermon at his own church in Black-friars, Mr. Thomas Manton, Mr. Ralph Robinson, and Mr. Carlel, being appointed scribes. After their return to the convocation-house, a committee of seven ministers and fourteen ruling elders were chosen to consider of the business of the province. Any six to be a quorum, provided there be two ministers, and

four ruling elders. Their next meeting to be at Sion-college. At the second sessions it was moved, that application be made to parliament, for liberty to remove the assembly from the convocation-house to some other place; and accordingly they were allowed to adjourn to any place within the city or liberties of London, upon which they agreed upon Sion-college, where they continued to meet twice a week to the end of 1659. Every provincial assembly was dissolved in course at the end of six months, when notice was given to the several classes to return new representatives; but it was an ill omen upon them, that their meetings were interrupted almost the whole summer, by reason of the distraction of the times.

But besides the provincial assembly, it has been remembered, that the London clergy had their weekly meetings at Sion-college, to consult about church affairs, in one of which they agreed, since they could do no more, to bear their public testimony against the errors of the times; and accordingly they published a treatise entitled, a testimony to the truth of Jesus Christ, and to our solemn league and covenant; as also against the errors, heresies, and blasphemies of these times, and the toleration of them; to which is added, a catalogue of the said errors, &c. dated from Sion-college, and subscribed by fifty-eight of the most eminent pastors in London, of whom seventeen were of the assembly of divines. Some time after the ministers of Gloucestershire published their concurrence with the London ministers, subscribed by sixty-four names. The ministers of the province of Lancaster by eighty-four. The Devonshire ministers by eighty-three; and the Somerset ministers by seventy-one.

The London ministers, in their first article, touching matters of doctrine, declare their assent to the Westminster assembly's confession of faith, and heartily desire it may receive the sanction of authority; as the joint confession of faith of the three kingdoms, in pursuance of the covenant.

They then go on to declare their detestation and abhorrence of various heresies and errors, the last of which, and here they were all agreed, is called the "ERROR OF

TOLERATION, patronizing and promoting all other errors, heresies, and blasphemies whatsoever, under the grossly abused notion of LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE." They then bear their testimony to the covenant, and to the divine right of presbytery. They lament the imperfect settlement of their discipline by the parliament, and lay the foundation of all their calamities in the countenancing of a public and general toleration. What sad work would these divines have made, had the sword of the magistrate been at their disposal!

Dr. Hammond published a vindication of three passages in his practical catechism, from the censures of the London ministers; in which he very justly complains of the hard names with which the ministers load the opinions they reject, as "abominable errors, damnable heresies, horrid blasphemies, many of which are destructive of the fundamentals of christianity, and all of them repugnant to the holy scriptures, the scandal and offence of the reformed churches abroad, and the unparalleled reproach of this church and nation; and, in a word, the dregs and spawn of those old cursed heresies which have been already condemned." The doctor then recites his three passages; the first concerning universal redemption; the second concerning faith's being the condition of our justification; and the third concerning the interpretation of the third commandment; and avers them all to be true, and agreeable to the doctrine of the church of England. In conclusion the doctor desires this favour, that either the first subscriber Mr. J. Downham, who licensed his catechism for the press, or else Dr. Gouge or Mr. Gataker, who are foremost in the second rank, or some other persons of learning, christianity, and candour, would afford him their patience, personally and by fair discourse, or any other christian way, to debate the truth of these assertions, for which he will wait their leisure, but nobody thought fit to accept the challenge.

Mr. John Goodwin was a learned divine, and a smart disputant, but of a peculiar mould, being a republican, an independent, and a thorough arminian; he had been vicar of Coleman-street, whence he was ejected by the

committee for plundered ministers, because he refused to baptize the children of his parishioners promiscuously, and to administer the sacrament to his whole parish. He had published several large and learned books; as, *The divine authority of the scriptures. Redemption redeemed. A treatise of justification. And an exposition on the ninth chapter to the Romans*; out of which the above-mentioned exceptions were taken. This divine taking it amiss to be marked for a heretic, challenged any of the London clergy to a disputation, as thinking it a very unrighteous method to condemn opinions before they had been confuted. Mr. William Jenkins, at that time a warm and zealous presbyterian, though afterwards softened into more catholic principles, entered the lists with our author, in a pamphlet entitled, "The busy bishop." To which the other replied, in a book entitled, "The novice presbyter instructed;" in which, one may discover the angry spirit of the times. Old Mr. Vicars and some others, carried on the controversy, but their writings are not worth remembering; especially since the English presbyterians of the present age have openly renounced and disavowed their principles.

To return to more public affairs; hitherto the army had acted in perfect subordination to the parliament; but the war being over, and the King a prisoner, the great difficulty was to settle the nation upon such a foot as might content the several parties, or bring them at least to acquiesce; this was the rock upon which they split, and which in the end, proved the ruin of their cause. To give light to this affair it will be proper to consider the separate views of the King, the parliament, and the army.

The royal party being broken, and the King a prisoner, his majesty had no prospect of recovering his throne but by dividing his enemies, in order to make the best terms with them he could; the presbyterians being in league with the Scots nation were most numerous and powerful; but that which rendered their agreement with the King impracticable, was his majesty's zealous attachment to this point, that episcopal government was essential to christianity, and that he was bound by his coronation oath

to maintain it; whereas the others held themselves equally bound by their solemn league and covenant to abolish episcopacy, and establish presbytery in its room. Both parties were immoveable, and therefore irreconcilable. His majesty's agreement with the army was more open and practicable, because they would have set aside the covenant, and obliged the parliament to tolerate episcopal government as well as the sectaries; but the King could never forgive those officers, who had destroyed his his armies, and driven him out of the field. Though he dreaded their military valour, he had a very mean opinion of their politics, and therefore affected to play them against the parliament, hoping to take advantage of their divisions, and establish himself upon the ruins of both; for it was his majesty's maxim, which he did not scruple to avow, that neither party could subsist without him, and that those must be ruined whom he abandoned. By which unhappy principle he lost his interest, both in the parliament and army, and laid the foundation of his ruin.

The Presbyterians were no less unhappy in an imagination, that as the majority of the house of commons, with the city of London, and the whole Scots nation were firmly attached to their interest, no opposition could stand before them, and therefore would abate nothing of their demands, nor hearken to any other terms of accommodation with the king, than those of the covenant, which were the entire abolishing of prelacy, and the establishing presbyterian uniformity throughout both kingdoms, with an absolute extirpation of all sectaries whatsoever. This was not only an effectual bar to their union with the King (as has been observed), but awakened the jealousy of the army, who were thoroughly convinced, that when the Presbyterians were in the legal possession of their demands, they would exercise equal tyranny over the consciences of men with the bishops; and indeed nothing less was to be expected, considering their steady adherence to the covenant in all their treaties, their efforts in parliament to get the power of the keys into their own hands, their frequent addresses for the suppressing all sectaries by the civil authority, and their declarations both from the pulpit

and press, against toleration and liberty of conscience. In all their treaties with the King, even to that in the Isle of Wight, except when the army was in possession of the cities of London and Westminster, this was one article of peace, "That an effectual course be taken by act of parliament, and all other ways needful or expedient, for suppressing the opinions of the independents, and all other sectaries." To which his majesty had agreed in his private treaty with the Scots in the Isle of Wight; so that the army was left unsatisfied.

For although there were some few presbyterians in the army, the greatest part consisted of Independents, Anabaptists, and men of unsettled principles in religion, who for want of regular chaplains to their regiments, had used their own talents among themselves in religious exercises. The Scots treaty of the Isle of Wight says the army was made up of Anti-trinitarians, Arians, Socinians, Anti-scripturists, Anabaptists, Antinomians, Arminians, Familists, Brownists, Separatists, Independents, Libertines, Seekers, &c.

Mr. Rapin contrary to the testimony of all other writers, calls them all Independents, and represents the controversy between the parliament and them as a dispute, whether Presbytery and Independency should be uppermost; whereas the grand controversy was, presbytery with a toleration or without one. The army consented that presbytery should be the national religion, but insisted upon a toleration of all christians in the enjoyment of all their civil and religious rights. This (says Lord Clarendon) was their great charter, and till they obtained it by a legal settlement, they agreed not to lay down their arms. They had fought the parliament's battles, and therefore thought it unreasonable to be told openly, if they would not comply with the presbyterian settlement, they must expect to be punished as sectaries, and driven out of the land. To avoid this, they treated separately with the King, both before and after they had him in their hands; and when they apprehended he did not deal sincerely with them, they made proposals to the parliament to establish the presbyterian discipline with a toleration to all protestants, without him; but when they found the presbyterians, even in their last treaty with the King, in 1649,

insisting upon presbyterian uniformity, without making the least provision for that liberty of conscience they had been contending for, they were exasperated and grew outrageous; they seized his majesty's person a second time, and having purged the house of commons, in a most arbitrary manner, of all who were not disposed to their desperate measures, they blew up the whole constitution, and buried King, parliament, and presbytery in its ruins. This was not in their original intention, nor the result of any set of religious principles they embraced, as Rapin insinuates, but was a violence resulting from despair, to which they had been driven by a series of disappointments, and a train of mistaken conduct in the loyalists and presbyterians.

We left the King in the beginning of the spring at his house at Holmby, where he continued under an easy restraint from the 16th of February to the 4th of June following. The war being ended, the houses attempted to get rid of the army, by offering six months pay, and six weeks advance, to as many as would go over to Ireland; and by voting that the remainder should be disbanded, with an act of indemnity for all hostilities committed by them, in pursuance of the powers vested in them by parliament; but the army being apprehensive that the presbyterians would make peace with the King, upon the foot of covenant uniformity, and without a toleration, resolved to secure this as a kind of preliminary point; for which purpose they chose a council of officers, and a committee of agitators, consisting of two inferior officers out of each regiment, to manage their affairs; these met in distinct bodies, like the two houses of parliament, and came to the following resolutions, which they sent to Westminster by three of their number, who delivered them in at the bar of the house, "That they would not disband without their arrears, nor without full provision for liberty of conscience; that they did not look upon themselves as a band of Janizaries, but as volunteers that had been fighting for the liberties of the nation, of which they were a part, and that they were resolved to see those ends secured." It was moved in the house, that the messengers might be committed to the Tower; but, after a long debate, they were dismissed only with a reprimand for meddling in affairs of state, .

and, for presuming to offer a petition to parliament without their General. Upon this the officers sent their petition by the general himself, but the parliament instead of taking it into consideration, ordered that all who would not list for the Irish service, should be immediately paid off and disbanded; upon which the officers seeing the snare that was laid for them, bound themselves and the army by an engagement not to disband till the grievances above-mentioned were redressed. Whereupon the two houses ordered Lieutenant-General Cromwell, who was then in town, and suspected to be at the head of these counsels, to be seized; but being advertised of the design, he made his escape to the army. They then voted the petition seditious, and all those traitors who had promoted it; and having sent a message to the general, to remove the army further from London, they raised the city trained bands, and determined to put an end to the power of the army by a speedy conclusion of peace with the King.

His majesty's answer to the propositions at Newcastle were read in the house May 18, in which "he agrees to settle the presbyterian government for three years; to ratify the assembly of divines at Westminster, proposing a few of his own clergy to consider what government to settle afterwards; he yields the militia for ten years; desires ministers of his own to satisfy him about the covenant, consents to the act against papists, and to an act of oblivion; and desires to come to London, in order to give the parliament satisfaction upon the other articles." Two days after the lords voted, that the King be removed to his house at Oatlands, and that it be immediately fitted for his reception.

Things being come to this crisis, the agitators considered, that the King being the prize contended for, whoever had him in their power must be masters of the peace, and make their own terms; they therefore resolved by the advice and direction of Lieutenant-General Cromwell, to get possession of his majesty's person, which they accomplished by a bold stratagem, and with very little opposition from his attendants or guards; Cornet Joyce at the head of fifty resolute horse, having secured the

avenues to Holmby-House, entered with two or three of his company, and going to the King's chamber, acquainted him with his design, of carrying him to the army at New-Market; his majesty being surprized at so unexpected a visit, and so late at night, asked for his commission, who pointed to his troops drawn up before the gates; his majesty answered, it was very legible; and finding it in vain to resist, consented to go with the cornet next morning, on promise of safety to his person, and that he should not be forced to any thing against his conscience; the chief officers of the army met his majesty at Childerly, four miles from Cambridge, and were admitted to kiss his hand; from thence he was removed to New-market, where he took the diversion of the Heath, had the liberty of four of his own chaplains to wait upon him, and was attended with all due ceremony and respect; Cromwell being heard to say among his friends, that "now he had got the King into his hands, he had the parliament in his pocket."

The two houses received the news of the King's being carried off to the army with the utmost surprize and astonishment; the whole city was in confusion, and all persons within the lines of communication ordered to arms; the lobby at Westminster was thronged with the disbanded officers of the Earl of Essex's army offering their service to the parliament; for every one imagined the army would be at the gates of the city in a few hours; when their panic was a little abated, commissioners were sent to the general, not to advance within forty miles of London, but being already at St. Alban's, the general promised not to march his army nearer without due notice; and assured the two houses, that they would not oppose the presbyterian government, nor set up the independent; but only insisted, that some effectual course might be taken, that such who upon conscientious grounds differed from the establishment, might not be debarred from the common rights, liberties or benefits belonging equally to all, while they lived soberly and inoffensively towards others, and peaceably and faithfully towards the state. June 10, another letter was sent to the Lord-mayor, aldermen, and common council of London, signed by Fairfax, Cromwell,

and twelve other officers, assuring them, "they intended no alteration of the civil government; nor to interrupt the settlement of presbytery; nor to introduce a licentious liberty, under colour of obtaining ease for tender consciences, but that when the state had made a settlement they would submit or suffer. They wished that every peaceable subject might have liberty and encouragement, for the obtaining which (say they) we are drawing near the city. We seek the good of all, and shall wait for a time to see if these things may be settled without us, and then we will embark for Ireland."

The commons took no notice of these remonstrances, but declared in print, that his majesty was a prisoner, and barbarously used, because the commissioners could have no access to him, but in presence of some officers; the army replied, "that all suggestions of that nature were absolutely false, and contrary to their principles, which are most clearly for a general right, and just freedom to all men, and therefore upon this occasion they declare to the world, that they desire the same for the King, and others of his party, so far as can consist with common right and freedom, and with the security of the same for the future. And we do clearly profess (say they) that we do not see how there can be any peace to this kingdom firm or lasting, without a due provision for the rights, quiet, and immunity of his majesty, his royal family, and his late partakers; and herein we think, that tender and equitable dealing (as supposing their cases had been ours) and a spirit of common love and justice diffusing itself to the good and preservation of all, will make the most glorious conquest over their hearts, to make them and the whole people of the land, lasting friends."

The leading members of the presbyterian party in the house of commons, could not contain themselves within any reasonable bounds, at these proceedings; they said it was insufferable that the parliament instead of treating with the King, should be obliged to treat with their own servants, and therefore advised raising a new army, and opposing force with force, till those who had the King in their custody, should submit to their superiors and deliver him back. On the other hand, the officers and agitators

resolved to get rid of these resolute gentlemen, and therefore impeached eleven of the members of high-treason, for obstructing the business of Ireland ; for acting against the army, and against the laws and liberties of the subject, &c. and desired they might be suspended from the house till they were legally acquitted.—The commons not only rejected their impeachment, but ordered the King to be brought to Richmond, and that four full companies of the militia should guard the two houses. This quickened the resentments of the army, who sent them the following proposals, among others, that the King's coming to Richmond be suspended ; that no place be appointed for his residence nearer London than the parliament will allow the quarters of the army ; that the impeached members be sequestered the house ; that the multitude of soldiers that flock together about the city be dispersed, and that no new forces be raised, nor any preparations made for a new war. If these particulars are not complied with in a week's time, they declare they will march to London and do themselves justice. The houses being terrified with the approach of the army agreed to content them for the present, in order to gain time ; and the impeached members having desired leave to withdraw, retired first into the city, and after some time left the kingdom. The other requests of the army were also complied with ; whereupon after returning thanks to the houses, they retreated to Wickham, and appointed commissioners to settle all remaining differences with the parliament.

But the city of London, by the influence of the impeached members, kindled into a flame ; for the parliament by an ordinance, having put the nomination of the officers of the militia into the hands of the common-council ; these had discharged the old ones, and put in such as they could confide in for opposing the army, and establishing uniformity according to the covenant ; the officers in order to defeat their design insisted, that the ordinance be repealed, and the militia put into the hands of those who had conducted it during the course of the late war. The houses with much reluctance, consented to the repeal, which alarmed the citizens, and occasioned those tumults which brought upon them the very mischiefs

they were afraid of; the impeached members who were retired into the city, prevailed with the common-council to oppose the repeal, and petition the house, that the ordinance might remain in full force. At the same time some citizens met at Skinner's-Hall, and subscribed a solemn engagement to endeavour with the hazard of their lives to procure a personal treaty with the King; that he might return to his two houses with honour and safety; that his majesty's concessions might be confirmed, and the militia continue in the hands of the present committee. How vain was all this bustle, when they knew the King was in the custody of those who would pay no regard to their demands. The houses indeed forbade the signing of the engagement by sound of trumpet, but such was the misguided zeal of the citizens, that they held assemblies, listed soldiers, and gave them orders to be ready on the first notice.

The parliament was now in great perplexity, considering the impossibility of contenting the presbyterians and the army at the same time; while the citizens, resolved to carry their point by one method or another, went up to Westminster, with such a number of apprentices and young men, as terrified the houses by their tumultuous and insolent behaviour; for they would scarce suffer the door to be shut; some thrust themselves into the house with their hats on, crying out, *vote, vote*, and when the Speaker would have left the chair to put an end to the confusion, they obliged him to return, till the militia was settled to their mind, and the King voted to come to London. This (says Mr. Baxter) looked like a force upon the parliament; and indeed both houses were so terrified and pressed between the city presbyterians on one side, and the army on the other, that they adjourned immediately from Monday to Friday, in which interval the Earl of Manchester, speaker of the house of lords, with eight peers, and the speaker of the house of commons, with about a hundred members, withdrew privately from the city, and joined the army; a surprizing event in their favour! the officers received them with the utmost satisfaction and transport, paying them all imaginable honours, and assuring them, that they would re-establish them in their full

power, or die in the attempt. There must surely have been some very pressing reasons for this conduct, otherwise so many zealous presbyterians, as were most of the members who quitted the parliament house, would not have had recourse to the protection of the army.

However the presbyterian members that remained in London, assembled on Friday according to adjournment, and having chose a new speaker, voted the King should come to London; that the eleven impeached members should be restored; that a committee of safety should join the city militia; and that forces should be immediately raised under the command of Waller, Massey, and Poyntz; in all which they appeared so resolute, that no man could imagine but either that they had the King at their disposal, or intended a brave and valiant defence of the city. The common-council gave orders for the trained bands to repair to the works, and for all capable of bearing arms to appear at the places of rendezvous. Massey, Waller, and Poyntz, were also busy in forming regiments and companies; and the committee of the militia were empowered to punish such as did not repair to their colours. At the same time they wrote to their brethren in Scotland, to return with their army immediately to their assistance; but alas! they were at too great a distance; however they published a declaration in the name of the kirk and whole kingdom, wherein they engage by a solemn oath, to establish the presbyterian government in England; to redeem his majesty out of the hands of schismatics, and place him at the head of his parliament with honour; to vindicate the honour of the eleven impeached members, and to settle the privileges of parliament against the over-awing power of the army. A little after they declared against toleration and liberty of conscience, resolving to the last man to stand by the covenant whatever the English parliament might submit to.

Pursuant to the order of the two houses, the general had removed his head quarters above forty miles from the city, till upon the representation of the members, who fled to them for protection from the outrageous violence of the city mob, they resolved to push their advantage, and bring

the mutineers to justice ; accordingly they resolved to march to London, and rendezvoused the whole army on Hounslow-Heath, to the number of twenty thousand men, with a suitable train of artillery, accompanied with fourteen peers, and about one hundred members of the house of commons. The citizens were no sooner informed of this, than their courage sunk at once, and instead of defending the city, they ordered the militia to retire from the lines, and sent their submission to the General, promising to open their passes, and give all assistance to the replacing of those members who had withdrawn to the army : and the mayor and aldermen met the general at Hyde-Park, with a present of a gold cup, beseeching him to excuse what had been amiss ; but his Excellency refused the present, and having dismissed them with very little ceremony, conducted the members to their seats in parliament, who immediately voted all proceedings in their absence void, and gave thanks to the army for their safe conduct. Next day the army marched through the city without any disorder, and constituted Colonel Titchburn, Lieutenant of the Tower, contrary to the request of the Lord-mayor and citizens ; the militia was changed, and put into the hands of the old officers who had conducted it before ; the fortifications and lines of circumvallation about the city were levelled, and sundry peers who had been at the head of the late tumults, were impeached of high-treason. The Lord-mayor, and some of the principal citizens were sent to the Tower ; and it was resolved to purge the house of all who had been active in the late unhappy riot ; which put a full period to the presbyterian power for the present ; and the army being quartered near the city all the next winter, there was a council of officers at their headquarters at Putney, whose debates and resolutions had, no doubt, a very powerful influence upon the resolutions of the two houses.

The odium of this grand revolution, by which the army became masters of the city of London, and of the parliament itself, fell chiefly on the Presbyterians themselves, whose intemperate zeal for covenant uniformity carried them to very impolitic excesses. The sermons of their ministers were filled with invective against the army

while at a distance ; in their public prayers they intreated the almighty to incline the hearts of the Scots to return to their relief ; and the conversation of their people was riotous and disorderly ; however, least the weight of this revolution should fall too heavily on the London ministers, as the chief incendiaries of the people, they wisely prepared a vindication of themselves, and published it four days before the army entered the city.

Let the reader now pause a little, and judge of the authors of this grand revolution, which brought the parliament under the power of the army, and how far the presbyterian ministers were concerned in it. Mr. Baxter in a very angry style lays all the blame at the door of the Independents. I am far from clearing the independents from all manner of blame in their conduct ; their principles might be too narrow and mistaken in some points, and their zeal for christian liberty betray them into some imprudencies. But on which side was the stiffness ? on theirs who only desired a peaceable toleration ; or on theirs who were determined to make the whole nation stoop to presbyterian uniformity ? were not these the men who kept open the church's wounds ? had their discipline been ever so good, yet certainly they might have had some regard to men of piety and virtue, who had not equal discernment with themselves ; could they not be content with being the established religion, and having most of the livings of the kingdom divided among them, without trampling on the religious rights of mankind, by enforcing an absolute uniformity, which can never be maintained but on the ruins of a good conscience, and therefore is no means of promoting the true interest of Christ and salvation of souls ? Baxter had milder sentiments in his latter days ; and it is for the honour of the present generation of those commonly called presbyterians, that they have not only abandoned and renounced these servile doctrines, but have appeared in defence of the civil and religious liberties of mankind, upon the most solid and generous principles.

While the King was with the army, Lieutenant-Generals Cromwell and Ireton took sundry opportunities to confer with his majesty privately about his restoration.

They offered to set him upon the throne with the freedom of his conscience in point of episcopacy, or lose their lives in the attempt, if he would consent to their proposals to the parliament, and bestow some particular preferments on themselves, and a few of their friends, wishing that God would deal with them and their families according to their sincerity. Nay they engaged to indemnify his whole party, if they would be quiet. Sir J. Berkley the King's agent, entreated his majesty in the most importunate and submissive manner, considering the state of his affairs, to accept of these proposals, but the King treated them with a haughty reserve, and said, if they intended an accommodation they would not impose such conditions upon him. Sir J. Berkley said, he should suspect they designed to abuse him if they had demanded less ; and that a crown so near lost was never recovered on easier terms. But Mr. Ashburnham, who came with instructions from France, fell in with the King's humour, and encouraged him to stand his ground, relying upon an ill judged maxim which his majesty had imbibed, and from which his best friends could not make him depart, (viz.) that "it was in his power to turn the scale, and that the party must sink which he abandoned." This sealed his ruin, and made him play between both, till neither would trust him. When the parliament brought their propositions, he put them in mind of the offers of the army ; and when the proposals of the latter were tendered in the most respectful manner, he put on a frown and said, "I shall see you glad, ere long, to accept more equal terms ; you cannot be without me ; you will fall to ruin if I do not sustain you ; no man shall suffer for my sake ; the church must be established according to law." The officers were confounded at this language. "Sir, says Sir J. Berkley, you speak as if you had some secret strength, which since you have concealed from me, I wish you had concealed from these men." After divers conferences of this kind to no purpose, Cromwell told him plainly, "Sir we perceive you have a design to be arbitrator between the parliament and us ; but we now design to be the same between your majesty and the parliament." This fluctuating temper, was the King's ruin, which he repented of when it was too late.

When the officers found they could make no impression on the King, and had discovered his secret correspondence with the Queen, they withdrew from court, which raised suspicions in his majesty's mind of a secret design upon his life, and put him on attempting to escape out of their hands. It is very certain that Cromwell withdrew his parole of honour for the King's safety, and sent him word a few days before he left Hampton-court, that he would not be answerable any longer for what might befall him, which was owing to a discovery he had made of the King's insincerity in treating with him. Mr. Coke says, there was a report at that time, and he is confident that in time it will appear, that in the army's treaty with the King, Cromwell had made a private article of advantage for himself, but his majesty not allowing himself to conclude any thing without the Queen, wrote her word, "that if he consented to those proposals it would be easier to take off Cromwell afterwards, than now he was at the head of the army." Which letter Cromwell intercepted. Bp. Kennet says, "it was reported, that Cromwell was to have ten thousand pounds and a garter; and that the bargain had certainly taken effect, if the King had not made an apology to the Queen, and sufficiently implied, that he did it by constraint, and that when he was at liberty, and in power, he should think himself discharged from the obligation. This letter was sewed up in the skirt of a saddle to be sent to France; but Cromwell and Ireton having information of it, went to an inn in Holborn and seized the letter." Dr. Lane of the commons frequently declared, "that he had seen this original letter, that he knew it to be the King's own hand, and that the contents were as above." Another writer says, that the letter mentioned his majesty's being courted by the Scots presbyterians as well as the army, and that they that bid fairest for him should have him. Upon the discovery of this letter, Cromwell went to Mr. Ashburnham who attended the King's person, and told him, that he was now satisfied the King could not be trusted; that he had no confidence in the army, but was jealous of them and their officers—that he had treaties with the city presbyterians, and with the Scots commissioners, to engage the nation again in blood,

and that therefore he could not be answerable if any thing fell out contrary to expectation." Sir R. Baker, Mr. Coke, and others, are of opinion, that till this time Cromwell and Ireton were hearty and zealous for restoring the King, and opposing the levellers who began to arise in the army, but that after this discovery they forsook him, as did the rest of the chief officers, who seldom came to court; the guards also changed their language, and said that God had hardened the King's heart, and blinded his eyes.

Under these circumstances the infatuated King left Hampton-court, at night, and having crossed the Thames, took horse in company with Sir J. Berkley, Mr. Leg, and Mr. Ashburnham, and next morning arrived at Titchfield-house, where he stay'd while Leg went over to the Isle of Wight, to treat with Colonel Hammond the governor, about the safety of his person, who without any treaty, brought the governor to the house where his majesty was, upon which the King said, he was betrayed; as indeed he was in all his affairs. Hammond carried him over to the Isle, and after some time shut him up in Carisbrook-castle, where his majesty remained almost a year with one or two servants only, having little conversation with the world, and time sufficient to contemplate on the uncertainty of all human affairs, and on the miserable circumstances to which divine providence had suffered his own imprudent conduct to reduce him.

Let us now attend to the projects of the several parties for restoring the public tranquillity; as soon as the army had got possession of the city of London, they made the following proposals to the two houses. With regard to religion; "that an act be passed to take away all coercive power and jurisdiction of bishops extending to any civil penalties upon any; that there be a repeal of all acts, or clauses of acts, enjoining the use of the common-prayer, and imposing any penalty for neglect thereof, and for not coming to church, or for meeting elsewhere; that the taking of the covenant be not enforced upon any, but that all orders and ordinances tending to that purpose be repealed." With regard to the state, that the militia and great officers be disposed of by parliament for ten years,

and after that the houses to nominate three, out of which the King to choose one; that there be acts of indemnity and revocation of all declarations against the proceedings of parliament; that the present unequal and troublesome and contentious way of ministers' maintenance by tithes be considered of, and some remedy applied; that none may be obliged to accuse themselves or relations in criminal causes; and no man's life taken away under two witnesses; that consideration be had of all statutes, laws, or customs of corporations, imposing any oaths tending to molest or ensnare religious and peaceable people merely for non-conformity in religion; that the arbitrary power given to committees, and deputy-lieutenants, be recalled."

After several debates upon these proposals with regard to religion, the lords agreed, "that the King be desired to give his consent to the settling the presbyterial government for three years, with a provision, that no person shall be liable to any penalty for non-conformity to the said government, or form of divine service; but such persons shall have liberty to meet for the service and worship of God, and for exercise of religious duties and ordinances in any fit and convenient places, so as nothing be done by them to the disturbance of the peace of the kingdom. Provided this shall not be construed to extend to a toleration of the popish religion, nor to exempt popish recusants from any penalties imposed upon them for the exercise of the same. Nor shall it extend to the toleration of any thing contrary to the principles of the christian religion, contained in the apostles' creed, as it is expounded in the fifteen first articles of the church of England, as they had been cleared and vindicated by the assembly of divines now sitting at Westminster; nor of any thing contrary to such points of faith, for the ignorance whereof men are to be kept from the sacrament, according to the ordinance of Oct. 20, 1645. Nor shall it extend to excuse any persons from the penalties of 1 Elizabeth, cap. 2, for not coming to hear the word of God on the Lord's day in any parish church or chapel, unless he can shew a reasonable cause for his absence, or that he was present to hear the word of God preached or expounded elsewhere."

The commons likewise agreed, " That presbytery be established till the end of the next sessions of parliament, or till the second sessions ; that the tenths, and all other maintenance belonging to any church or chapel, shall be only for the use of them who can submit to the presbyterial government, and none other. The liberty of conscience shall extend to none who shall print, preach, or publish, contrary to the first fifteen articles of the thirty-nine, except the eighth, relating to the three creeds. That nothing contained in this ordinance shall extend to popish recusants." They agreed further, " That such tender consciences should be freed, by way of indulgence, from the penalty of the statute for the presbyterian government, for their non-conformity, who do meet in some other congregation for the worship of God on the Lord's-day, and do nothing against the laws and peace of the kingdom, and that none others shall be freed from the penalty of the statute of 1 Eliz. cap. 2." Oct. 16, the commons voted, " That the indulgence granted to tender consciences should not extend to tolerate the use of common-prayer in any part of the kingdom." Which was against the sense of the army, who were for a general indulgence, as appears from the declaration of the agitators, dated Nov. 1, in which they say, that " matters of religion, and the ways of God's worship, are not at all intrusted by us to any human power, because therein we cannot omit, or exceed a tittle of what our conscience dictates to be the mind of God, without wilful sin ; nevertheless the public way of instructing the nation, so it be not compulsive, is left to their discretion." Here was a fair plan of accommodation, but no ordinance was brought into the house to confirm these resolutions. November 8, both houses agreed to the addition of some new propositions. As, 1. For the due observation of the Lord's day. 2. Against innovations in religion.—3. A new oath for the conviction of papists.—4. For the education of the children of papists in the protestant religion.—5. Against pluralities.

The proposals of the presbyterians were the same with those of Newcastle already mentioned ; but whereas the King declined to accept them without a personal treaty,

they determined in the house of commons, to reduce them into four bills, which if his majesty refused to sign as preliminaries, they resolved to settle the nation without him; but before they were perfected, the King withdrew from Hampton-Court, and was secured in the Isle of Wight, where the commissioners from the two houses waited on him, and tendered him the following bills, the first was for settling the militia, as has been related; the second for calling in all his majesty's declarations and proclamations against the two houses, and those that adhered to them; the third to disqualify those peers from sitting in the house, that had been created after the great seal had been conveyed to Oxford; the fourth to empower the two houses to adjourn as they should think fit. In matters of religion they insisted peremptorily on the establishment of the presbyterian church-government upon the ruins of the prelatical; upon the extirpation of all sectaries; and upon covenant uniformity in both nations, as will appear more fully hereafter. But the King instead of signing the preliminaries, insisted strenuously on a personal treaty, which it was hardly reasonable for him to expect, when he had so lately attempted to escape out of their hands, and now refused to yield any thing in a way of condescension.

It had not been possible to unriddle the mystery of this escape, if it had not appeared soon after, that the King was at that very time, throwing himself into the hands of the Scots, who being offended with the parliament (now under the influence of the army) for not acting in concert with them in the present treaty, according to their covenant, determined on a separate negotiation for themselves; and accordingly, by the mediation of some of their own nation, they concluded a secret treaty with the King, which was begun before his majesty left Hampton-Court, but not signed till the 27th of December following, three days after his majesty's refusal of the parliament's four bills. This alliance, says Lord Clarendon, was most scandalous, and derogatory to the honour and interest of the English nation, and would have been abominated if known and understood by all men. But Rapin thinks it not so criminal on the part of the Scots as his lordship represents, since they yielded to the

establishment of their beloved presbytery in England only for three years; however it laid the foundation of the King's ruin with the army.

In the preamble his majesty gives "a favourable testimony to the solemn league and covenant, and to the good intentions of those that entered into it." In the treaty "he obliges himself to confirm the covenant by act of parliament as soon as he can do it with honour and freedom in both kingdoms; with a proviso, that none that were unwilling should be obliged to take it for the future. He engages further, to confirm by act of parliament the presbyterial government in England, the directory for public worship, and the assembly of divines for three years only, with liberty for himself and his household to use that form of divine service they had formerly practised; and that during the three years there should be a consultation with the assembly of divines, to whom twenty of the King's nomination should be added, and some from the church of Scotland, to determine what form of church government should be established afterwards." Then follows a scourge for the army; "That an effectual course should be taken to suppress the opinions of the anti-trinitarians, arians, socinians, arminians, independents, brownists, antinomians, anabaptists, separatists, seekers; and in general, all blasphemy, heresy, schism, and other doctrines contrary to the known principles of christianity, whether concerning faith, worship, conversation, or the power of godliness, or which may be destructive to order and government, or to the peace of the church and kingdom."

In return for these concessions, the Scots engaged to raise an army to deliver his majesty out of captivity, to assert his right to the militia, the great seal, the negative voice in parliament; and in a word, to restore him to his throne with honour and freedom; which occasioned a second civil war the next year.

As soon as his majesty arrived in the Isle of Wight from Hampton-Court, he sent a letter to the speaker of the house of lords, to be communicated to the commons, with the following concessions on his part, very inconsistent with the treaty last mentioned.—"For the abolishing archbishops, bishops, &c. his majesty clearly professeth,

that he cannot consent to it either as a christian or a King; for the first he avows, that he is satisfied in his judgment, that this order was placed in the church by the apostles themselves, and ever since their time has continued in all christian churches throughout the world till this last century; and in this church, in all times of change and reformation, it has been upheld, by the wisdom of his ancestors, as the great preserver of doctrine, discipline, and order in the service of God. As a King, at his coronation he not only swore to maintain this order, but his majesty and his predecessors, in their confirmations of the great charter, have inseparably woven the rights of the church into the liberty of the subject; and yet he is willing that it be provided, that particular bishops perform the several duties of their callings, both by their personal residence, and frequent preaching; that in their personal exercise no act of jurisdiction, or ordination, be without consent of their presbyters; and will consent, that in all things their powers be so limited, that they may not be grievous to the tender consciences of others; his majesty sees no reason why he alone, and those of his judgment, should be pressed to a violation of theirs.

“Nor can his majesty consent to the alienation of church-lands, because it cannot be denied to be the sin of sacrilege; as also, that it subverts the intentions of so many pious donors, who have laid a heavy curse upon all such profane violations. And besides, his majesty believes it to be a prejudice to the public good; many of his subjects having the benefit of renewing leases at much easier rates, than if those possessions were in the hands of private men; not omitting the discouragement it will be to learning and industry, when such eminent rewards shall be taken away; yet considering the present distempers concerning church-discipline, and that the presbyterian government is now in practice, his majesty to avoid confusion as much as may be, and for the satisfaction of his two houses, is content, that the same government be legally permitted to stand in the same condition it now is for three years, provided that his majesty, and those of his judgment, or any others who cannot in conscience submit,

thereunto, be not obliged to comply with the presbyterial government, but have free practice of our own profession, without any prejudice thereby; and that free consultation be had with the divines at Westminster, twenty of his majesty's nomination being added to them, to consider how to settle the church afterwards, with full liberty to all those who shall differ upon conscientious grounds from that settlement; always provided, that nothing aforesaid be understood to tolerate those of the popish profession, or exempt them from penal laws, or to tolerate the public profession of atheism, or blasphemy, contrary to the doctrine of the apostles, the *nicene* and *athanasian* creed; they having been received by, and had in reverence of all christian churches, and more especially the church of England since the reformation." This was inserted to cajole the army, and was entirely reversed by the Scots treaty five weeks after.

From these inconsistent views of the contending parties, we may easily discern the precarious situation of the public tranquillity, especially as there was a general distrust on all sides, and each party resolved to carry their point without any abatements: the King was held by ties of conscience and honour (as he said) to preserve Episcopacy; the Scots and English presbyterians, though divided at present, thought themselves equally bound to stand by their solemn league and covenant; and the army was under a solemn engagement to agree with neither, without a toleration. If the King could have submitted to covenant uniformity, he might have been restored by the presbyterians; or if either King or parliament would have declared heartily for a toleration, they might have established themselves by the assistance of the military power; but his majesty seems to have been playing an unsteady, if not a double game. The reader will judge of the equity of the several proposals, and of the prudential conduct of each party, from the respective circumstances in which they stood; the King was a prisoner; the parliament in possession of the whole legislative authority; but the sword was in the hands of the army, who were determined not to sheath it till they had secured to themselves that liberty for which they had been fighting: this they had

in vain solicited from the King, and were next determined to try their interest with the parliament.

The houses being informed of the King's design to make his escape out of the Isle of Wight, ordered the governor to put away his servants, and confine him a close prisoner in the castle, so that no person might be admitted to speak to him without leave. His majesty having also declared, when he rejected the parliament's four bills, that nothing which could befall him could ever prevail with him to consent to any one act, till the conditions of the whole peace were concluded, they began to despair of an accommodation. In this juncture the officers of the army sent a message to the houses, assuring them, that they would live and die with them in settling the nation either with or without the King, and leave all transactions of state for the future to them alone.

However after the seclusion of the eleven impeached members, and the quartering the army in the neighbourhood of the city, the parliament either from interest or fear, had a great regard to the opinion of those officers who were members of the house. Upon a motion that no more addresses be made to the King from the parliament, nor any messages received from him, Ireton and Cromwell opened themselves very freely : Ireton said, "subjection to the King was but in lieu of protection from him, which being denied, we may settle the kingdom without him.—Let us then show our resolution, says he, and not desert those valiant men who have engaged for us beyond all possibility of retreat." Cromwell said, "That the parliament should govern by their own power, and not teach the people any longer to expect safety from an obstinate man, whose heart God had hardened—The army will defend you against all opposition. Teach them not by neglecting your's and the kingdom's safety, in which their own is involved, to think themselves betrayed, and left hereafter to the rage and malice of an irreconcilable enemy, whom they have subdued for your sake, lest despair teach them to seek their safety by some other means than adhering to you ; [here he put his hand to his sword] and how destructive such a resolution will be (says he) I tremble to think and leave you to judge !" The question being then put

it was carried by a majority of fifty voices ; and the lords concurred with the commons in their votes of non-addresses. To this very time, says Lord Clarendon, no man mentioned the King's person without duty and respect. But now a new scene was opened, and some of the officers at their meetings at Windsor, began to talk of deposing the King, or prosecuting him as a criminal, of which his majesty was advertised by Watson the quartermaster, but it made no impression upon him.

The two houses having concurred in their votes for non-addresses, the army agreed to stand by the parliament in settling the nation without the King ; and that the people might be satisfied with the reasons of their proceedings, a remonstrance was published by order of parliament, in which they recapitulate all the errors of his majesty's government ; his insincerity in the several treaties of peace he had entered into with them ; and that though they had applied to him seven times with propositions, in all which the Scots had concurred except the last, yet he had never complied with any ; from whence they conclude, either that the nation must continue under the present distractions, or they must settle it without him. In the posthumous works of Lord Clarendon, there is a large reply to this remonstrance, in which his lordship endeavours to vindicate the King, and throw all the blame upon the parliament ; but though there were ill instruments on both sides, and there might be no real occasion to rip up the misdemeanors of the King's government from the beginning, yet it is hardly possible for the art of man to justify his majesty's conduct before the war, or to vindicate his prudence and sincerity in his treaties afterwards ; the design of commencing a new war being evidently at this time concerted and agreed upon, with his majesty's allowance, in pursuance of the Scots treaty, while he was amusing both the parliament and army with overtures of peace.

Among the ordinances that passed this year for reformation of the church, none occasioned so much noise and disturbance as that for abolishing the observation of saints' days, and the three grand festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide.

The King was highly displeased with this ordinance ; and therefore while the affair was under debate he put this query to the parliament commissioners at Holmby-House, I desire to be resolved of this question, why the new reformers discharge the keeping of Easter ? My reason for this query is, “ I conceive the celebration of this feast was instituted by the same authority which changed the Jewish sabbath into the Lord’s-day or Sunday, for it will not be found in scripture where Saturday is discharged to be kept, or turned into the Sunday ; wherefore it must be the church’s authority that changed the one and instituted the other ; therefore my opinion is, that those who will not keep this feast may as well return to the observation of Saturday, and refuse the weekly Sunday. When any body can shew me that herein I am in an error, I shall not be ashamed to confess and amend it, until when you know my mind.”——C. R.

Sir James Harrington presented his majesty with an answer to this query, in which he denies, that the change of the sabbath was from the authority of the church, but derives it from the authority and example of our Saviour and his apostles in the New Testament ; he admits, that if there was the like mention of the observation of Easter, it would be of divine or apostolical authority ; but as the case stands, he apprehends with great reason, that the observation of the christian sabbath, and of Easter, stand upon a very different foot.

The changing the festival of Christmas into a fast last winter, was not so much taken notice of, because all parties were employed in acts of devotion ; but when it returned this year there appeared a strong propensity in the people to observe it, the shops were generally shut, many presbyterian ministers preached ; in some places the common-prayer was read, and one or two of the sequestered clergy getting into pulpits prayed publicly for the bishops ; several of the citizens of London, who opened their shops, were abused ; in some places there were riots and insurrections, especially in Canterbury, where the mayor endeavouring to keep the peace, had his head broke by the populace, and was dragged about the streets ; the mob broke into divers houses of the most religious in the town, broke

their windows, abused their persons, and threw their goods into the streets, because they exposed them to sale on Christmas-day. At length their numbers being increased to above two thousand, they put themselves into a posture of defence against the magistrates, kept guard, stopt passes, examined passengers, and seized the magazine and arms in the town-hall, and were not dispersed without difficulty. The like disorders were at Ealing, in Middlesex, and in several other counties. The parliament was alarmed at these disorders, and therefore commanded all papists and delinquent clergymen to retire without the lines of communication, and punished some of the principal rioters as a terror to the rest, it being apparent that the King's party took advantage of the holy days to try the temper of the people in favour of his release, for during the space of the following twelve years, wherein the festivals were laid aside, there was not the least tumult on account of the holidays, the observation of Christmas being left as a matter of indifference.

The war being thought to be at an end, many of the clergy who had followed the camp returned home, and endeavoured to repossess themselves of their sequestered livings, to the prejudice of those whom the parliament had put into their places; they petitioned the King while he was with the army, and in a state of honour and dignity, to take their poor distressed condition into his gracious consideration. His majesty recommended them to the general, at the very time when the difference between the parliament and army was subsisting, upon which they represented their grievances to him by petition: from which it is evident these gentlemen were encouraged to hope, that the army would carry their resentments so far as to unravel all they had been doing for five years; that they would not only renounce the covenant, but disclaim the proceedings of their committees, and even countenance the clergy's adhering to the King; and no doubt, if his majesty had at this time complied with the proposals of the army, he might have made good terms for them; for the general received them with respect, and having debated their address in council,

proposed it to the parliament, that the estates of all sequestered persons, including the clergy, should remain in the hands of the tenants till a general peace. Upon which the old incumbents grew very troublesome, forbidding the parishioners to pay their tithes, and threatening the present possessors of their livings with legal prosecutions.

On the other hand the presbyterian clergy addressed the general a few days after the parliament and army were united, with a complaint, "that divers delinquent ministers, who had been put out of their livings, did now trouble and seek to turn out those ministers, whom the parliament had put in ; and particularly, that Dr. Layfield, by a counterfeit warrant from the general, had endeavoured to remove a minister from his benefice in Surrey." The general and his council declared their dislike of these proceedings, and promised to write to the parliament, that such offenders might be brought to punishment, which he did accordingly. The difference between the parliament and army being now in a manner compromised, which cut off the expectations of the clergy, the lords and commons acquainted the general, that they would take care for the punishment of those delinquent ministers and others ; by whose practices ministers put into livings by the parliament had been disquieted and turned out ; and an ordinance was soon passed for this purpose.

However some small favour was shewn, about this time, to those bishops and others, who had lived peaceably, and been little more than spectators of the distracting miseries of their country ; the committee was ordered to make payment of the hundred pounds per year granted to the Bp. of Durham ; the real estate of the pious Bp. Hall, who had lately published his hard measure, was discharged ; Abp. Usher had an allowance of four hundred pounds per annum, till he could be otherwise provided for ; and was soon after allowed to be preacher at Lincoln's-Inn, only upon taking the negative oath. But the bishops were not much considered in these donations. The commissioners of the great seal were ordered to fill up the vacant livings in the gift of the crown, with-

out obliging the incumbents to take the covenant; but the new disturbances which arose in favour of the captive King, brought down new severities upon the episcopal clergy, before the end of the following year.

CHAP. XIX.

CHARLES I.

State of the University of Oxford.—Plan for its Reformation.—Stubborn behaviour of the University.—Remarks.—Measures of Parliament.—Continued insolence of the Scholars.—The Colleges searched for Arms.—Character of the New Professors.—Remarks.—Increase of Lay Preachers.—Stage Plays prohibited.—Death of Mr. Herbert Palmer, Mr. Wilkinson, and Mr. Saltmarsh.

SAD and deplorable was the condition of the university of Oxford when it fell into the hands of the parliament; the colleges and halls were gone to ruin; five of them perfectly deserted, and the rest in a very shattered condition. The public acts had been discontinued for some years, the schools were turned into magazines for the King's army, and the chambers filled with officers and soldiers, or let out to townsmen; there was little or no instruction for youth, nor hardly the face of an university; poverty, desolation, and plunder, the sad effects of war, were to be seen in every corner; the bursaries were emptied of the public money, the plate melted down for the King's service, and the colleges involved in debts which they were not able to satisfy; there were few heads of colleges or scholars remaining, except such as were strongly prejudiced against the parliament, having employed their wits, during the course of the war, in writing weekly mercuries, and satirical pamphlets, in which they aspersed the proceedings of the two houses, and treated

their divines as the most infamous, ignorant, and hypocritical traitors ; nor were their tempers in the least softened, though their lives and fortunes were in the hands of their adversaries. It was thought necessary therefore to put the education of youth into such hands, as the parliament could confide in, a power being reserved for that purpose in the articles of surrender.

But before they proceeded to extremes, the two houses appointed seven of their most popular divines to repair to Oxford, with authority to preach in any pulpits of the university for six months, in order to soften the spirits of the people, and give them a better opinion of their cause.

The ministers were very diligent in the discharge of their trust, preaching twice every Lord's day ; and that they might gain the affections of the people, set up a weekly conference every Thursday, in which they proposed to solve such objections as should be raised against their new confession of faith and discipline, and to answer any other important cases in divinity. The question or case, was to be propounded the week before, that it might be well considered ; a moderator also was appointed to keep order, who began and concluded with a short prayer, and the whole was conducted with decency and gravity. But several of the scholars ridiculed their proceedings, and by way of contempt called their place of meeting, the SCRUPLE SHOP ; however it was frequented by great numbers of people, some of whom were prevailed with to renounce the Oxford oath, and others to take the solemn league and covenant. They met with some little disturbance from one Erbury, a turbulent antinomian, and chaplain in the garrison ; but upon the whole, when the ministers returned to London they declared, that the citizens showed them a great deal of respect, although the university poured all the contempt upon them imaginable, so that they apprehended themselves to have the same lot as St. Paul had at Athens, Acts xvii. 32, 34. "Some mocked them, others slighted them, but certain clave to them, and believed."

There being no prospect of reforming the university by these methods, the two houses resolved to proceed upon

a visitation, which they apprehended they might undertake without the King, by virtue of the fourteenth article of their recapitulation, which says, "that the chancellor, masters, and scholars of the university, &c. shall enjoy their ancient form of government, subordinate to the immediate authority and power of parliament. And if any removal shall be made by the parliament of any head, or other members of the university, that they shall enjoy their profits for six months after the surrendering of Oxon, and shall have convenient time allowed them for the removal of themselves and their goods: provided that this shall not extend to retard any reformation there intended by the parliament, or give them any liberty to intermeddle with the government." But the heads of colleges did not think themselves obliged by this capitulation, nor any thing contained in it, because they were not made parties, nor called upon to give their separate consent to the articles, though they took advantage of every thing that was stipulated in their favour.

May 1, 1647, an ordinance passed both houses for visiting the university, and nominating fourteen lawyers, and ten divines, for that service.

The ordinance empowers the visitors, or any five of them, "to hear and determine all crimes, offences, abuses, and disorders, which by the laws and statutes of this realm, or by the customs and statutes, rightly established, of that university, or by the several statutes of the respective colleges or halls, may lawfully be enquired of, heard, or determined, in the course and way of visitation of the university, or of the colleges, halls, masters, scholars, fellows, members, and officers, or any of them respectively. They are more particularly to enquire by oath concerning those that neglect to take the solemn league and covenant, and the negative oath, being tendered to them, by such as are authorised by parliament; and concerning those who oppose the execution of the ordinance of parliament, concerning the discipline and directory; and those who shall teach or write against any point of doctrine, the ignorance whereof doth exclude from the Lord's supper. They are likewise to enquire upon oath, concerning all such who have taken up arms against the parliament, or who have

been assisting to the forces raised against the parliament. And they are to certify to a committee of the house of lords and commons mentioned in the ordinance, what masters, scholars, fellows, members, or officers, have committed any of the offences above-mentioned, and the quality and condition of the offenders, that such further proceedings may be had thereupon, as the committee of lords and commons shall think fit. The visitors are further empowered, to examine and consider of all such oaths as are enjoined by the statutes of the university, or of any of the halls and colleges, as are not fit to be taken, and present their opinion to the committee above-mentioned; provided always, that if any of the masters, scholars, fellows, &c. shall find themselves grieved by any sentence given by the visitors, it shall be lawful for them to appeal to the committee of lords and commons, who are authorized finally to hear and determine every such case brought before them."

Before the visitation could take place, the vice-chancellor Dr. Fell summoned a convocation, wherein it was agreed not to submit to the parliament visitors; a paper of reasons against the covenant, the negative oath, and the directory, drawn up chiefly by Dr. Sanderson, was also consented to, and ordered to be published to the world, against the time the visitors were to come down, under the title of "Reasons of the present judgment of the university of Oxford, concerning the solemn league and covenant, the negative oath, and the ordinances concerning discipline and worship, approved by general consent in a full convocation."

I am no advocate for the particulars of the covenant any more than for the high and arbitrary principles of government maintained by the university. The consciences of men are not under the direction of their wills but of their judgments, and therefore ought not to be constrained by oaths, protestations, or covenants, to attempt those things in matters of religion, which their own hearts must condemn. Religion and civil government stand on a distinct foundation, and are designed for very different ends; the magistrate may demand security for men's peaceable submission to the civil government, but ought not to force

them to be active against the light of their consciences in matters of religion. The university's reasons are not built upon these principles; for those gentlemen were as much for the coercive power of the magistrate in cases of conscience as the puritans; and whereas they say, in their reasons, the allegiance of the subject, and the protection of the King, are not relatives; and that the King's inability to discharge his duty does not absolve the subject from his, I shall only observe that upon these principles the crown can never be forfeited; a coronation oath is of very little significance; nor may a nation submit to a conqueror even when they can resist no longer. Inability alone in the prince I grant may not in all cases absolve us from our allegiance, but tyranny, oppression, and open attempts to subvert the whole constitution and laws of the country, certainly may; upon what other ground can we justify the late revolution, and the present happy establishment of the protestant succession? When the Oxford divines at the period of the revolution had taken the oath of allegiance to James II. and the corporation oath, which says it is not lawful to resist, or take up arms against the King upon any pretence whatsoever; what could absolve them from these engagements, or justify their joining the prince of Orange with a foreign force against a King upon the throne? However the stand now made by the university was a bold and adventurous attempt, for which they received the applause of the Oxford parliament in 1665. This was the fashionable doctrine of Charles the Second's reign, when the laws were suspended and infringed, and arbitrary power in the prince rose to such a height as in the next reign issued in a revolution of government. The university of Oxford did all they could to countenance the triumphs of the prerogative, for in 1663, they passed a decree in full convocation, affirming the necessity of passive obedience and non-resistance in the strongest terms; but how soon were the tables turned, when within five years these very gentlemen thought fit to enter into an association to adhere to the prince of Orange against the King upon the throne, and have since had the mortification to see that same decree burnt by the hands of the common hangman?

To return to the visitation; May 15, a citation was issued in the names of ten of the visitors then in London, to the proctors, and heads of houses, or the vice-principals, requiring them and all the officers, scholars, &c. to appear in the convocation-house, and to bring with them a list of the several names of those who were absent, and of the colleges to which they belonged. At the time appointed the visitors opened a visitation with prayers and a sermon at St. Mary's church; from whence they proceeded to the convocation-house, where the vice-chancellor and a few of the scholars, had been waiting a considerable time; but perceiving the visitors were like to out-stay the precise hour of summons he ordered the sexton to set the clock exactly with the sun, and as soon as it struck eleven he dismissed the scholars, marching away with the beadles before him; the visitors met them in their return at the *proscholium*, where the passage being narrow, the beadle cried out, "make way for Mr. Vice-Chancellor," which the visitors did. And the vice-chancellor having moved his hat, as he passed by said, "how do ye gentlemen," it is past eleven o'clock. But the visitors went forward, and having consulted about an hour upon the vice-chancellor's behaviour, resolved to adjourn till Michaelmas, and return to London, in order to obtain further powers from the parliament. In the mean time Dr. Fell summoned a committee of the heads of the several colleges, who came to the following resolutions.

1. That no man should appear before the visitors unless the summons had five names.—2. That no one should appear upon an holy day.—3. That he should demand by what authority, he was summoned; and if denied an answer should presently depart.—4. That if they declared their authority, he should answer with a *salvis juribus regni, academice & collegii*, &c.—5. That he should demand his accusation in writing, as also time to put in his answer, and should return it in writing, and no otherwise.—Lastly, that he should utterly refuse to answer on oath, because that would be to accuse himself, and would plainly revive the oath *ex officio*.

Such was the stout behaviour of these few academics, who (according to Dr. Walker) poured upon the visitors

all manner of contempt and scorn, though they knew their very lives and fortunes were at their disposal. The university, says he, held out a siege of more than a year and a half; the convocation house proved a citadel, and each single college a fort not easy to be reduced; a clear evidence of the humanity of the visitors, and an unanswerable demonstration of the necessity of the parliament's acting with greater vigour.

The two houses having resolved to support their visitors, and enable them to go through their work; passed an ordinance, empowering them "to administer the covenant, and the negative oath; to demand the perusal of the statutes, registers, accompts, &c. and of all other papers of the university, and of the respective colleges and halls; and to seize and detain in custody any person, who after a personal citation refused to appear, and produce their books and papers after a second citation; a jury was also to be impanelled, of members of the university, above the age of twenty one, to enquire by oath on the articles contained in the ordinance of visitation; and a new commission was drawn up by the attorney-general, with the great seal affixed to it authorising the persons above-named, to visit the university without any further warrant; the commission began in the usual form, "Charles by the grace of God, &c. to our trusty and well-beloved Sir Nath. Brent, &c. know ye, that we intending the regulation and reformation of our university of Oxford, &c. which was a very strange style considering the King was never consulted about the visitation, much less gave any consent; but the houses affected this form, from a mistaken supposition, that the King was always present with his parliament in his legislative capacity; though it served no other purpose than giving the adversary an opportunity to expose their proceedings, and charge them with assuming and acting under a forged authority.

Furnished with these new powers, the visitors returned to Oxford, the mayor, sheriffs, and other magistrates, being commanded to aid and assist them as there should be occasion. On Michaelmas day a paper was fixed to the door of the university church, giving notice, that the

visitation would now proceed *de die in diem*. Next day a citation was issued to all the heads of houses, requiring them to bring in their statutes, registers, accompts, and all their public writings, to the wardens lodgings at Merton-college. The vice-chancellor was ordered to appear at the same time, to answer to such questions, as should be demanded of him, and to send by the hands of the persons who served those orders, all the books and acts belonging to the university. The proctors were likewise enjoined to bring in their books, keys, and other public things in their custody. But it is not enough to say (says the Oxford antiquary) that every one of these orders were disobeyed; they were also despised and contemned. However the vice-chancellor and heads of colleges condescended to appear at the second summons, October 6, when instead of bringing their books and papers, they demanded to know, by what authority they were summoned? upon which the visitors produced their commission under the broad seal, at the same time serving them with a third citation, to appear four days after with their books and papers, or with their reasons in writing why they refused so to do. Next day they sent for the keys of the convocation-house and school, and for the beadles staves, but they were denied. The day following the proctors appeared and delivered a protestation, against acknowledging to any visitor but the King.

Hereupon Dr. Fell the vice chancellor, the very same day, was deprived of his vice-chancellorship, and public notice was given to the proctors, and other officers of the university, not to obey him any longer under that character; but the doctor without regard to his deprivation, or to the prorogation of the term, which the visitors had adjourned from the 10th to the 15th instant, proceeding on the 11th to hold a congregation, and open the term as usual, was taken into custody, and some time after, by order of parliament brought to London; immediately upon which, Dr. Potter, president of Trinity-college, ordered the beadles with their staves to attend him as pro-vice-chancellor. November 2d and 4th the several heads of colleges then present appeared before the visitors, but without their statute-books and papers, and being

called in severally, were asked in their turns, whether they approved of the *judicium universitatis*; or the reasons of the university above-mentioned? Whether they owned the power of the visitors? Or whether they approved of the answer of the proctors in the name of the whole university? And refusing to give a direct answer, were served with a citation to appear before the committee for reformation of the university at Westminster the 11th instant, which they did accordingly; and having owned their approbation of the answer of the proctors in the name of the university, they tendered a paper to the committee in the name of all who had been cited, setting forth, that what they had done was not out of obstinacy, but conscience; and praying that in an affair of so much consequence they might be allowed time to advise with council. Their request was readily granted; but the point at issue was decided against them; and after a full hearing on both sides, the committee voted, that “the answer of the several heads of houses, and of others of the university, was derogatory to the authority of parliament.”—The Oxford divines not satisfied with this determination, appealed soon after to the public, in a letter to the learned Mr. Selden representative for the university, entitled the case of the university of Oxford; or the sad dilemma that all the members thereof are put to, to be perjured or destroyed.

The committee at London having waited till the end of the month of December, to see if any of the heads of colleges would submit, voted Dr. Fell out of his deanry of Christ-church for contumacy; and passed the same sentence upon others.—When these resolutions were sent to Oxford, the proper officers refused to publish them; and when they were pasted upon the walls of the colleges, they were torn down, and trampled under foot; upon which the pro-vice-chancellor, and the two proctors were ordered into custody; but they absconded, and Dr. Oliver assumed the office of pro-vice-chancellor. The parliament provoked with this usage, passed an ordinance constituting the Earl of Pembroke chancellor of Oxford, and ordered him to repair thither in person, to support the visitors, and place the several persons whom the committee had chosen, in the respective chairs of those they had ejected.

The chancellor made his public entrance into the city, attended with a great number of clergy, and gentlemen of the country, and about one hundred horse out of Oxford itself; the mayor welcomed him at his entrance into the city with a congratulatory speech; and when he came to his lodgings, Mr. Button, one of the new proctors, made a speech to him in latin, but not one of the heads of colleges came near him; the *insignia* of the university were not to be found, and the scholars treated the chancellor and his retinue with all that rudeness, they had been taught to express towards all who adhered to the parliament. Next morning the Earl, attended with a guard of soldiers, went to Christ-church, and having in vain desired Mrs. Fell the dean's wife, to quit the lodgings peaceably, he commanded the soldiers to break open the doors, and carry her out in a chair into the middle of the quadrangle; he then put the new-elected dean Mr. Reynolds, afterwards Bp. of Norwich, into possession; from thence his lordship, with the visitors, went to the hall, and having got the buttery-book, struck out Dr. Fell's name, and inserted that of Mr. Reynolds; the like they did by others. In the afternoon they held a convocation, which was opened with an elegant latin oration, pronounced by Mr. Corbet their new orator. When the chancellor had taken the chair in the convocation-house, he declared Mr. Reynolds vice-chancellor, to whom an oath was administered that he would observe the statutes and privileges of the university, subject to the authority of parliament.

The following morning the chancellor and visitors, with a guard of musqueteers, went to Magdalen-college, and having broke open the doors of the president's lodgings who was out of the way, they gave Dr. Wilkinson possession. In the afternoon they went to All-Souls, where Dr. Sheldon the warden appearing, and refusing to submit, returned to his lodgings, and locked the doors; which being broke open, the doctor was taken into custody for contempt, and Dr. Palmer put in his place; from thence they went to Trinity-college, and having broke open the lodgings, Dr. Harris was put into possession in the room of Dr. Potter. In like manner Dr. Cheynel had possession given him of St. John's in the room of Dr. Bayley;

Mr. Wilkins was appointed president of Wadham college, in the room of Dr. Pitt ; and Mr. Greenwood was put into possession of Brazen-nose college in the room of Dr. Radcliffe, allowing those they displaced a month's time to remove their effects. But some of the students of Christ's church having got the buttery-book, impudently cut out the names of those whom the visitors had inserted ; so that they were forced to return the next day, and write over again the names of their new dean and canons. The heads of colleges being thus fixed in their several stations, the chancellor took leave of the university, and departed for London ; and having reported his conduct, received the thanks of the two houses.

But Dr. Wilkinson, sen. and Mr. Cheynel, who returned with the chancellor, having represented to the parliament, that the fellows, scholars, and under-officers, still refused to submit to their orders, it was resolved, " that the visitors should cite all the officers, fellows and scholars before them, and that such as refused to appear, or upon appearance did not submit, should be suspended from their places, and their names returned to the committee, who were authorized to expel them the university ; and the new heads (on signification of such sentence from the committee) in conjunction with the visitors, were empowered to put others in their places. They resolved further, that the bursars should make no dividend of money till they had orders from the committee ; and that the tenants should pay their rents to none but the heads appointed by the authority of parliament." But the bursars absconded, and were not to be found.

By virtue of these orders the visitors cited the fellows, scholars of houses, gentlemen commoners, and servitors, to appear before them at several times ; the only question demanded of them was, " Will you submit to the power of the parliament in this visitation ?" To which they were to give their answer in writing, and according to it were confirmed or displaced. Great numbers were absent from the university, and did not appear ; others who disowned the power of the parliament at first, afterwards submitted, but the main body stood it out to the last. The Oxford historian says, the number of them who refused

to submit was about three hundred and thirty-four, but that they were not presently expelled; for though the visitors were obliged to return their names to the committee, and were empowered to expel them, yet they deferred the execution of their power, in hopes that time might bring them to a compliance; which it is very likely it did, because it appears by the register, that in the eight succeeding years, there were no more than three hundred and ninety-six new elections, which allowing for deaths and removals, must infer the deprivations at this time could not be very considerable; however had their numbers been much greater than they really were, the parliament were obliged in their own defence, to dispossess them. The few scholars that remained in the university treated the visitors with insufferable rudeness, and scurrilous satires, which the visitors took no further notice of, than to forbid the booksellers to print or sell the like for the future. If the puritans had published such pamphlets against the exorbitances of the high-commission court in the late times, the authors or publishers must have lost their ears, as the brownists did their lives towards the latter end of Elizabeth's reign; and surely the university might have evinced their loyalty without offering such unmannerly provocations to gentlemen, who were disposed to behave towards them with all gentleness and moderation.

The visitors being informed that an insurrection was designed among the scholars in favour of the King, and in concert with the loyalists in other parts of the kingdom, acquainted the commanding officers of the garrison, who gave immediate orders to search the colleges for arms; and the visitors ordered all the members of the university to deliver a peremptory answer in writing within seven days, whether they would submit to the authority of the parliament in this visitation or no? And that none should depart the university without leave from the pro-vice-chancellor. The day following both houses of parliament passed an order, "that for as much as many doctors, and other members of the university, notwithstanding the example that had been made of some of them, did still persist in their contempt of the authority of parliament,

which might be of dangerous consequence ; therefore the committee for reforming the university should have power to send for them under the custody of a guard, and commit them to prison." But still the scholars would not remove, being too stubborn to be evicted by votes at London, or papers and programma's at Oxford. The visitors therefore, after having waited above six months, were obliged to proceed to the last extremity, and published an order by beat of drum before the gate of every college, that if any one who had been expelled, did presume to tarry in the town, or was taken within five miles of it, he should be deemed as a spy, and punished with death. And to enforce this order, General Fairfax who was then in the field, gave public notice, that he would proceed accordingly with such as did not depart in four days, unless they obtained leave from the vice-chancellor and visitors to continue longer. At length their courage cooled, and the young gentlemen were prevailed on to retire. Thus the university of Oxford was cleared of the royalists, and the visitors at liberty to fill up their vacancies in the best manner they could ; in all which one cannot tell which most to admire, the unparalleled patience and forbearance of a victorious parliament for almost two years, or the stubborn perverseness and provoking behaviour of a few academics, against a power that could have battered their colleges about their ears, and buried them in their ruins in a few days.

About ten of the old heads of colleges, and professors of sciences, submitted to the visitors, and kept their places, and about nineteen or twenty were expelled. Although it must be allowed, that many of the ejected loyalists were men of learning and great merit, it is certain those who kept their places, and the successors of such as were ejected, were men of equal probity and virtue, and no less eminent in their several professions, as appears by the monuments of their learning, some of which are remaining to this day. The very enemies of the new heads of colleges have confessed, that they were strict in the government of their several houses ; that they kept a more than common watch over the morals of the students, and obliged them to an exact compliance with their statutes.

The professors were indefatigable in instructing their pupils both in public and private ; drunkenness, oaths, and profanation of the Lord's-day, were banished ; strict piety, and a profession of religion were in fashion ; the scholars often met together for prayer and religious conference ; so that, as Mr. Philip Henry who lived then in the university, observes, " If those of the old spirit and way were at first the better scholars, these were the better men."

Let the reader now judge of the impartiality and candor of those writers, who insinuate, that the new professors could neither pronounce Latin, nor write English ; that in the room of the ejected loyalists there succeeded an illiterate rabble, swept up from the plough-tail, from shops and grammar schools, and the dregs of the neighbouring university ; that the muses were driven from their ancient seats ; that all loyalty, learning, and good sense, was banished ; and that there succeeded in their room nothing but barbarism, enthusiasm, and ignorance, till the dawn of the restoration. Lord Clarendon was a declared enemy to these changes, and has painted them in the most odious colours, yet the force of truth has obliged him to confess, that it yielded an harvest of extraordinary good knowledge in all parts of learning ; and many who were wickedly introduced, applied themselves to the study of good learning, and the practice of virtue, and had inclinations to that duty and obedience they had never been taught, that when it pleased God to bring Charles II. back to his throne, he found the university abounding in excellent learning, and devoted to duty and obedience little inferior to what it was before its desolation. This must be acknowledged is an unanswerable testimony to the learning and application of the new professors ; and with equal justice may it be added, that the university was in a much better state for learning, religion, and good sense, at the restoration, than before the civil wars, as all the eminent philosophers and divines of the establishment who did so much honour to their country in the three succeeding reigns, owed their education to these professors, viz. the Tillotsons, Stillingfleets, Patricks, Souths, Caves, Sprats, Kidders, Whitbys, Bulls, Boyles, Newtons, Lockes,

and others. The university was in high reputation in foreign parts, and produced as many learned performances as in any former period, so that admitting the new professors were not introduced into their places in a legal way, according to the statutes, because of the necessity of the times, yet it is certain, they proved wise and watchful governors, strict observers of their statutes, and industrious promoters of piety and the liberal arts, and were far from deserving the brand of ignorant, illiterate, hypocritical blockheads, enemies to the legal constitution of their country, or of being pronounced unworthy the high preferments they enjoyed.

There were no doubt at first, very considerable vacancies in the several colleges; many of the fellows and scholars being dead, or killed in the King's service, and others having resigned their places in the university for benefices in the church, besides those who were expelled by the visitors, as already mentioned; but to supply the deficiency of fellows and tutors, the committee encouraged several learned graduates in the university of Cambridge to translate themselves to Oxford, and accept of preferments according to their merits. Many who had deserted the university when it became a garrison for the King, returned to their colleges, and were promoted according to their seniority. Great numbers of youth who had been kept at home because of the public commotions, were now sent to Oxford by their parents, to perfect their education; and if it be considered further, that there had been no admissions from Westminster, Eaton, St. Paul's, Merchant-Taylors, and other public schools, for five or six years past, it is not to be wondered that there was an unusual flow of youth to the university at this time, so that the damage occasioned by this revolution of affairs was quickly repaired, and the muses returned to their ancient seats.

The long interruption of education in the university, produced a very great scarcity of orthodox and learned ministers in the countries, some being silenced for refusing the covenant, and others dispersed, or killed in the wars. Many pulpits also were vacant by reason of the scandal or insufficiency of the incumbents, which was one occa-

sion of the increase of lay-preachers, for the country people would go to hear any body rather than have no sermons ; besides the presbyterian clergy would authorize none to preach, except such as would take covenant, and consent to their discipline. To remedy these evils, the northern counties petitioned the houses to erect a new university in the city of York, but the confusion of the times prevented their prosecuting the design. The Independents who were less zealous about clerical orders, encouraged or at least connived at the lay-preachers, apprehending that in cases of necessity, pious men of good natural parts might exercise their gifts publicly to the edification of the church ; till under this cover they saw every bold enthusiast almost begin to usurp the office of a teacher. To bring things therefore into a little better order, a petition was presented to both houses of parliament. The houses thanked the petitioners for their good affection, but did nothing upon it.

By an ordinance of Feb. 11, all stage-players were declared to be rogues punishable by the acts of the 39th of Elizabeth, and 7th of James, notwithstanding any licence they might have from the King, or any other person. All stage galleries, seats and boxes, are ordered to be pulled down by warrant of two justices of peace ; all actors in plays for time to come being convicted shall be publicly whipped, and find sureties for their not offending in like manner for the future ; and all spectators of plays for every offence are to pay five shillings. It is certain, that the laws against vice and immorality were strictly executed, the Lord's-day was duly observed, the churches were crowded with attentive hearers, family devotion was in repute, neither servants nor children being allowed to walk in the fields, or frequent the public houses. In a word, notwithstanding the difference of men's opinions, and political views, there was a zeal for God, and a much greater appearance of sobriety, virtue, and true religion, than before the civil war, or after the restoration.

Among the puritan divines who died this year, was Mr. Herbert Palmer, B. D. his father was Sir T. Palmer of Wingham, in Kent, his mother the eldest daughter of H. Pelham, of Sussex, Esq. Our divine was born at Wing-

ham ; he had a polite education in his father's house, and learned the French language almost as soon as he could speak. In 1615, he was admitted fellow commoner in St. John's Coll. Cambridge. In 1622, he took the degree of M. A. In 1623, he was chosen fellow of Queen's Coll. in that university ; the year following he was ordained to the ministry, to which he had devoted himself from his infancy : his first exercise was at a lecture in Canterbury, where he preached once a week, till it was put down with the rest of the afternoon sermons. In 1632, he was presented by Abp. Laud to the vicarage of Ashwell, in Hertfordshire, where he preached twice every Lord's-day, and catechised the children of his parishioners. The same year he was chosen one of the university preachers of Cambridge, by which he had authority to preach, as he should have occasion, in any part of England. In 1640, he and Dr. Tuckney were chosen clerks of the convocation for the diocese of Lincoln. In 1643, he was called to be a member of the assembly of divines at Westminster, and after some time chosen one of their assessors, in which place he behaved with great wisdom and integrity. April 11, 1644, he was constituted master of Queen's Coll. Cambridge, by the Earl of Manchester ; here he set himself industriously to the promoting of religion and learning, being very solicitous that none should be admitted to a scholarship or fellowship in his college, but such as were qualified in both those respects, the good effects of which appeared in the reputation and credit of that society, beyond most others of the university in his time. Mr. Palmer was a gentleman of a low stature, and a weakly constitution, but indefatigable in business ; his leisure was employed in works of devotion and charity, and as he had a competent estate, and chose a single life, he had an opportunity of doing a great deal of good ; he maintained several poor scholars at his own expence in the college, and when he died left a considerable benefaction to the same purpose. His last sickness was not long, his constitution being spent ; but his behaviour was uncommon, he looked the King of terrors in the face with an unshaken resolution, and resigned his life this summer with a firm expectation of the mercy of God to

eternal life, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and was buried in the new church at Westminster.

Mr. H. Wilkinson, B. D. was born in Yorkshire, and educated in Merton Coll. Oxford. In 1586, he was chosen probationer-fellow, and proceeded in arts; after some time he was made B. D. and in 1601, became pastor of Waddesdon in Bucks. He was a person of considerable learning and piety, and being an old puritan (says Mr. Wood) was elected one of the assembly of divines, but he spent the chief of his time and labours among his parishioners at Waddesdon, by whom he was greatly beloved; here he died in a very advanced age, and lies buried in his own church.

Mr. J. Saltmarsh, descended of an ancient family in Yorkshire, was educated in Magdalen Coll. Cambridge, and graduated there; he was esteemed a person of a fine active fancy, no contemptible poet, and a good preacher; he was first minister at Northampton, afterwards at Braisted in Kent, and at length chaplain in Sir T. Fairfax's army, where he always preached up love and unity: he meddled not with presbytery or independency, but laboured to draw souls from sin to Christ. He published some treatises, by which it appears he was of Antinomian principles. The manner of his death was extraordinary. Being at his house at Ilford in Essex, he told his wife he had been in a trance, and received a message from God which he must immediately deliver to the army. He went that night to London, and next day to Windsor; being come to the council of officers he told them, that the Lord had left them; that he would not prosper their consultations, but destroy them by divisions among themselves, because they had sought to destroy the people of God, those who had stood by them in their greatest difficulties. He then went to the General, and without moving his hat told him, that God was highly displeased with him for committing his saints to prison. The like message he delivered to Cromwell, requiring him to take effectual measures for the enlargement of the members of the army, who were committed for not complying with the general council. He then took his leave of the officers, telling them, he had now done his errand, and

must never see them any more. After which he went to London, and took leave of his friends there, telling them his work was done, and desiring some of them to be careful of his wife ; he returned to Ilford, in perfect health ; next day he told his wife, that he had now finished his work, and must go to his Father. The following morning he was taken speechless, and about four in the afternoon he died.

CHAP. XX.

CHARLES I.

The Second Civil War.—The Scots Army defeated by Cromwell.—The confusion of the Times.—Assembly of Divines.—Treaty of the Isle of Wight.—Conference between the King and Parliament Divines.—The King's Final Concessions.—His Speech to the Commissioners.—Remarks.—His Letter to the Prince of Wales.—The case of the Army.—They seize the King's Person.—March to London.—The House of Commons resolve to impeach the King.—Sentiments of the Nation.—The King's Trial and Execution.—His Character.—The authors of the King's Death.

THE King was all last winter a close prisoner in Carisbrook castle, attended only by two servants of his own, and debarred of all other conversation, without the knowledge of the governor ; nevertheless by the assistance of some particular friends, he sent and received several letters from the Queen, though his correspondence was discovered oftener than he was aware. His majesty made several attempts to escape, but was always prevented ; Captain Burley attempted to raise the Island for him, but was apprehended and executed. However in pursuance of the secret treaty with the Scots, already mentioned, an army was raising in that kingdom, to be commanded by Duke Hamilton ; but the English cavaliers, impatient of delay, without concerting proper measures among themselves, or with the presbyterians, took up arms in several counties, to deliver the King from his

confinement, and to restore him without any treaty with his parliament. The Welsh appeared first, under Major General Langhorn, Colonel Poyer, and Powel, three officers in the parliament army, who had privately accepted commissions from the Prince of Wales. These were followed by others in Dorsetshire, Devonshire, Sussex, Surrey, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Kent, Northamptonshire, Essex, and in the city of London itself. The insurrection in the city began on Sunday, April 9, in Moorfields, by a company of young fellows with clubs and staves, crying out, "For God and King Charles." But after they had done some mischief in the night, and frightened the mayor into the Tower, they were dispersed next morning by the general at the head of two regiments. The Kentish men under the Earl of Norwich, having plundered some houses, were defeated near Maidstone, and having a promise of pardon, the main body laid down their arms; notwithstanding which, the Earl with five hundred resolute men, crossed the Thames at the Isle of Dogs, and came as far as Mile-end green, expecting assistance from the city; but being disappointed, he joined the Essex cavaliers under Sir Charles Lucas, and Lord Capel, who surprized the parliament's committee at Chelmsford, and then shut themselves up in Colchester, where they maintained themselves against Gen. Fairfax for ten weeks, till being reduced to the last extremity, they were forced to surrender at discretion; after which the general marched round about the country, and having quieted all insurrections in those parts, returned to his head-quarters at St. Alban's about Michaelmas. While Fairfax was in Kent and Essex, Cromwell reduced the Welsh. At the same time, the Earl of Holland, and Duke of Buckingham appeared at the head of five hundred horse and some foot near Kingston upon Thames, but they were soon dispersed; the Earl was taken prisoner at St. Neot's, by Colonel Scroop, and the Duke of Buckingham, with great difficulty, escaped into the Low Countries. About the same time several of the parliament's ships revolted to the Prince of Wales, then in Holland, who went on board, and with Prince Rupert, Lord Hopton,

and others, sailed to the coast of England, with a design to relieve Colchester ; but although disappointed, he landed five hundred men about Deal and Sandwich, and blocked up the Thames mouth ; But when the Earl of Warwick came up with the parliament's fleet, he sailed back to Holland, and most of the ships returned to the obedience of the parliament.

It was not without great difficulty that the King's friends in Scotland prevailed with the parliament of that kingdom, to consent to the raising an army against England, the commissioners of the kirk, and the whole body of their ministers, being vehemently against it ; and when it was put to the vote, eighteen lords and forty commoners entered their protests, from a strong suspicion, that by the vast resort of loyalists to Edinburgh, there was a private agreement between Hamilton and that party, to lay aside the covenant, and restore the King without any conditions ; to prevent which the Scots parliament gave express orders, that none should be received into their army, or join with them at their entrance into England, except such as should take the covenant ; but Hamilton who betrayed their cause, found means to evade the order, by which means he ruined himself, and the party he intended to serve.

The Scots army entered England, to the number of twenty thousand foot and six thousand horse, under the command of Duke Hamilton, and were afterwards joined by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, at the head of four thousand foot, and seven or eight hundred horse ; but these being Englishmen and cavaliers, who had not taken the covenant, were not incorporated with the Scots forces, but were obliged to march a day before them, which was Hamilton's contrivance to evade his orders ; nevertheless they composed one army, Langdale being to receive all his orders from Hamilton, and to act only by his directions. But though there was a private understanding between the generals, the subalterns and soldiers of both parties were not acquainted with it, and had the same incurable jealousy of each other as formerly ; from the same motive, the Presbyterians in the parliament at Westminster commissioned their army to oppose the Scots, though they

came into England with an avowed intention of restoring the King upon the terms of the covenant ; which was the supreme object of their wishes.

It may seem surprising however, that there was no good understanding between the two parliaments, when those of England sent commissioners to Edinburgh to accomplish it ; but the Scots being strongly persuaded, that the parliament at Westminster was still governed by an army of Independents, all that Mr. Marshall and the rest could say, was not sufficient to divert them from their enterprize, which is the easier accounted for, when the strength of the Hamiltonian faction, and their obligations to the King by their secret treaty are considered. This engagement appears from the Duke's letter to Lambert, in which he acquaints him, that he was commanded to enter England with an army, for maintaining the solemn league and covenant ; for settling religion ; for delivering the King from his base imprisonment ; and freeing the parliament from the constraint put upon them. The state of affairs had undergone a considerable change by the rising of the English cavaliers, the army was in the field, and divided into several distant parts of the kingdom, and the Presbyterians in as full possession of the government, as ever ; they were renewing the treaty with the King, and sending propositions to the Scots to join with them ; but the good understanding between the two nations having been interrupted last winter, by the growing influence of the army, who were no friends to covenant uniformity, the Scots would not be satisfied with the present diminution of their power, unless they were entirely disbanded, and therefore had not changed the instructions to their general. On the other hand, the parliament could not with safety disband their army while the cavaliers were in the field ; nor could they forbid their opposing the Scots, who had joined the common enemy, and were marching into England with an armed force, to deliver the King from his imprisonment, although they had concerted no measures with the two houses, or communicated their secret treaty with his majesty in the Isle of Wight. Thus the two parliaments of England and Scotland

opposed each other, when both had the same views, and were actuated by the same principles. If the Scots army had been commanded by a general the Presbyterians could have confided in, and had marched directly for London, without joining the cavaliers, the parliament of England would have gladly received them, and the citizens of London have opened their gates; for the English presbyterians wished them well; but by joining the common enemy, who were in arms all over the kingdom, they were staggered; and Hamilton, who betrayed their cause, by trifling away a whole month in the north, gave the English army, which was distributed into various parts, time to re-unite and defeat all their enterprizes.

The Scots invaded England in this hostile manner, and in the midst of so many insurrections, awakened men's fears, and made them apprehend the cause was to be fought over again. And while the parliament was alarmed on every side, the English army gave them strong assurances they would stand by them, and march where-soever the committee of the two houses should direct. However General Fairfax who engaged heartily against the cavaliers, refusing to march against the Scots, because they had openly declared for the covenant, Colonel Lambert was ordered into the north, with a flying squadron to harrass them, till Cromwell could come out of Wales to his assistance. The Scots having been joined by Sir M. Langdale, who had seized the important town of Berwick, marched through Cumberland and Westmoreland into Lancashire without opposition; but Cromwell having joined Lambert and refreshed his troops, faced them near Preston, with eight or ten thousand men, and after a sharp engagement with the cavaliers under Sir M. Langdale, who were almost a day's march before the Duke, routed the whole Scots army, and took eight or nine thousand prisoners, with all their artillery and baggage; Hamilton fled with three thousand horse, but was so closely pursued by Lambert, that he surrendered without striking another stroke, and all his men were dispersed or made prisoners. Cromwell after this action pursued his victory, marching directly to Edinburgh, which opened its gates, and having entered the city and changed the magistracy

to his mind, he left three regiments of horse to keep the country quiet, and returned into England, laden with martial glory and renown.

Before the army left London, and while their influence over the parliament continued, the commons having taken into consideration the affair of settling the government, voted unanimously, that the government of the kingdom should be still by King, Lords, and Commons, and that the propositions at Hampton-Court should be the groundwork for a settlement; which shews that there was no design as yet formed of changing the government into a Commonwealth, at least nothing appeared, though the agitators, who were the chief managers of the army, began to mutter, that if the King could not be brought to reason, he must be set aside, and the Duke of Gloucester, or one of his younger children placed on the throne.

The army had no sooner left the neighbourhood of the city, but the Presbyterians resumed the management of public affairs. May 5, the parliament resolved to maintain the solemn league and covenant, and to unite with the kingdom of Scotland upon the propositions of Hampton-Court. The militia of the city of London was restored to the Lord-mayor and common-council; the eleven impeached members, and the seven peers were discharged: and in short all that had been done against the presbyterian greatness by the influence of the army last winter was reversed; so that as from August 6, 1647, to the beginning of May, 1648, the parliament may be supposed to have lain under some restraint from the army; from that time to the end of the treaty of the Isle of Wight, it was at full liberty, and entirely under presbyterian direction. Petitions came now from divers counties, and from the city of London itself, for a personal treaty with the King; upon which the commons set aside their votes of non-addresses, and at the request of the lords consented to treat with the King, without his signing any preliminary propositions, hoping as matters then stood, his majesty would not delay a moment to grant their demands, that he might be released from his confinement,

and placed upon his throne, before the army should be at leisure to throw further obstacles in the way ; but here was the fatal oversight, the King and his friends would not condescend, nor the presbyterians relax, till both were driven out of the field, and the army become irresistible.

Let the reader pause a little, and reflect with grief upon the miserable distractions of this unhappy kingdom ; in this *crisis* were three or four powerful parties with separate views striving for mastery. The King a close prisoner in the Isle of Wight was the prize contended for ; he had little or no weight to throw into either scale, though by signing the Scots treaty he was reputed the author of that invasion, and of the second civil war ; the cavaliers were in arms to preserve the Episcopal church of England ; but having concerted no measures among themselves were easily dispersed. The Scots came into England in pursuance of the covenant, and the secret treaty of the Isle of Wight, but two mistakes ruined their enterprize ; one was, their not communicating the contents of that treaty to the English presbyterians, which they might have done by their commissioners without the knowledge of the English army, before they had marched into England ; the other was, Duke Hamilton's acting in concert with the English cavaliers, allowing them to march in the van, which gave their enemies in parliament a fair opportunity of engaging the whole military power of England against them ; for without all doubt, if the Duke had prevailed, not only the independent, but the presbyterian cause had been betrayed into the hands of the cavaliers, which must in the end have been equally fatal to both parties, and lost them all the advantages of the war. This fatal conjunction broke the strength of the English presbyterians, and played the game into the hands of a third party, who destroyed the other two. The army, with whom were the independents, anabaptists, and other sectaries, was governed by the agitators, who had given up the King, and had an incurable aversion to the cavaliers, and all who adhered to them, as their most determined enemies ; nor could they confide in the presbyterians, because in all their past treaties they had seen

themselves made a sacrifice to covenant uniformity. Upon the whole, all parties were stiff in their demands, disunited in their councils, and infinitely jealous of each other. Among the presbyterians, some were for fighting only with the cavaliers, and others for opposing the Scots as invaders. Some of the cavaliers were for restoring the King by their own valour, and others for availing themselves of the assistance of the Scots. The army was no less distracted; those who served under General Fairfax were unwilling to march against the Scots presbyterians; those under Cromwell were for encountering every power that would not secure them that liberty of conscience for which they had been contending; and despairing of this, not only from the King, but from the Scots, and English presbyterians, they unhappily ran upon those extravagant measures which ended in the destruction of the King and overthrow of the whole constitution.

But to return, the assembly of divines having finished their main business, was reduced to a small number, most of the country ministers having returned home, and those who remained about London were employed chiefly in the examination of such ministers as presented themselves for ordination, or induction into livings; thus they subsisted till about three weeks after the King's death, having sat five years, six months, and twenty-two days, in which time they had one thousand, one hundred, and sixty-three sessions. They were afterwards changed into a committee for the purposes last mentioned, and met every Thursday morning till March 25, 1652, when the long parliament being turned out of the house by Oliver Cromwell, they broke up without any formal dissolution.

When posterity shall impartially review the labours of this assembly of divines, and consider the times in which they sat, they will have a just veneration for their memory; for though their sentiments in divinity were in many instances too narrow and contracted, yet with all their faults, amongst which their persecuting zeal for religion was not the least, they were certainly men of real piety and virtue, who meant well, and had the interest of religion at heart; and most of them possessed as much learning as any of their cotemporaries, and had they not grasped

at coercive power, or jurisdiction over the consciences of men, their characters would have been unblemished. The divine right of the presbyterian government first threw them into heats, and then divided them, engaging them first with the parliament, and then with the independents and erastians. Their opposing a toleration raised them a great many enemies, and caused a secession in their own body, for after they had carried the question of divine right, the independents and erastians deserted them, after which they found it very difficult to muster as many as would make a house.

We have already remembered the two former of these assemblies, the third met May 3, this year, and chose the reverend Mr. Whitaker moderator. In the fourth session they agreed to present a second petition to the parliament in the name of the province, humbly to desire, 1. That they would renew the consideration of their former petition. 2. That they would establish the two catechisms of the assembly of divines, and appoint them to be publicly taught throughout the kingdom. 3. That they would add their civil sanction to the new confession of faith. 4. That the directory for public worship may be better observed; and that better care may be taken for the observation of the Lord's day.—In their twelfth session they agreed to the report of their committee, concerning the cause of the decay of religion, and of the increase of wickedness, which they say was chiefly owing to the want of able and settled ministers, there being above forty parish churches and congregations within the province, which had no ministers settled among them by allowance of authority, a catalogue of which churches was subjoined. The reason of this defect being chiefly want of maintenance, they pray the houses, “to agree upon some method, that the dean and chapter lands, and the impropriations belonging to bishops, lying within this province, may be applied for the augmentation of the clergy's maintenance; and that there may be a fixed maintenance in every parish recoverable by the incumbent.”

The fourth provincial assembly met Nov. 3, Mr. E. Calamy moderator. In their third session they ordered, that the several ministers of the province of London do

begin the work of catechising; that they use the assembly's catechism, and no other; that the persons to be catechised be children and servants not admitted to the Lord's table; that the time be in the afternoon before sermon; and that they exhort their parishioners to encourage it. In the fourth session, they resolved, that the twelve classes of the province of London observe their course for ordination of ministers, and that at the close of every public ordination, notice be given which *classis* is to ordain next. But the nation being in confusion, and the clouds gathering thick over their heads, they did little more this winter than keep a weekly fast among themselves, to avert the judgments of God, which threatened the life of the King, and the dissolution of the whole government.

The county of Lancashire being formed into another presbyterian province this year, assembled at Preston, and published a kind of pastoral letter, or solemn exhortation to the several churches within their province, to the practice of those duties that were requisite to the supporting and carrying on the presbyterian discipline.

They likewise appointed a committee to examine the paper called the agreement of the people, and tendered to the consideration of the nation by the officers of the army, with a desire that they would by subscription declare their concurrence to it; but it was carried in the negative. The design of this paper was to change the form of government into a kind of commonwealth, without a King or house of lords. It was published by way of probation, that they might learn the sense of the nation; but the article relating to religion, gave great offence to the presbyterian clergy, because it asserts the right of "all who profess faith, in God by Jesus Christ, however differing in judgment from the doctrine, discipline, and worship publicly held forth, to be protected in the profession of their faith, and exercise of their religion according to thier consciences, so as they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others, or the disturbance of the public peace." These were just and generous sentiments; however the synod forbid their people to subscribe them, not only because the agreement imported a change in the

civil government, but because of the mischiefs that would attend a toleration; their reasons for which they published to the world subscribed by fifty-nine ministers.

The provincial assemblies of London met regularly every half year, to the year 1655, when finding themselves without power, and not being willing to apply to the protector and his parliament for support, they desisted; but there were none legally formed in any other counties of England. However the country ministers entered into voluntary associations, and erected a sort of classes for ordination of ministers, and promoting friendship and peace among themselves, many of the independent ministers joining with them. The associations met once a month, at one or other church in the county, and after prayers and a sermon, conferred upon the state of religion, and gave their advice upon such cases as were brought before them, in a neighbourly and friendly manner.

To return to the parliament, which was now recruited with such presbyterian members as had absconded, or deserted their stations, while the army was quartered in the neighbourhood of the city; these gentlemen finding they had the superiority in the house, resumed their courage, and took the opportunity of discovering their principles and spirit, by passing such a law against heretics as is hardly to be paralleled among protestants. It had been laid aside by the influence of the army for above nine months, till May 1, when it was voted, that all ordinances concerning church government referred to committees, be brought in and debated; and that the ordinance against blasphemy and heresy be now determined, which was done accordingly. This is one of the most shocking laws I have met with in restraint of religious liberty, and shews that the governing presbyterians would have made a terrible use of their power, had they been supported by the sword of the civil magistrate. The ordinance ordains, "that all persons who shall willingly maintain, publish, or defend by preaching or writing, the following heresies with obstinacy, shall upon complaint, and proof, by the oaths of two witnesses, before two justices of the peace, or confession of the party, be committed to prison, without bail or mainprize, till the next gaol delivery; and

in case the indictment shall then be found, and the party upon his trial shall not abjure his said error, and his defence and maintenance of the same, he shall suffer the pains of death, as in case of felony, without benefit of clergy; and if he recant or abjure, he shall remain in prison till he find sureties, that he will not maintain the said heresies or errors any more; but if he relapse, and is convicted a second time, he shall suffer death as before."

The ordinance proceeds to specify some other errors of less demerit, and says, "that whosoever shall maintain or defend them shall, upon conviction by the oaths of two witnesses, or by his own confession before two justices of peace, be ordered to renounce his said error or errors in the public congregation of the parish from whence the complaint comes, or where the offence was committed, and in case of refusal he shall be committed to prison till he find sureties that he shall not publish or maintain the said error or errors any more."

The list of heresies included in this ordinance, was taken from the speeches or writings of the papists, arminians, antinomians, arians, baptists, and quakers, &c. of those times. The ordinance was a comprehensive engine of cruelty, and would have tortured great numbers of good christians, and good subjects. The presbyterians of the present age are not only thankful that the confusion of the times did not permit their predecessors to put this law in execution, but wish also, that it could be blotted out of the records of time, as it is impossible to brand it with a censure equal to its demerits.

June 21, the army being still in the field, and the parliament at liberty, the ordinance for the more effectual settling the presbyterian government, without limitation of time, was read the second time and committed, and afterwards received the sanction of both houses, under the title of a form of church government to be used in the churches of England and Ireland. It is a collection of the several ordinances for establishing the branches of presbyterial government already mentioned; but it lays no penalty upon recusants, or such as do not come to the sacrament, or submit to their discipline; which was the utmost length that presbytery obtained in this kingdom.

The parliament having agreed to treat with the King without any preliminary conditions, sent the Earl of Middlesex, Sir J. Hippisly, and Mr. Bulkely, to acquaint his majesty with their resolutions, and to desire him to appoint what place he pleased in the Isle of Wight for the congress; his majesty seemed pleased with the message, and sent a letter to the two houses, desiring them to recal their votes, which forbid the access of his friends, and to direct that men of necessary use in this affair may be permitted to assist him; and that the Scots be parties in the treaty. His majesty then appointed Newport in the Isle of Wight for the place of conference; to all which the lords agreed without any restriction; but the commons insisted, that no person lately in arms against the parliament be of the number; that the Scots be not included; and that if his majesty be at liberty as at Hampton-Court, he pass his royal word not to go out of the island during the treaty, nor twenty-eight days after, without consent of parliament.

Upon these conditions his majesty was conducted to Newport, and left at liberty upon his parole of honour. Several noblemen, gentlemen, divines, and lawyers, were appointed to assist him in the treaty, who were to stand behind his majesty's chair and hear the debates, but not to speak, except when the King withdrew into another room for their advice. The parliament appointed five noblemen, and ten commoners, with four divines to assist them in their debates touching religion. The treaty was to continue forty days, and to proceed upon the propositions of Hampton-Court. Sep. 12, the parliament observed a day of public fasting and prayer, for a blessing; and some days after, the King and his household did the like.

The conferences opened September 18, at the house of Sir W. Hodges. The first day the commissioners presented the King with a draught of three bills; the first to establish the presbyterian government for ever in the church of England; the second to relinquish the militia to the two houses for thirty years; and the third to recal all his majesty's declarations against the parliament. To the last of these the King readily consented, but excepted to the preamble, in which were these words, that the

two houses of parliament had been necessitated to enter into a war in their just and lawful defence. Instead of which, the King proposed an act of indemnity; but the commissioners insisting peremptorily upon the words as those without which they could not be safe, his majesty with great reluctance consented, having first protested in writing, that no concession of his should be binding if the treaty broke off without effect. His majesty yielded the militia to the parliament for twenty years; and the management of the Irish war. He conceded to vacate those titles of honour that had been conferred since the carrying away the great seal, and to confirm the parliament's great seal. He agreed to the payment of the public debts, provided they were stated within two years; to confirm the charter of the city of London; to empower the parliament to confer offices, and constitute magistrates for twenty years; and to take away the court of wards provided he might have one hundred thousand pounds a year in lieu of it. His majesty consented further that those of his party whom they called delinquents, should submit to a fine, or be proscribed the court, if the parliament saw fit; but he abhorred the thoughts of charging them with treason who had acted by his commission, and therefore absolutely refused to consent to it.

With regard to religion his majesty agreed, that "the assembly of divines at Westminster be confirmed for three years; that the directory and presbyterian government be confirmed for the same time, provided that neither himself, nor those of his judgment, be obliged to comply with it; that a consultation in the mean time be had with the assembly, and twenty divines of his majesty's nomination, what form of church government shall be established afterwards, with a clause for the ease of tender consciences. His majesty consented further, that legal estates for lives, or for a term of years not exceeding ninety-nine, should be made out of the bishops' lands and revenues, for the satisfaction of them that have purchased them, provided that the inheritance may still remain to the church, and the rest be reserved for their maintenance. His majesty will consent further, to an act for the better observation of the Lord's-day; for suppressing innovations in

churches and chapels ; for the better advancing of preaching God's holy word ; and against pluralities and non-residence. To an act for regulating and reforming the universities, and the colleges of Westminster, Winchester, and Eaton ; for the better discovery of papists, and for the educating their children in the protestant religion ; to an act for better putting the laws in execution against papists, and to prevent the hearing and saying mass ; but as to the covenant his majesty is not as yet satisfied to sign or swear to it, or consent to impose it on the consciences of others."

These concessions about church government being declared not satisfactory, as amounting only to a sort of *interim*, his majesty desired to confer with the parliament divines for the satisfaction of his conscience, having been bred and instructed, as he said, in the way he stands for, by his father, the wisest King and best man in the world, and therefore could not easily yield. There is hardly any thing to be met with in this conference. but what has been already taken notice of in his majesty's debate with Mr. Henderson, and in the answer of the *smectymnuan* divines to Bp. Hall, in the first volume of this history ; and therefore it will be the less necessary to enter into the particulars of the debate.—In conclusion his majesty put them upon evidencing one of these three things, 1. Either that there is no form of church government prescribed in scripture. Or, 2. if there be, that the civil power may change it as they see cause. Or, 3. if it be unchangeable, that it was not episcopal, but some other that they will name, for till this is done he shall think himself excusable for not consenting to the abolishing that government which he found settled at his coronation ; which is so ancient, has been so universally received in the christian world, has been confirmed by so many acts of parliament, and subscribed by all the clergy of the church of England. But the ministers declined entering into so large a field, which must have brought on a debate concerning the whole ecclesiastical polity of the church.

The King's difficulty, relating to his coronation oath, by which he apprehended himself bound to maintain episcopal government as he found it settled when he received

the crown, the commissioners did not think so proper for the discussion of divines, because it depended upon the law of the land, and therefore took this part of the debate upon themselves. The King conceived, that the consent of the clergy themselves in convocation assembled, was necessary before they could be deprived of those possessions and privileges of which they were legally possessed. But the commissioners maintained, that the legislature alone was to determine in this case, as it had done at the reformation; that it was not to be supposed, that any body of men would consent to part with their possessions if they could keep them; but if the legislature judged any part of the King's coronation oath hurtful to the public, it was certainly in their power, with the consent of the King, to alter or annul it.—One may justly ask how this branch of the coronation oath should stick so much with the King, when it was notorious that his government for almost fifteen years, had been one continued breach of *magna charta*, and an encroachment upon the civil liberties of his subjects?

But neither party would accede to the other, though the article of religion was almost the only point that hindered the conclusion of the treaty: his majesty wondered at the shyness and reluctance of the parliament divines to debate his three questions, and told them plainly, that their endeavours to give him satisfaction in them, would have added to the reputation of their ingenuity in the whole undertaking, it not being probable that they should work much upon his judgment, while they were fearful to declare their own; or possible to relieve his conscience, but by a free declaring of theirs. But what was all this to the point? the only question before them was, *whether diocesan episcopacy was of divine institution?* if they had satisfied his majesty in that, they had discharged their duty; to launch out farther was to lose time and protract the treaty beyond its limits. If diocesan episcopacy was not scriptural it might be abolished, which was all the parliament contended for at present. But the King's divines encouraged him to dispute every inch of ground, and instead of yielding any one point to the ministers, to start new difficulties, till his ruin was inevitable.

However towards the close of the treaty, when the victorious army was returning towards London, and things almost come to an extremity, his majesty told the commissioners, that though he could not with a good conscience consent to the abolishing of episcopacy, because he believed the substance of it to be of apostolical institution, he was willing to reduce it to the primitive usage; and if his two houses should so advise, he would be content to lessen the extent, and multiply the number of dioceses.—He still apprehended the entire alienation of the bishops' lands by sale to be sacrilege.—He was willing to assent to the calling and sitting of the assembly of divines as desired.—He would also confirm the public use of the directory in all churches and chapels, and would repeal so much of all statutes as concerned the book of common prayer only; provided the use thereof might be continued in his majesty's chapel for himself and his household; and that the same [i. e. the directory] should be confirmed by act of parliament for three years, provided a consultation be had in the mean time with the assembly of divines as before mentioned.—Touching the articles of religion, the assembly's confession, his majesty desired further time to examine them before he bound up himself and his subjects in matters of faith and doctrine.—His majesty will consent to an act for better observation of the Lord's-day, and to prevent saying of mass.—But as to the covenant, his majesty was not satisfied to take it, nor to impose it upon others."

These concessions being voted unsatisfactory by the two houses at Westminster, his majesty consented further, 1. "That archbishops, chancellors, deans, and the whole hierarchy, be abolished, except BISHOPS. 2. That none but the presbyterian government be exercised for three years. 3. That in case no settlement should be agreed upon within that time, that then for the future the power of ordination should not be exercised by bishops without the counsel and assistance of presbyters; that no other episcopal jurisdiction should be exercised but such as should be agreed upon in parliament: and if within that time his majesty should be convinced that episcopacy is not agreeable to the word of God, or that Christ command-

ed any other government, he will embrace it, and take episcopacy quite away." The houses being still dissatisfied with these concessions, his majesty added, " That he would make no new bishops for three years; and for the further satisfaction of the parliament, he would not insist upon the use of the common-prayer in his own chapel for that time, would make use of some other form of divine service for himself, and forbid mass to be said in the Queen's chapel." This was his majesty's final answer, which the commons voted unsatisfactory, and ordered the commissioners to acquaint him with their votes.

The treaty was prolonged three weeks after this, in which time the commissioners did all that was in their power to obtain his majesty's consent, beseeching him with tears upon their bended knees, since matters were brought to so narrow a compass, to yield up the point of religion. The committee of states in Scotland joined with the parliament commissioners in beseeching his majesty to accede to the proposition about religion, which they understood to be the point his majesty most stuck at, and which they in honour and interest were obliged most to insist upon, and without which, they add, his " throne cannot be established in righteousness." They also wrote to the Prince of Wales to mediate with his father. The general assembly, and the commissioners of the kirk of Scotland, sent at the same time two angry letters, for, it was said, they could speak more plainly in the name of their master, than the commissioners of estates would venture to do in their own. But his majesty was deaf to all remonstrances and persuasions, being determined if his two houses did not think fit to recede from the rigour of their demands in these particulars, to cast himself, as he said, on his Saviour's goodness to support and defend him from all afflictions, how great soever which might befall him, rather than upon politic considerations deprive himself of the tranquillity of his mind; and therefore, excepting his majesty's consent to license the assembly's lesser catechism with a proper preface, in all other matters in difference he resolved to abide by his former answers.

At the close of the treaty the King made a short speech to the commissioners, in which he reminds them how far he had condescended for the sake of peace. He desired them to put a good interpretation on his vehement expressions on some part of the debates, there being nothing in his intentions but kindness; and that as they had used a great deal of freedom, and shewed great abilities in their debates, which had taken him off from some of his opinions, that they would use the same freedom with his two houses, to press them to an abatement of those things in which his conscience was not yet satisfied, which more time might do, his opinions not being like the laws of the Medes and Persians unalterable or infallible; adding his very hearty thanks for the pains they had taken to satisfy him, professing that he wanted eloquence to commend their abilities. He desired them candidly to represent all the transactions of the treaty to his two houses, that they might see nothing of his own interest, how near or dear soever (but that wherein his conscience is not satisfied) can hinder, on his part, an happy conclusion of the treaty.

The King's concessions were certainly a sufficient foundation for peace with the presbyterians, if they could have been relied upon, and were so voted by the parliament when it was too late. His majesty had given up the main pillars of the hierarchy, by consenting to abolish archbishops, deans and chapters, and that a bishop should not act without his presbyters; which was Abp. Usher's scheme, and all that the puritans at first contended for; but the Scots and English presbyterians grown lofty in power, and being less apprehensive of danger from the army, than they ought, concluded they could not fail of their whole establishment in a few weeks, though there was not the least provision for liberty of conscience for dissenters, which they might have been sensible, would occasion high discontents in the army. The commissioners were disposed to an accommodation, and took all opportunities to assure his majesty, that if he would but yield for a time, things should be made easy to him afterwards. But the truth is, as the King would not trust the parliament, so neither would they the King, because they obser-

ved,—1. His dilatoriness in the treaty, as if he waited for some advantageous turn of affairs to revoke his concessions. 2. His resolute disputing every inch of ground without yielding a single proposition, or none of any considerable moment.—3. His majesty's maxim, "that what was yielded out of necessity was not binding when the restraint was taken off."—4. They suspected his sincerity, because the Duke of Ormond was at this very time treating with the Irish rebels by his majesty's commission, which he would not recal.—5. They remembered his majesty's artful manner of interpreting away his concessions.—6. They gave out that he was not his own master, but that his conscience was under the direction of his divines, who would put him upon all extremes for their support.—7. They were incensed at the murders and depredations of the cavalier soldiers, even after they were beaten out of the field, and were afraid of their recovering the management of public affairs. And lastly, They were as firmly persuaded of the divine institution of presbytery, and the obligation of the covenant, as the King and his divines were of the *jus divinum* of episcopacy.

Sir J. Browning entreated his majesty in his closet, to make all his concessions in one declaration, at one instant, and in one day. The parliament commissioners were no less importunate with the King, but he was inflexible, and usually out of humour. Remarkable are the words of Mr. Whitlock, speaking of the above-mentioned concessions ;—" More than this, he says, could not be obtained, though most earnestly begged of his majesty by some of the commissioners with tears, and upon their knees, particularly as to the proposition concerning religion, wherein church government, public worship, and chiefly the revenues of the church, swayed more with the King's chaplains than about him ; and they more with his majesty (continually whispering matter of conscience to him) than the parliament, and all his commissioners, could prevail with him for an agreement, though possibly his own judgment (which was above all theirs) might not be so fully convinced by his eager divines about him." But these had possession of his majesty's conscience, and

directed his answers; and though they abhorred the thoughts of deposing the King, or putting him to death, it ought to be considered, whether their stiff and imprudent behaviour did not manifestly contribute to that catastrophe.

His majesty being thus entangled, was pleased before the breaking up of the treaty, to send for Abp. Usher, and asked him this question, "whether he found in all antiquity, that presbyters alone ordained any?" To which the archbishop replied frankly, that he could shew his majesty more than that, even that presbyters alone had successively ordained bishops, and instanced in St. Jerom's words, in his *Epist. ad Evagrium*, where he says, the presbyters of Alexandria chose and made their own bishops from the days of Mark the apostle till Heraclus and Dionysius. At the same time the archbishop offered his majesty his own scheme for the reduction of episcopacy to the form of presbytery, which his majesty had formerly rejected, but was now at length willing to accept; but the Scots and English presbyterians were grown so stubborn that they would not acquiesce.

Though the commissioners had no power to recede from their instructions, the treaty was prolonged from time to time in hopes that something or other might gain upon the King; but his majesty was frequently out of temper, and treated the commissioners with no degree of confidence. The forty days to which the treaty was limited being ended October 28, it was enlarged for fourteen days, and then for seven, and so on to the 28th of November, for which (says Lord Clarendon) his majesty was nothing glad; nor did his friends in the house desire the prolongation, it being moved by those that wished the treaty might have no good effect, to give the army time to finish their summer's work, and return to London. On the last day of the treaty, when the commissioners pressed his majesty to consider, that there was not one whole day to determine the fate of the kingdom, and that nothing could save his majesty from the growing power of the army, but giving his two houses satisfaction in the particular of the church, then says Clarendon, his majesty's own council, and the divines, besought him to consider

the safety of his person, even for the church's sake, which had no prospect of being preserved but by his life, that the unavoidable necessity that lay upon him obliged him to do any thing that was not sin."—And why did they not do this sooner? However it seems they could not prevail for a suspension of the episcopal power in point of ordination and jurisdiction, till he and the two houses shall agree what government should be established for the future. Which was the substance of all his majesty intended by his concessions. After supper the commissioners took their leave, and having kissed his majesty's hand, began their journey next morning towards London. It is intrepid language that Mr. Warwick puts into the King's mouth on this occasion. His majesty said to him one night, "I am like a captain that has defended a place well, and his superiors not being able to relieve him he had leave to surrender it; but though they cannot relieve me in the time, let them relieve me when they can, else, says he, I will hold it out till I make some stone in this building my tomb-stone; and so I will do by the church of England."

Lord Clarendon is of opinion, that the major part of both houses, as well as the commissioners, were at this time so far from desiring the execution of all their concessions, that if they had been able to have resisted the wild fury of the army, they would themselves have been suitors to have declined the greatest part of them. And were not the King's counsellors and divines sensible of this? Why then did they trifle away a month in fruitless debates, when it was evident to all men that the King's condition became more desperate every day? Thus ended the famous treaty at Newport, which like all the former proved unsuccessful, chiefly from an incurable jealousy between the contending parties, which how reasonable it was on either side must be left with the reader.

The noble historian observes, that the King sent the Prince of Wales a journal of the proceedings of the treaty, and an exact copy of all the papers that had passed to the 29th of November, together with a letter of six sheets of paper writ with his majesty's own hand, con-

taining the reasons and motives of all his concessions. The conclusion of the letter, his lordship says, deserves to be preserved in letters of gold, as it gives the best character of that excellent prince ; but the copy does not in my opinion, resemble the original. Some passages of it are these, “——We have laboured long in search of peace, do not you be disheartened to tread in the same steps.—Prefer the way of peace.—Conquer your enemies by pardoning rather than by punishing.—Never affect more greatness or prerogative than that which is really and intrinsically for the good of your subjects, not the satisfaction of favourites. You may perceive that all men entrust their treasure where it returns them interest. If princes, like the sea, receive, and repay all the fresh streams the rivers intrust them with, they will not grudge, but pride themselves to make them up an ocean——If God restore you to your right, whatever you promise, keep——Do not think any thing in this world worth obtaining by false and unjust means——.” These are excellent maxims of government ; and if his majesty had conducted himself by them he could not have been reduced to such a low and destitute condition, as to have hardly a place in the world to hide himself in.

I am unwilling to suspect the genuineness of this letter, though there were so many forgeries obtruded upon the world about this time to advance his majesty’s piety and virtue, that one can hardly feel the ground he treads on. If such a letter was sent to the Prince, it is very strange he should never see it ; or that his lordship, who lived in the prince’s family, and extracted his account of the treaty of Newport from these papers (as he declares) should never shew it his master ; and yet these are the words of Bp. Burnet, in the history of his life and times, “The Duke of York suffered me to talk very freely to him about religion, and he told me among other things, that the letter to the Prince of Wales was never brought to him.”

The army had been six months in the field this summer engaged against the cavaliers and Scots, who being now reduced and subdued, they began to express an high dissatisfaction with the present treaty, because no pro-

vision had been made for their darling point, liberty of conscience. Here they had just reason of complaint, but ought not to have relieved themselves by the methods, and at the expence they did. They were thoroughly incensed against the King and his cavaliers on one hand, and the high presbyterians on the other. It appeared to them, that the King's sentiments in religion and politics were not changed ; that he would always be raising new commotions till things returned to their former channel ; and in the present treaty he had yielded nothing but through constraint ; and that when he was restored to his throne, after all the blood that had been shed, they should neither be safe in their lives or fortunes. On the other hand, if presbyterian uniformity should take place by virtue of the present treaty, their condition would be little mended ; for (said they) if the King himself cannot obtain liberty to have the common-prayer read privately in his own family, what must the Independents and sectaries expect ? What have we been contending for, if after all the hazards we have run, presbytery is to be exalted, and we are to be banished our country or driven into corners ?

While the resentments of the army were thus inflamed, their officers who were high enthusiasts, though men of unblemished morals, observed several days of fasting and prayer at their head quarters at St. Alban's, till at length in a kind of despair, and under the influence of a religious phrensy, they entered upon the most desperate measures, resolving to assume the sovereign power into their own hands ; to bring the King to justice ; to set aside the covenant ; and change the government into a Commonwealth. To accomplish these monstrous resolutions, which were founded (as they alledged) upon self preservation, though prosecuted by measures subversive not only of the rights of parliament, but of the fundamental laws of society, the officers agreed upon a remonstrance, which was presented to the parliament by six of their council, together with a letter from General Fairfax to the house, desiring it might have a present reading.

The remonstrance sets forth the miscarriages of the King's government ; his double and dilatory proceedings

in treaties, particularly in that then on foot ; and then desires the house to return to their votes of non-addresses ; to lay aside that bargaining proposition of compounding with delinquents, and bring them to punishment ; and among these offenders, they propose, 1. That the King be brought to justice, as the capital cause of all. 2. That a day be set for the Prince of Wales and Duke of York to surrender themselves, or be declared incapable of the government ; and that for the future, no King be admitted but by the free election of the people. The commons upon reading this remonstrance, were struck with surprize, and being in the utmost consternation, deferred the debate for ten days, *i. e.* to the end of the treaty. But the officers being apprehensive of what might happen in that time, sent Colonel Ewer to the Isle of Wight with a party of horse to secure the person of the King, and ordered Colonel Hammond to quit the Island, and attend the council of officers at their head quarters at Windsor ; the King was secured the very day after the expiration of the treaty, and next morning conveyed by a party of horse to Hurst-Castle, where he continued till he was conducted to Windsor, in order to his trial. The same day the officers sent a declaration to the house to enforce their late remonstrance, complaining that they were wholly neglected, and desiring the majority of the house to exclude from their councils such as would obstruct justice, or else withdraw from them. This occasioned warm debates among the members, and a motion that the principal officers who had a share in the remonstrance might be impeached of high treason. Upon which the army marched directly to London, with General Fairfax at their head, who wrote to the Lord-mayor and common council, that he was marching to Westminster in pursuance of the late remonstrance, and desired 40,000*l.* of the city in part of their arrears. He quartered his troops about Whitehall, the Mews, Covent-Garden, and St. James's, assuring the citizens, that they should disturb no man in his property.

Though the houses were now invironed with an armed force, they had the courage to vote, " that the seizing the person of the King, and carrying him prisoner to Hurst-Castle, was without their advice and consent ; and next

day, after having sat all night, it was carried without a division, "that the King's concessions to the parliament's propositions were a sufficient ground for the houses to proceed upon for settling the peace of the kingdom;" two hundred and forty-four members being present. But the officers being determined to carry their point, discharged the city trained bands, and placed a regiment of horse and another of foot the very next day, at the door of the parliament house, and Colonel Pride having a list of the dissaffected members in his hand, took about forty of them into custody, and denied entrance to about an hundred more, which determined several others to withdraw, inso-much that the house of commons was left in the possession of about one hundred and fifty, or two hundred persons, most of them officers of the army, who conducted every thing according to the plan concerted in their council at St. Alban's. Oliver Cromwell was not yet arrived at London from his northern expedition, but wrote from Knottingly, that the officers of his regiments were deeply sensible of the miseries of the kingdom, and had a great zeal for impartial justice to be done on offenders, with whom he concurred. On December 6, he came to London, and next day had the thanks of the house thus garbled for his faithful services to the public. December 11, a paper called the *agreement of the people* was presented to the general and council of officers, as a rule for future government. It was supposed to be drawn up by Ireton, and proposed a dissolution of the present parliament, and a new one to be chosen, consisting of four hundred members, who were to elect a council of state from among themselves, for the management of all public affairs, under certain restrictions; one of which is, that they do not lay any restraints on the consciences of men for religious differences, but no proceedings were had upon it, nor did it ever take place.

In the mean time, the house of commons (if they now deserved that name), voted his majesty's concessions at the Isle of Wight not satisfactory; and "that no member who had been absent when that vote was passed, should sit again in the house till he had subscribed it; that no more addresses be made to the King for the future, that

no malignant, who had assisted against the parliament in the first or second civil war, or that had abetted the late tumults, should be capable of being chosen Lord-mayor or Alderman of the city of London, or be capable of any place of profit or trust, or so much as of giving his vote for choosing persons into such offices, for the space of one year." The secluded members published a protestation against all these proceedings as null and void, till they were restored to their places ; but the lords and commons who remained in the houses, voted their protestation false, scandalous, and seditious.

The army having vanquished all opposition, went on with irresistible violence to change the whole frame of government ; and to make way for it, determined to impeach the King of high treason, as having been the cause of all the blood that had been spilt in the late war. This unheard-of motion met with some opposition even in that packed assembly ; Oliver Cromwell was in doubt, and said, " if any man moved this of choice or design, he should think him the greatest traitor in the world ; but since *providence* and *necessity* had cast them upon it, he should pray God to bless their councils, though he was not provided on the sudden to give them advice." Some said, there was no need to bring the King to a trial ; others, that there was no law to try him, nor any judicatory to call him to account ; but all this was over-ruled ; and because the lords rejected the ordinance for the King's trial, Clarendon tells us, they shut up their doors ; but Mr. Whitlock says, they entered their house, and although several ordinances passed, the commons would not own them any longer. Thus the constitution was dissolved, and all that ensued, must be considered as effected by the military power.

Though some few petitions had been procured from divers counties, and even from the common-council of London, that justice might be done upon the authors of our troubles, and bloodshed, in an exemplary way, and without respect of persons ; yet the general voice of the nation was against such violence, as appears by the petitions and protestations of all orders of people.—The prelatial clergy lay still, either because they could not

assemble in a body, or because they apprehended they could do no service by appearing ; but Dr. Gauden, afterwards Bp. of Exeter, published a protestation against the declared purposes and proceedings of the army, and others, about trying and destroying our sovereign Lord the King, and sent it to a Colonel to be presented to Lord Fairfax at the council of war. Dr. Hammond sent an humble address also to the general and council of war, to prevent the horrid design of putting the King to death. Both these papers insisted on the divine right of kingly government, and that to call the King before the tribunal of the people, was contrary to the laws of the land.

The officers of the army attempted by their creatures to gain over the London ministers to their measures, or at least to persuade them to a neutrality. Hugh Peters, one of their chaplains, was sent to the remains of the assembly of divines at Westminster for this purpose, but they declared unanimously for the release of the King. He then invited several of the London ministers to a conference with some officers of the army, upon the subject of the coercive power of the magistrate in matters of religion, which was foreign to the present purpose ; but instead of meeting them, these divines assembled with their brethren at Sion-college and published a paper, entitled “ A serious and faithful representation of the judgment of the ministers of the gospel within the province of London, whose names are subscribed, contained in a letter to the general, and his council of war, delivered to his excellency by some of the subscribers.”

Notwithstanding this seasonable and explicit remonstrance, the episcopal divines in order to throw off all the guilt of the King's misfortunes from themselves, who by their obstinate behaviour had in reality reduced him to the last extremity, resolved to fix it upon the presbyterians ; as their successors have done even till this day. It was therefore given out among the people, that the presbyterians had brought the King to the block, and that the independents would cut off his head. To wipe off this calumny, the presbyterian clergy published another paper, entitled “ A vindication of the London ministers from the

unjust aspersions cast upon their former actings for the parliament, as if they had promoted the bringing the King to capital punishment.

It was not possible for the few independent ministers in London to join the presbyterians in these addresses, 1. Because they were not possessed of parochial livings, nor members of the provincial assembly of London, nor admitted to their weekly consultations at Sion-college, but were a sort of dissenters from the public establishment. 2. Because they did not believe themselves so far bound by the covenant as to oppose a toleration, nor to support any constitution that was not consistent with christian liberty, which the presbyterians would not admit. None of their ministers, that I know of, declared their approbation of the proceedings of the council of officers in the trial of the King, except Mr. Hugh Peters, and Mr. John Goodwin. Some of the independent ministers in the country joined the presbyterians in protesting against it; those of Oxford and Northampton of both denominations published their humble advice and earnest desire, presented to General Fairfax and the council of war, Jan. 25, subscribed by nineteen or twenty names, in which they declare their utter disapprobation of all proceedings against his majesty's crown and life, as contrary to scripture, to the laws of the land, the solemn league and covenant, and tending to destroy the constitution, and involve the nation in a war with their neighbours.—They declare their dissent from the late violence upon the parliament—But with reference to religion they say, “though our souls abhor that grand design of the devil and his agents to decry all religious and zealous professors under the names of sectaries and independents, we willingly grant, and heartily desire, that the interest of all godly and honest men may be carefully provided for, and secured, as far as is consistent with the word of God, our covenant, and the public peace; and that men of different apprehensions in matters of religion may not be utterly incapable of all offices of power and trust, though we cannot agree to an universal toleration.” They conclude with beseeching the general, to suspend all further prosecution against the King, and to endeavour a right understanding between

the King, parliament, and army; but if they cannot prevail, they desire to wash their hands of the blood of their sovereign, and to approve themselves innocent of all that confusion and misery, in which the deposing and taking away his majesty's life will involve them, their posterity, and all men professing godliness in the three kingdoms.

It must be confessed, the independents were a sort of malecontents, and had reason to be dissatisfied with the treaty of Newport, because they were not only excluded the new establishment, but debarred of a toleration; and yet, as Mr. Eachard and Dr. Bates the physician observe, several of them joined with their brethren in declaring against the design of putting the King to death, in their sermons from the pulpit, in conferences, monitory letters, petitions, protestations, and public remonstrances.

The Scots kirk, by their commissioners, declared and protested against the putting the King to death, as absolutely inconsistent with their solemn league and covenant. They published a protestation, directed to the ministers of the province of London meeting at Sion-college, January 25, 1648-9, with a letter, exhorting them to courage and constancy in their opposition to the proceeding of the house of commons, and to an universal toleration.

Sundry foreign princes and states, by their ambassadors, interceded for the King; some from their respect to his person, and others from a regard to the honour that was due to crowned heads. But it was impossible to stop the impetuous wild-fire of the army, who having brought the King from Hurst-Castle to Windsor, obtained a vote in the parliament (if we may so call it) that all ceremonies due to a crowned head be laid aside; and then came to the following resolutions, First, that the people under God are the original of all just power. Secondly, that the house of commons are the supreme power of the nation. Thirdly, that whatever is declared for law by the commons in parliament is valid, though the consent of the King and house of peers be not had thereto. The house of lords, which was reduced to sixteen peers, having unanimously rejected the ordinance of the commons for the King's trial,

and adjourned for a fortnight, the commons resolved to act without them, and having named a committee of thirty eight persons to receive informations, and draw up a charge against the King, they constituted a high court of justice for his trial, consisting of one hundred and forty-five persons, of whom twenty or more might proceed to business ; but not above one half would act under this authority ; Mr. Serjeant Bradshaw was president ; Mr. Cook, solicitor-general ; and Mr. Steel, Mr. Dorislaus, and Mr. Aske, were to support the charge.

The form of process being settled by the commissioners, the King who had been conducted to St. James's, appeared before his judges in Westminster-Hall, the first time, on Saturday January 20, when being seated at the bar in a chair of crimson velvet, and covered, as were all his judges, Mr. Cook the solicitor exhibited a charge of high treason against him, which being read, the King, instead of pleading to the charge, excepted to the jurisdiction of the court, which was over-ruled, the president replying, that they would not suffer their authority to be disputed, and therefore required the King to think better of it against Monday, but his majesty persisting in his refusal to plead, the clerk was ordered to record the default ; Wednesday the court sat in the painted chamber ; and examined witnesses against the King ; Thursday and Friday they consulted how to proceed ; and on Saturday his majesty was brought the last time to the bar, when persisting to disown the jurisdiction of the court, he desired to be heard in the painted chamber by the lords and commons, but his request was denied, and the president pronounced sentence of death against him as a traitor, fifty-nine being present, and signifying their concurrence by standing up, as had been agreed. Sundry indignities and insults were offered to the King by the soldiers, as he passed along Westminster-Hall, but the far greater number of people deplored his unhappy condition. Tuesday January 30, being appointed for his execution his majesty was offered the assistance of Messrs. Calamy, Vines, Caryl, Dell and Goodwin, but he refused them, and chose Dr. Juxon, Bp. of London. On the fatal day, he was conducted on foot by a strong guard through

St. James's Park to a scaffold erected in the open street before the banqueting-house at Whitehall, where he made a short speech to the people, in which he makes no acknowledgment of the mistakes of his government, but declared himself a martyr for the laws and liberties of the people ; after which he laid down his head on the block, which was severed from his body at one blow by some bold executioner in a mask, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and twenty-fourth of his reign. His body was interred privately at Windsor, February 28th following, without ceremony, and with no other inscription on the coffin, than King Charles, 1648.

The reader will collect the character of this unfortunate prince rather from the preceeding facts, than from the keen reflections of his determined enemies, or the flattering encomiums of his friends and admirers, which latter in their anniversary sermons, have almost equalled his sufferings with those of our blessed Saviour. It must be admitted, that King Charles I. was sober, temperate, chaste, an enemy to debauchery and lewdness, and very regular in his devotions. But these excellent qualities were ballanced with some of a very different nature ; his temper was distant and reserved to a fault ; he was far from being generous, and when he bestowed any favour did it in a very disagreeable and uncourtly manner ; his judgment in affairs of government was weak and unsteady, and generally under the direction of a favourite. In his treaties with the parliament, he was chargeable with great insincerity, making use of evasive and ambiguous terms, the explication of which he reserved for a proper place and season. He had lofty notions of the absolute power of princes, and the unlimited obedience of subjects ; and though he was very scrupulous about his coronation oath in regard to the church, he seems to have paid little attention to it as it respected the laws and liberties of his subjects, which he lived in the constant violation of for fifteen years. He was a perfect dupe to his Queen, who had too much the direction of public affairs both in church and state ; no wonder therefore that he had a determined aversion to the puritans, and leaned so much to the pomp and ceremony of the church of

Rome, that though a protestant in judgment he was for meeting the papists half way, and for establishing one motley religion throughout Great Britain, in which both parties might unite. He told Dr. Sanderson, that if God ever restored him to his crown, he would go bare-foot from the Tower of London, or Whitehall, to St. Paul's, by way of penance, for consenting to the Earl of Strafford's death, and to the abolishing of episcopacy in Scotland, and desire the people to intercede with God for his pardon. Such was his majesty's superstition ! Upon the whole, though King Charles I. had virtues that might have rendered him amiable as a private gentleman, his foibles were so many as entitle him to the character of a very weak and impolitic prince ; far from appearing truly great in any one scene of his whole life except the last. Mr. Coke says, he was wilful, and impatient of contradiction ; his actions sudden and inconsiderate, and his councils without secrecy. He would never confess any of his irregularities in government, but justified them all to his death. If any gave him advice contrary to his inclination, he would never be friends with him again. He was unaffable, and difficult of address, requiring such strained submissions as were not usual to his predecessors. The sincerity of his promises and declarations were suspected by his friends as well as enemies, so that he fell a sacrifice to his arbitrary principles, the best friends of the constitution being afraid to trust him.

Bp. Burnet adds, " that he affected in his behaviour the solemn gravity of the court of Spain, which was sullen even to moroseness ; this led him to a grave reserved deportment, in which he forgot the civilities and affabilities which the nation naturally loved ; nor did he, in his outward deportment, take any pains to oblige any persons whatsoever. He had such an ungracious way of shewing a favour, that the manner of bestowing it was almost as mortifying as the favour was obliging. He loved high and rough measures, but had neither skill to conduct them, nor height of genius to manage them. He hated all that offered prudent and moderate counsels, and even when it was necessary to follow such advices he hated those that gave them. His whole reign, both in peace and war, was

a continued series of errors, so that it does not appear that he had a true judgment of things. He was out of measure set upon following his humour, but unreasonably feeble to those whom he trusted, chiefly to the Queen, and (it may be added also) to the clergy. He had a high notion of the regal power, and thought that every opposition to it was rebellion. He minded little things too much, and was more concerned in drawing up a paper than in fighting a battle. He had a firm aversion to popery, but was much inclined to a middle way between protestants and papists, by which he lost one without gaining the other. At his death he shewed a calm and composed firmness which amazed all people, and so much the more, because it was not natural to him, and was therefore by his friends imputed to an extraordinary measure of supernatural assistance."

After his majesty's death, the episcopal clergy did all they could to canonize him for a martyr; they printed his sayings, his prayers, his meditations, and forms of devotion under his sufferings, and drew his portrait in the most devout and heavenly attitude. His works consisting of sundry declarations, remonstrances, and other papers, have been published in a most pompous and elegant form; among which one is of very suspected authority, if not absolutely spurious, I mean his *Eikoon Basilike*, or the *portraiture* of his sacred majesty in his solitude and sufferings, said to be written with the King's own hand: It was first printed in the year 1649, and passed through fifty editions in divers languages within twelve months. No book ever raised the King's reputation so high as this, which obliged the new council of state to employ the celebrated Milton to destroy its credit, which he attempted in a treatise under the title of *Eikoon Clastese*, or an answer to a book entitled *Eikoon Basilike*, but the fraud was not fully detected till some years after.

The grounds and evidences of the spuriousness of this book are these, 1. That Lord Clarendon, in his history of the grand rebellion, makes no mention of it. 2. Burnet says, The Duke of York, afterwards James II. told him in 1673 that the book called *Eikoon Basilike* was not of his father's

writing, but that Dr. Gauden wrote it ; that after the restoration, the doctor brought the Duke of Somerset to the King and to the Duke of York, who both affirmed, they knew it to be his [the doctor's] writing, and that it was carried down by the Earl of Southampton, and shewed the King during the treaty of Newport ; who read and approved it. 3. The Earl of Anglesey gave it under his hand that Charles II. and the Duke of York declared to him in 1675, that they were very sure the said book was not written by the King their Father, but by Dr. Gauden, Bp. of Exeter. 4. Dr. Gauden himself after the restoration, pleaded the merit of this performance in a letter to Lord chancellor Hyde, who returned for answer, that the particular he mentioned [i. e. of his being the author of that book] was communicated to him as a secret ; I am sorry, says his lordship, that it was told me, for when it ceases to be a secret it will please no body but Mr. Milton. 5. Dr. Walker a clergyman of the church of England, after invoking the great God, the searcher of hearts, to witness the truth of what he declares, says, in his treatise entitled, "A true account of the author of *Eikoon Basilike*," "I know and believe the book was written by Dr. Gauden, except chap. 16th and 24th, by Dr. Duppa. Dr. Gauden, says he, acquainted me with his design, and shewed me the heads of several chapters, and some of the discourses. Some time after the King's death I asked him, whether his majesty had ever seen the book ? He replied, I know it certainly no more than you ; but I used my best endeavours that he might, for I delivered a copy of it to the Marquis of Hertford, when he went to the treaty of the Isle of Wight." Dr. Gauden delivered the MS. to this Walker, and Walker carried it to the press ; it was copied by Mr. Gifford, and both the doctor's son and his wife affirm, that they believe it was written in the house where they lived. Surely this evidence is as strong and convincing as any thing of this nature can possibly be.

The King's trial and execution in such an illegal and unheard of manner, struck the whole christian world with astonishment. The Prince of Wales, then in Holland, encouraged the learned Salmasius to write a latin treatise, entitled *Defensio Regia*, or a defence of King Charles I.

dedicated to his son Charles II. which was answered by Milton, in a book entitled *Defensio pro populo Anglicano*, or a defence of the people of England, wrote in an elegant but severe style. This book, says Mr. Bayle, made the author's name famous over all the learned world. Another performance appeared about the same time, entitled *Clamor Regii Sanguinis ad Cælum*; or the cry of the King's blood to heaven. It was wrote in latin by Peter du Moulin, jun. and answered by Milton in the same language. But to satisfy the English reader, Mr. John Goodwin published a small treatise, which he called a defence of the sentence passed upon the late King by the High Court of Justice——wherein the justice and equity of the said sentence is demonstratively asserted, as well from clear texts of scripture as principles of reason, grounds of law, authorities and precedents, as well foreign as domestic; a very weak and inconclusive performance! for admitting our author's principles, that the original of government is from the people, and that magistrates are accountable to them for their administration, they are not applicable to the present case, because the officers of the army had neither the voice of the people, nor of their representatives in a free parliament; the house of commons was purged, and the house of peers dispersed, in order to make way for this outrage upon the constitution. Our author was so sensible of this objection, that in order to evade it, he advances this ridiculous conclusion, "that though the erecting an high court of justice by the house of commons alone be contrary to the letter, yet it being for the people's good it is sufficient that it is agreeable to the spirit of the law." But who gave a few officers of the army authority to judge what was for the people's good, or to act according to the spirit of a law in contradiction to the letter? This would expose every man's life and estate to the will and pleasure of an arbitrary tyrant, and introduce a rule of government so justly complained of in the former part of this reign, in opposition to a rule of law. The President Bradshaw, in his speech at pronouncing sentence, goes upon the same general topics, that the people are the origin of civil power, which they transfer

to their magistrates under what limitations they think fit, and that the King himself is accountable to them for the abuse of it ; but if this were true, it is not to the present purpose, because as has been observed, the King's judges had not the consent of the people of England in their diffusive or collective capacity. His majesty's own reasons against this high court of justice, which he would have given in court, if he might have been heard, are in my opinion, a sufficient answer to all that can be said on the other side.

“ Admitting, but not granting (says his majesty) that the people of England's commission could grant your pretended power, I see nothing you can shew for that, for certainly you never asked the question of the tenth man of the kingdom ; and in this way you manifestly wrong even the poorest plough-man, if you demand not his free consent ; nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended commission without consent, at least of the major part of the people of England, of whatsoever quality or condition, which I am sure you never went about to seek, so far are you from having it——Nor must I forget the privileges of both houses of parliament, which this day's proceedings do not only violate, but likewise occasion the greatest breach of the public faith that I believe ever was heard of, with which I am far from charging the two houses——Then for any thing I can see, the higher house is totally excluded ; and for the house of commons it is too well known, that the major part of them are detained, or deterred from sitting——And after all, how the house of commons can erect a court of judicature, which was never one itself, as is well known to all lawyers, I leave to God and the world to judge.”

King Charles therefore died by the hands of violence, or by the military sword, assumed and managed in an arbitrary manner by a few desperate officers and their dependents, of sundry denominations as to religion, without any regard to the ancient constitution of their country, or the fundamental laws of society ; for by the former, the King cannot be tried for his life before any inferior court of justice ; nor could they feign any pretence for the latter, without the express consent of the majority of

the nation, in their personal or representative capacities, which these gentlemen never pretended. But since all parties have endeavoured to throw off the odium of this fatal event from themselves, it may not be improper to set before the reader the sentiments of our best historians upon this head, leaving every one to draw what conclusion from them he pleases.

Not to insist upon the King's servile fondness for his Queen and her friends; his resolute stiffness for his old principles of government in church and state; his untimely and ungracious manner of yielding to what he could not avoid; his distant and reserved behaviour towards those who were only capable of serving him, and his manifest doubling between the parliament and army, which some very reasonably apprehend were the principal causes of all his misfortunes, Mr. Whitlock and Mr. Coke lay a good deal of blame on his majesty's chaplains; the latter reproaches them with insisting peremptorily to the last upon the divine right of episcopacy; and the former for continually whispering in the King's ears the importance of preserving the revenues of the church to the hazard of his person and kingdom; and surely if these warm and eager divines could have disentangled his majesty's conscience (which Mr. Whitlock apprehends was not fully satisfied), as soon as the cavaliers had been dispersed, and the Scots beaten out of the field, the mischief that followed might have been prevented. I will not take upon me to say how far their influence might reach, though his majesty's profound deference to their judgment was notorious; but the conviction does not seem impracticable, when it is remembered the King was of opinion, that what he yielded through the necessity of his affairs was not binding when he should be at liberty; but neither his majesty nor his clergy foresaw the issue.

Most of the writers on the King's side, as well the preachers since the restoration, in their anniversary sermons, have with great injustice charged the presbyterians with bringing the King to the block, contrary to the strongest and most convincing evidence; for though their stiffness for the divine right of presbytery, and their

antipathy to liberty of conscience, is not to be vindicated, yet I apprehend enough has been said in the foregoing pages, to clear them from this unrighteous charge; if the zeal of the presbyterians for their discipline and covenant was culpable, the behaviour of the King and his divines in the opposition was no less so, considering he was a prisoner, and in the hands of a victorious parliament; neither side were sensible of the danger till it was too late, but when the storm was ready to burst on their heads, I do not see what men could do more in their circumstances to divert it, than the presbyterians did; they preached and prayed, and protested against it in the most public manner; many of them resigned their preferments because they would not take the engagement to the new commonwealth; they groaned under all the succeeding changes of government, and had a principal share in the restoration of the royal family in 1660, without which these anniversary declaimers would never have had an opportunity of pelting them with their ecclesiastical artillery, in the unwarrantable manner they have done.

The fore-mentioned writers, together with Mr. Rapin, in his late history of England, load the independents as a religious sect, with all the guilt of cutting off the King's head; and with being in a plot from the commencement of the civil war, to destroy equally King, monarchy, episcopacy, and presbyterianism; but this last named writer not being acquainted with their religious principles constantly confounds the independents with the army, which was compounded of a number of sectaries, the majority of whom were not of that denomination. There were no doubt among the independents, as well as among other parties, men of republican principles, who had a large share in the reproach of this day; but besides what has been observed, of some of their number joining with the presbyterians in protesting against the King's execution, the divines of this persuasion had no difference with the presbyterians, or moderate episcopalians, about forms of civil government; the leading officers would have contributed their part toward restoring his majesty to his throne, when he was with the army, upon more equal terms than some other of his adversaries, had they not

discovered his designs to sacrifice them when it should be in his power. In their last propositions they consented to the restoring the King, upon the foot of a toleration for themselves and the episcopal party ; leaving the presbyterians in possession of the establishment. Both Whitlock and Welwood observe, that at the very time of the King's trial the prevailing party were not determined what form of government to set up, " many having thoughts of making the Duke of Gloucester King ;" which his majesty being informed of, forbid the Duke, in his last interview, to accept the crown while his elder brothers were living. And though Mr. Rapin says, that after the force put upon the members of parliament on the 6th and 7th of December, the house consisted of none but independent members, it is certain to a demonstration, that there were then remaining in the house men of all parties, episcopalians, presbyterians, independents, anabaptists, and others ; so little foundation is there for this writer's conclusion, that the independents and these only, put the King to death.

Dr. Lewis du Moulin history professor in Oxford, who lived through these times, says, " that no party of men, as a religious body, were the actors of this tragedy, but that it was the contrivance of an army, which like that of King David's in the wilderness, was a medley or collection of all parties that were discontented ; some courtiers, some presbyterians, some episcopalians ; few of any sect, but most of none." Mr. Eachard and some others, are of opinion, that great numbers of papists, under hopes of liberty of conscience, or of destroying episcopacy, joined with foreign priests and jesuits against the King. The celebrated author of Foxes and Firebrands has this remarkable passage ; " Let all true protestants, who desire sincerely to have an happy union, recollect what a blemish the emissaries of Rome have cast upon those protestants named presbyterian and independent, Rome saying the presbyterians brought Charles the first's head to the block, and independents cut it off ; whereas it is certain, that the members and clergy of Rome, under dissenting shapes, contrived this murder." It does not however seem to me very probable, nor is it easy to believe that the papists

should triumph in the death of a King, who was their friend and protector in prosperity, and whose sufferings are in a great measure chargeable upon his too great attachment to their interests.

But the strongest and most unexceptionable testimony, is the act of attainder of the King's judges passed upon the restoration of Charles II. the preamble to which sets forth, "that the execrable murder of his royal father was committed by a party of wretched men desperately wicked, and hardened in their impiety, who having first plotted and contrived the ruin of this excellent monarchy, and with it of the true protestant religion, which had long flourished under it, found it necessary, in order to carry on their pernicious and traiterous designs, to throw down all the bulwarks and fences of law, and to subvert the very being and constitution of parliament—And for the more easy effecting their attempts on the person of the King himself, they first seduced some part of the then army into a compliance, and then kept the rest in subjection partly for hopes of preferment, and chiefly for fear of losing their employments and arrears, till by these, and other more odious arts and devices, they had fully strengthened themselves in power and faction; which being done, they declared against all manner of treaties with the person of the King, while a treaty with him was subsisting; they remonstrated against the parliament for their proceedings; they seized upon his royal person while the commissioners were returned to London with his answers, which were voted a sufficient foundation for peace; they then secluded and imprisoned several members of the house of commons, and then there being left but a small number of their own creatures (not a tenth part of the whole) they sheltered themselves under the name and authority of a parliament, and in that name prepared an ordinance for the trial of his majesty; which being rejected by the lords they passed alone in the name of the commons of England, and pursued it with all possible force and cruelty till they murdered the King, before the gates of his own palace. Thus (say they) the fanatic rage of a few miscreants, who were neither true protestants nor good subjects, stands imputed by our adversaries to the

whole nation ; we therefore renounce, abominate, and protest against it.—”

If this be a true state of the case, it is evident from the highest authority in this kingdom, that the King's death was not chargeable upon any religious party, or sect of christians ; nor upon the people of England assembled in a free parliament, but upon the council of officers and agitators, who having become desperate by the restless behaviour of the cavaliers, and ill conduct of the several parties concerned in the treaty of Newport, plotted the overthrow of the King and constitution, and accomplished it by an act of lawless violence ; that it was only a small part of the army who were seduced into a compliance, and these kept the rest in subjection till the others had executed their desperate purposes ; so that though the wisdom of the nation has thought fit to perpetuate the memory of this fatal day by an anniversary fast, as that which may be instructive both to princes and subjects, yet if we may believe the declaration of his majesty at his trial, or of the act of parliament which restored his family, the King's murder was not the act of the people of England, nor of their legal representatives, and therefore ought not to be lamented as a national sin.

PART II.—CHAP. I.

COMMONWEALTH.

The Monarchy changed into a Commonwealth.—Cromwell reduces Ireland.—The state of Ireland.—Conduct of the Presbyterians.—Measures of Parliament.—Scots treaty with the King.—Propagation of the Gospel.—Marquis of Montrose executed.—Cromwell marches against the Scots.—Battle of Dunbar.—Rise of the Quakers.—Their Behaviour and Doctrines.

UPON the death of the late King, the legal constitution was dissolved, and all that followed till the restoration of Charles II. was no better than an usurpation under different shapes; the house of commons, if it may deserve that name, after it had been purged of a third part of its members, relying upon the act of continuation, called themselves the supreme authority of the nation, and began with an act to disinherit the Prince of Wales, forbidding all persons to proclaim him King of England, on pain of high treason. The house of lords was voted useless; and the office of a King unnecessary, burdensome and dangerous. The form of government for the future was declared to be a free commonwealth; the executive power lodged in the hands of a council of state of forty persons, with full powers to take care of the whole administration for one year; new keepers of the great seal were appointed, from whom the judges received their commissions, with the name, stile, and title of, “Keepers of the liberties of England by authority of parliament.” The coin was stamped on one side with the arms of Eng-

land between a laurel and a palm, with this inscription, "the Commonwealth of England;" and on the other, a cross and harp, with this motto, "God with us." The oaths of allegiance and supremacy were abolished, and a new one appointed, called the *engagement*, which was to be true and faithful to the government established, without King or house of peers. Such as refused the oath were declared incapable of holding any place or office of trust in the common-wealth; but as many of the excluded members of the house of commons as would take it, resumed their places.

Such was the foundation of this new constitution, which had neither the consent of the people of England, nor of their representatives in a free parliament. But though it was unsupported by any other power than that of the army, it was carried on with the most consummate wisdom, resolution, and success, till the same military power that set it up, was permitted by divine providence with equal violence to pull it down.

The new commonwealth in its infant state, met with opposition from divers quarters; the Levellers in the army gave out, that the people had only changed their yoke, not shaken it off; and that, the RUMP's little finger, (for so the house of commons was now called, would be heavier than the King's loins. The agitators therefore petitioned the house to dissolve themselves, that new representatives might be chosen. The commons alarmed at these proceedings, ordered their general officers to cashier the petitioners, and break their swords over their heads, which was done accordingly. But when the forces passed under a general review at Ware, their friends in the army agreed to distinguish themselves by wearing something white in their hats; which Cromwell having some intelligence of before-hand, commanded two regiments of horse who were not in the secret, to surround one of the regiments of foot; and having condemned four of the ringleaders in a council of war, he commanded two of them to be shot to death by their other two associates, in sight of the whole army; and to break the combination, eleven regiments were ordered for Ireland; upon which great

numbers deserted, and marched into Oxfordshire; but Generals Fairfax and Cromwell having overtaken them at Abingdon, held them in treaty till Colonel Reynolds came up, and after some few skirmishes dispersed them.

The Scots threatened the commonwealth with a formidable invasion, for upon the death of the King, they proclaimed the Prince of Wales King of Scotland, and sent commissioners to the Hague, to invite him into that kingdom, provided he would renounce popery and prelacy, and take the solemn league and covenant. To prevent the effects of this treaty, and cultivate a good understanding with the Dutch, the parliament sent Dr. Dorislaus, an eminent civilian, concerned in the late King's trial, agent to the States-general: but the very first night after his arrival, he was murdered in his own chamber by twelve desperate cavaliers in disguise, who rushed in upon him while he was at supper, and with their drawn swords killed him on the spot. Both the parliament and states of Holland resented this base action so highly, that the young King thought proper to remove into France; from whence he went to the Isle of Jersey, and towards the latter end of the year fixed at Breda; where the Scots commissioners concluded a treaty with him, upon the foot of which he ventured his royal person into that kingdom the ensuing year.

But to strike terror into the cavaliers, the parliament erected another high court of justice, and sentenced to death three illustrious noblemen, for the part they had acted in the last civil war; Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and Lord Capel, who were all executed in the Palace-yard, at Westminster; Duke Hamilton declared himself a presbyterian; and the Earl of Holland was attended by two ministers of the same persuasion; but Lord Capel was a thorough loyalist, and went off the stage with the courage and bravery of a Roman.

But the chief scene of great exploits this year was in Ireland, which Cromwell a bold and enterprising commander, had been appointed to reduce; for this purpose he was made Lord-lieutenant for three years, and having taken leave of the parliament, sailed from Milford Haven, with an army of fourteen thousand men of resolute prin-

ciples, who before the embarkation observed a day of fasting and prayer; in which Mr. Whitlock remarks that after three ministers had prayed, Cromwell himself, and the Colonels Gough and Harrison expounded some parts of scripture excellently well, and pertinently to the occasion. The army was under a severe discipline; not an oath was to be heard throughout the whole camp, the soldiers spending their leisure hours in reading their bibles, in singing psalms, and religious conferences.

Almost all Ireland was in the hands of the royalists and Roman catholics, except Dublin and Londonderry; the former of these places had been lately besieged by the Duke of Ormond with twenty thousand men, but the garrison being recruited with three regiments from England, the governor, Colonel James, surprised the besiegers, and after a vigorous sally stormed their camp, and routed the whole army, which dispersed itself into Drogheda, and other fortified places. Cromwell upon his arrival, was received with the acclamations of a vast concourse of people, to whom he addressed himself from a rising ground, with hat in hand, in a soldier-like manner, telling them he was come to cut down and destroy the barbarous and blood-thirsty Irish, with all their adherents; but that all who were for the protestant religion, and the liberties of their country, should find suitable encouragement from the parliament of England and himself, in proportion to their merits. Having refreshed his forces he marched directly to Drogheda, which was garrisoned with 2500 foot and 300 horse, and was therefore thought capable of holding out a month; but the general neglecting the common forms of approach, battered the walls with his cannons, and having made two accessible breaches, like an impetuous conqueror, entered the town in person at the head of Colonel Ewer's regiment of foot, and put all the garrison to the sword. From thence he marched to Wexford, which he took likewise by storm, and after the example of Drogheda, put the garrison to the sword; the general declaring, that "He would sacrifice all the Irish papists to the ghosts of the English protestants whom they had massacred in cold blood." The conquest of these places struck such a terror into the rest, that they surrendered upon the first summons; the name

of Cromwell carrying victory on its wings before himself appeared, the whole country was reduced by the middle of May, except Limerick, Galloway, and one or two other places, which Ireton took the following summer. Lord Inchequin deserted the remains of the royal army, and Ormond fled into France.

Cromwell being called home to march against the Scots, was received by the parliament and city with distinguished respect and honour, as a soldier who had gained more laurels, and done more wonders in nine months, than any age or history could parallel.

To put the affairs of Ireland together; the Roman catholics charged the ill success of their affairs upon the Duke of Ormond, and sent him word, that they were determined not to submit any longer to his commands, it not being fit that a catholic army should be under the direction of a protestant general; but that if he would depart the kingdom, they would undertake of themselves to drive Ireton out of Dublin. After this they offered the kingdom to the Duke of Lorrain, a bigotted papist, who was wise enough to decline the offer, and then quarrelling among themselves they were soon driven out of all the strong holds of the kingdom, and forced to submit to the mercy of the conqueror. All who had borne arms in the late insurrection, were shipped away into France, Spain, or Flanders, never to return on pain of death. Those who had a hand in murdering the protestants at the time of the massacre, were brought from several parts of the country, and after conviction upon a fair trial were executed. The rest of the natives, who were called Tories, were shut up in the most inland counties, and their lands given partly in payment to the soldiers who settled there, and the rest to the first adventurers. Thus they lived under all the infamy of a conquered nation till the restoration of Charles II. a just judgment of God for their barbarous and unheard-of cruelties to the Irish protestants?

To return to England; the body of the presbyterians acted in concert with the Scots, for restoring the King's family upon the foot of the covenant; several of their ministers carried on a private correspondence with the chiefs of that nation, and instead of taking the engage-

ment to the present powers, called them usurpers, and declined praying for them in their churches; they also declared against a general toleration, for which the army and parliament contended. When Cromwell was embarking for Ireland, he sent letters to the parliament, recommending the removal of all the penal laws relating to religion; upon which the house ordered a committee to make report concerning a method for the ease of tender consciences, and an act to be brought in to appoint commissioners in every county, for the approbation of able and well qualified persons to be made ministers, who cannot comply with the present ordinance for ordination of ministers. Aug. 16, General Fairfax and his council of officers, presented a petition to the same purpose. The house promised to take the petition into speedy consideration, and after some time passed it into a law.

But to bring the presbyterian clergy to the test, the engagement which had been appointed to be taken by all civil and military officers within a limited time, on pain of forfeiting their places, was now required to be sworn and subscribed by all ministers, heads of colleges and halls, fellows of houses, graduates, and all officers in the universities; and by the masters, fellows, school-msters, and scholars of Eaton-college, Westminster, and Winchester schools; no minister was to be admitted to any ecclesiastical living, no clergyman to sit as member of the assembly of divines, nor be capable of enjoying any preferment in the church, unless he qualified himself by taking the engagement within six months, publicly in the face of the congregation. Nov. 9, it was referred to a committee, to consider how the engagement might be subscribed by all the people of the nation of eighteen years of age and upwards. Pursuant to which a bill was brought in, and passed to debar all who should refuse to take and subscribe it, from the benefit of the law; and to disable them from suing in any court of law or equity.

This was a severe test on the presbyterians, occasioned by the apprehended rupture with the Scots; but their clergy inveighed bitterly against it in their sermons, and refused to observe the days of humiliation appointed by authority for a blessing upon their arms. Baxter says that

he wrote several letters to the soldiers, to convince them of the unlawfulness of the present expedition; and in his sermons declared it a sin to force ministers to pray for the success of those who had violated the covenant, and were going to destroy their brethren. That he both spoke and preached against the engagement, and dissuaded men from taking it. At Exeter, says Mr. Whitlock, the ministers went out of town on the fast-day, and shut up the church-doors; and all the magistrates refused the engagement. At Taunton the fast was not kept by the presbyterian ministers; and at Chester they condemned the engagement to the pit of hell; as did many of the London ministers, who kept days of private fasting and prayer, against the present government. Some of them joined the royalists, and refused to read the ordinances of parliament in their pulpits, as was usual in those times; nay when the Scots were beat, they refused to observe the day of thanksgiving, but shut up their churches and went out of town; for which they were summoned before the committee and reprimanded; but the times being unsettled no further notice was taken of them at present.

Most of the sectarian party, says Baxter, swallowed the engagement; and so did the King's old cavaliers, very few of them being sick of the disease of a scrupulous conscience; some wrote for it, but the moderate episcopal men and presbyterians, generally refused it. Those of Lancashire and Cheshire published the following reasons against it. 1. Because they apprehended the oath of allegiance, and the solemn league and covenant, were still binding.—2. Because the present powers were no better than usurpers. 3. Because the taking of it was a prejudice to the right heir of the crown, and to the ancient legal constitution. To which it was answered, "That it was absurd to suppose the oath of allegiance, or the solemn league and covenant to be in force after the King's death; for how could they be obliged to preserve the King's person, when the King's person was destroyed, and the Kingly office abolished; and as to his successor, his right had been forfeited and taken away by parliament." With regard to the present powers it was said, "that it was not for private persons to dispute the rights and titles of their supreme governors."

Here was a government *de facto*, under which they lived; as long therefore as they enjoyed the protection of the government, it was their duty to give all reasonable security that they would not disturb it, or else to remove."—The body of the common people being weary of war, and willing to live quiet under any administration, submitted to the engagement, as being little more than a promise not to attempt the subversion of the present government, but many of the presbyterian clergy chose rather to quit their preferments in the church and university, than comply; which made way for the promotion of several independent divines, and among others, of Dr. T. Goodwin one of the dissenting brethren in the assembly, who by order of parliament, was appointed president of Magdalen-coll. Oxford, with the privilege of nominating fellows and demies in such places as should become vacant by death, or by the possessors refusing to take the engagement.

The parliament tried several methods to reconcile the presbyterians to the present administration; persons were appointed to treat with them, and assure them of the protection of the government, and of the full enjoyment of their ecclesiastical preferments according to law; when this would not prevail, an order was published, that ministers in their pulpits should not meddle with state affairs. After this the celebrated Milton was appointed to write for the government, who rallied the seditious preachers with his satirical pen in a severe manner; at length when all other methods failed, a committee was chosen to receive informations against such ministers, as in their pulpits vilified and aspersed the authority of parliament, and an act was passed, that all such should be sequestered from their ecclesiastical preferments.

The presbyterians supported themselves under these hardships by their alliance with the Scots, and their hope of a speedy alteration of affairs by their assistance; for in the remonstrance of the general assembly of that kirk, July 27, they declare, that "The spirit which has acted in the councils of those who have obstructed the work of God, despised the covenant, corrupted the truth, forced the parliament, murdered the King, changed the govern-

ment, and established such an unlimited toleration in religion, cannot be the spirit of righteousness and holiness. They therefore warn the subjects of Scotland against joining with them, and in case of an invasion to stand up in their own defence. The English have no controversy with us (say they), but because the kirk and state have declared against their unlawful engagement; because we still adhere to our covenant, and have borne our testimony against their toleration, and taking away the King's life." But then they warn their people also against malignants, "who value themselves upon their attachment to the young King, and if any from that quarter should invade the kingdom, before his majesty has given satisfaction to the parliament and kirk, they exhort their people to resist them, as abettors of an absolute and arbitrary government."

About two months after this, the parliament of England published a declaration on their part, wherein they complain of the revolt of the English and Scots presbyterians, and of their taking part with the enemy, because their discipline was not the exact standard of reformation. "But we are still determined, say they, not to be discouraged in our endeavours to promote the purity of religion, and the liberty of the commonwealth; and for the satisfaction of our presbyterian brethren, we declare, that we will continue all those ordinances which have been made for the promoting a reformation of religion, in doctrine, worship, and discipline, in their full force; and will uphold the same, in order to suppress popery, superstition, blasphemy, and all kinds of prophaneness. Only we conceive ourselves obliged to take away all such acts and ordinances as are penal and coercive in matters of conscience. And because this has given so great offence, we declare as in the presence of God, that by whomsoever this liberty shall be abused, we will be ready to testify our displeasure against them, by an effectual prosecution of such offenders.

The Scots commissioners were all this while treating with the King in Holland, and insisting on his subscribing the solemn league and covenant; his establishing the Westminster confession, the directory, and the presbyte-

rian government in both kingdoms. The King being under discouraging circumstances, consented to all their demands with regard to Scotland, and as to England referred himself to a free parliament. But although the Scots were not satisfied with his majesty's exceptions as to England, he would advance no farther till he had heard from the Queen mother, who sent him word, that it was the opinion of the council of France, that he should agree with the Scots upon the best terms he was able, which he did accordingly, as will be related the next year.

The fifth provincial assembly of London met the beginning of May at Sion-college, when a committee was appointed to prepare materials for proof of the divine right of presbyterial church government. The proofs were examined and approved by this, and the assembly that met in November following. The treatise was printed, and asserts,—1. That there is a church government of divine institution.—2. That the civil magistrate is not the origin or head of church government. And, 3. That the government of the church by synods and classes is the government that Christ appointed. It maintains separation from their churches to be schism; that ministers formerly ordained by bishops need not be re ordained. And for private christians in particular churches to assume a right of sending persons forth to preach, and to administer the sacraments, is in their opinion, insufferable.

The parliament did all they could to satisfy the male-content presbyterians, by securing them in their livings, and by ordering the dean and chapter lands to be sold, and their names to be extinct, except the deanery of Christ-Church, and the foundations of Westminster, Winchester, and Eaton schools. The bishops' lands, which had been sequestered, were now vested in the hands of new trustees, and appropriated to the augmentation of poor livings in the church. The first fruits and tenths of all ecclesiastical livings, formerly payable to the crown, were vested in the same hands, free from all incumbrances, or trust, that they should pay yearly, all such salaries, stipends, allowances and provisions, as have been settled

and confirmed by parliament, for preaching ministers, school-masters, or professors in the universities; provided the assignment to any one do not exceed one hundred pounds. It is further provided, that the maintenance of all incumbents shall not be less than one hundred pounds a year, and the commissioners of the great seal are empowered to enquire into the yearly value of all ecclesiastical livings, to which any cure of souls is annexed; and to certify into the court of Chancery, the names of the present incumbents who supply the cure, with their respective salaries; how many chapels belong to parish churches, and how the several churches and chapels are supplied with preaching ministers; that so some course may be taken for providing for a better maintenance where it is wanting. Dr. Walker says, the value of bishops' lands forfeited and sold amounted to a million of money; but though they sold very cheap, they that bought them had a very dear bargain in the end.

Upon debate of an ordinance concerning public worship, and church government, the house declared, that the presbyterial government should be the established government. And upon the question, whether tithes should be continued, it was resolved, that they should not be taken away, till another maintenance equally large and honourable should be substituted in its room.—The inhabitants of the principality of Wales were destitute of the means of christian knowledge, their language was little understood, their clergy were ignorant and idle; so that they had hardly a sermon from one quarter of a year to another. The people had neither bibles nor catechisms; nor was there a sufficient maintenance for such as were capable of instructing them. The parliament taking the case of these people into consideration, passed an act, for the better propagation and preaching of the gospel in Wales, for the ejecting scandalous ministers and school-masters, and redress of some grievances; to continue in force for three years. What was done in pursuance of this ordinance will be related hereafter; but the parliament were so intent upon the affair of religion at this time, that Mr. Whitlock says, they devoted Friday in every week to consult ways and means for promoting it.

Nor did they confine themselves to England, but as soon as Cromwell had reduced Ireland, the parliament passed an ordinance, for the encouragement of religion and learning in that country.—The university of Dublin being revived, and put upon a new footing, the parliament sent over six of their most acceptable preachers to give it reputation, appointing them two hundred pounds a year, out of the bishops' lands; and till that could be duly raised, to be paid out of the public revenues; and for their further encouragement, if they died in that service their families were to be provided for. By these methods learning began to revive, and in a few years religion appeared with a better face than it had ever done before in that kingdom.

A prospect being opened for spreading the christian religion among the Indians, upon the borders of New-England, the parliament allowed a general collection throughout England, and erected a corporation for this service, who purchased an estate in land of between five and six hundred pounds a year; but on the restoration of Charles II. the charter became void, and Colonel Bedingfield a Roman catholic officer in the King's army, of whom a considerable part of the land was purchased, seized it for his own use, pretending he had sold it under the real value, in hopes of recovering it upon the King's return. In order to defeat the Colonel's design, the society solicited the King for a new charter, which they obtained by the interest of the Lord-chancellor. They afterwards recovered Colonel Bedingfield's estate, and are at this time in possession of about five hundred pounds a year, which they employ for the conversion of the Indians in America.

But all that the parliament could do was not sufficient to stop the mouths of the loyalists and discontented presbyterians; the pulpit and press sounded to sedition; the latter brought forth invectives every week against the government; it was therefore resolved to lay a severe fine upon such offenders. In the midst of all these disorders, there was a very great appearance of sobriety both in city and country; the indefatigable pains of the presby-

terian ministers in catechising, instructing, and visiting their parishioners, can never be sufficiently commended. The whole nation was civilized, and considerably improved in sound knowledge. The parliament did all they could to suppress and discountenance all extravagancies; and even the officers of the army, having convicted one of their quarter-masters of blasphemy in a council of war, sentenced him to have his tongue bored through with an hot iron, his sword broke over his head, and to be cashiered the army.

The beginning of this year, the Marquis of Montrose was taken in the north of Scotland by Colonel Straughan with a small body of troops, and hanged at Edinburgh on a gallows thirty feet high; his body was buried under the gallows, and his quarters set upon the gates of the principal towns in Scotland; but his behaviour was great and firm to the last. The marquis appeared openly for the King in 1643, and having routed a small party of covenanters in Perthshire, acquired considerable renown; but his little successes were very mischievous to the King's affairs, being always magnified beyond what they really were. His vanity was the occasion of the breaking off the treaty of Uxbridge, and his fears lest the King should agree with the Scots, and revoke his commission before he had executed it, now hurried him to his own ruin.

The young King being in treaty with the Scots covenanters at Breda, was forced to stifle his resentments for the marquis, and submit to the following hard conditions.—1. That all persons excommunicated by the kirk should be forbid the court.—2. That the King by his solemn oath, and under his hand and seal, declare his allowance of the covenant.—3. That he confirm those acts of parliament which enjoin the covenant. That he establish the presbyterian worship and discipline, and swear never to oppose, or endeavour to alter them.—4. That all civil matters be determined by parliament; and all ecclesiastical affairs by the kirk.—5. That his majesty ratify all that has been done in the parliament of Scotland in some late sessions, and sign the covenant upon his arrival in that kingdom, if the kirk desired it.

The King arrived in Scotland June 23, but before his

landing the commissioners insisted on his signing the covenant, and upon parting with all his old counsellors, which he did, and was then conducted to his house at Falkland. July 11, his majesty was proclaimed at the cross at Edinburgh, but the ceremony of his coronation was deferred to the beginning of the next year. In the mean time the English commonwealth was providing for a war which they saw was unavoidable, and General Fairfax refusing to act against the Scots, his commission was immediately given to Cromwell, with the title of "Captain-General in chief of all the forces raised, and to be raised by authority of parliament, within the commonwealth of England. Three days after, he marched with eleven thousand foot, and five thousand horse, towards the borders of Scotland, being resolved not to wait for the Scots invading England, but to carry the war into their country. The Scots complained to the English parliament of this conduct, as a breach of the act of pacification, and of the covenant; but were answered, that they had already broken the peace by their treaty with Charles Stuart, whom they had not only received as their King, but promised to assist in recovering the crown of England. Their receiving the King was certainly their right as an independent nation; but whether their engaging to assist him in recovering the crown of England, was not declaring war, must be left to the reader.

The general crossed the Tweed, July 22, and marched his army almost as far as Edinburgh without much opposition, the country being deserted by reason of the terror of the name of Cromwell, and the reports that were spread of his cruelty in Ireland. Not a Scotsman appeared under sixty, nor a youth above six years old, to interrupt his march. All provisions were destroyed, or removed, to prevent the subsistence of the army, which was supplied from time to time by sea; but the general having made proclamation, that no man should be injured in his person or goods who was not found in arms, the people took heart and returned to their dwellings.—The Scots army, under the command of General Lesley, stood on the defensive, and watched the motions of the English all the month of August; the main body being intrenched within

six miles of Edinburgh, to the number of thirty thousand of the best men that ever Scotland saw; Cromwell did every thing he could to draw them to a battle, till by the fall of rain, and bad weather, he was obliged to retreat to Musselborough, and from thence to Dunbar, where he was reduced to the utmost streights, having no way left but to conquer or die. In this extremity he summoned the officers to prayer; after which he bid all about him take heart, for God had heard them; then walking in the Earl of Roxborough's gardens, that lay under the hill upon which the Scots army was encamped, and discovering by perspective glasses that they were coming down to attack him, he said God was delivering them into his hands. That night proving very rainy, the general refreshed his men in the town, and ordered them to take particular care of their firelocks, which the Scots neglected, who were all the night coming down the hill. Early next morning the general with a strong party of horse beat their guards, and then advancing with his whole army, after about an hour's dispute, entered their camp and carried all before him; about four thousand Scots fell in battle, ten thousand were made prisoners, with fifteen hundred arms, and all their artillery and ammunition; the loss of the English amounting to no more than about three hundred men.

Immediately after this action, the general took possession of Edinburgh, which was in a manner deserted by the clergy; some having shut themselves up in the castle, and others fled with their effects to Sterling, the general to deliver them from their fright, sent a trumpet to the castle, to assure the governor, that the ministers might return to their churches, and preach without any disturbance from him, for he had no quarrel with the Scots nation on the score of religion. But the ministers replied, that having no security for their persons, they thought it their duty to reserve themselves for better times. Upon which correspondences took place between Cromwell, the governor, and the clergy, which clearly discovered the ruling principles of the Scots and English at this time; the former were so inviolably attached to their covenant, that they would depart from

nothing that was inconsistent with it. The English, after seeking God in prayer, judged of the goodness of their cause by the appearance of providence in its favour; most of the officers and soldiers were men of strict devotion, but went upon this mistaken principle, that God would never appear for a bad cause after a solemn appeal to him for decision. However the Scots lost their courage, and surrendered the impregnable castle of Edinburgh into the hands of the conqueror, the garrison having liberty to march out with their baggage to Burnt Island, in Fife; and soon after the whole kingdom was subdued.

The provincial assembly of London met this year as usual, but did nothing remarkable; the parliament waited to reconcile them to the engagement, and prolonged the time limited for taking it, but when they continued inflexible, and instead of submitting to the present powers were plotting with the Scots, it was resolved to clip their wings, and make some examples, as a terror to the rest. June 21, the committee for regulating the universities was ordered to tender the engagement to all such officers masters, and fellows, as had neglected to take it, and upon their refusal to displace them. Accordingly some were displaced in the university of Cambridge. In the university of Oxford, Dr. Reynolds the vice-chancellor refused the engagement, but after some time offered to take it, in hopes of saving his deanery of Christ church; but the parliament resenting the example, took advantage of his forfeiture, and gave the deanery to Dr. Owen, an independent divine.

Oliver Cromwell, then in Scotland, was chosen unanimously in full convocation, chancellor of Oxford, in the room of the Earl of Pembroke lately deceased. When the doctors and masters who were sent to Edinburgh, acquainted him with the choice, he wrote a letter to the university, in which after a modest refusal of their favour, he adds—"If these arguments prevail not, and that I must continue this honour till I can personally serve you, you shall not want my prayers, that piety and learning may flourish among you, and be rendered useful and subservient to that great and glorious kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, of the approach of which, so plentiful an

effusion of the holy spirit upon those hopeful plants among you is one of the best presages.”—When the general’s letter was read in convocation the house resounded with chearful acclamations. Dr. Greenwood the vice-chancellor was displaced for his disaffection to the government, and the honour conferred on Dr. Owen. Thus by degrees, the presbyterians lost their influence in the universities, and delivered them up into the hands of the independents.

To strengthen the hands of the government yet further, the parliament by an ordinance bearing date Sept. 20, took away all the painted statutes for religion. By this law the doors were set open, and the state was at liberty to employ all such in their service, as would take the oaths to the civil government, without any regard to their religious principles.—Sundry severe ordinances were also made for suppressing of vice, error, and all sorts of profaneness and impiety. Though several ordinances had been made heretofore for the strict observation of the Lord’s day, the present house of commons thought fit to enforce them by another still more decisive.

The parliament having ordered the sale of bishops’ lands, and the lands of deans and chapters, and vested the money in the hands of trustees, as has been related, appointed part of the money to be appropriated for the support and maintenance of such late bishops, deans, prebendaries, singing men, choristers, and other members, officers, and persons destitute of maintenance, whose respective offices, places, and livelihoods, were taken away, and abolished, distributing and proportioning the same according to their necessities. How well this was executed I cannot determine ; but it was a generous act of compassion, and more than the church of England would do for the non-conformists at the restoration.

From this time we may date the rise of the people called Quakers, in whom most of the enthusiasts of these times centered : their first leader was George Fox, born at Drayton in Lancashire ; his father being a poor weaver, put him apprentice to a country shoe-maker, but having a peculiar turn of mind for religion, he went away from his master, and wandered up and down the countries

like an hermit, in a leathren doubtlet ; at length his friends hearing he was at London, persuaded him to return home, and settle in some regular course of employment, but after he had been some months in the country, he went from his friends a second time, and threw off all further attendance on the public service in the churches : the reasons he gave for his conduct were, because it was revealed to him, that a learned education at the university was no qualification for a minister, but that all depended on the anointing of the spirit, and that God who made the world did not dwell in temples made with hands. He first travelled into Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, walking through divers towns and villages, which way soever his mind turned, in a solitary manner. He fasted much, and walked often abroad in retired places, with no other companion but his bible. He would sometime set in an hollow tree all day, and frequently walked about the fields in the night, like a man possessed with deep melancholy ; which the writer of his life calls the time of the first working of the Lord upon him. Towards the latter end of this year, he began to set up for a teacher of others, about Duckinfield and Manchester ; the principal argument of his discourse being, " That people should receive the inward divine teachings of the Lord, and take that for their rule."

In 1648, there being a dissolution of all government civil and ecclesiastical, George Fox became more bold, and travelled through the counties of Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and Derbyshire, speaking to the people about the inward light of Christ within them. At this time he apprehended the Lord had forbid him to put off his hat to any one, high or low ; he was required also, to speak to the people without distinction in the language of *thou* and *thee*. He was not to bid people good-morrow, or good-night ; neither might he bend his knee to the chief magistrate in the nation ; the women that followed him would not make a courtesy to their superiors, nor comply with the common forms of speech. Both men and women affected a plain and simple dress, distinct from the fashion of the times. They neither gave nor accepted any titles of respect or honour, nor would they call any man master on earth. They refused to take an oath on the most solemn occasion.

These and the like peculiarities, he supported by such passages of scripture as these, swear not at all ; how can ye believe who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour which comes from God only ? But these marks of distinction which Fox and his followers were so tenacious of, unhappily brought them into a great deal of trouble, when they were called to appear before the civil magistrate

In 1649, he grew more troublesome, and began to interrupt the public ministers in time of service : his first essay of this kind was at Nottingham, where the minister preaching from those words of St. Peter, " we have a more sure word of prophecy, &c." told the people, that they were to try all doctrines, opinions, and religions, by the holy scriptures. Upon which George Fox stood up in the midst of the congregation and said, " Oh no ! it is not the scripture, but it is the holy spirit, by which opinions, and religions, are to be tried ; for it was the spirit that led people into all truth, and gave them the knowledge of it." And continuing his speech to the disturbance of the congregation, the officers were obliged to turn him out of the church, and carry him to the sheriff's house ; next day he was committed to the castle, but was quickly released without any other punishment. After this he disturbed the minister of Mansfield in time of service, for which he was set in the stocks, and turned out of the town. The like treatment he met with at several other towns. At length the magistrates of Derby confined him six months in prison, for uttering divers blasphemous opinions, pursuant to a late act of parliament for that purpose. By this time there began to appear some other visionaries, of the same make and complexion with Fox, who spoke in places of public resort ; being moved, as they said, by the Holy Ghost ; and even some women, contrary to the modesty of their sex, went about streets, and entered into churches, crying down the teachings of men, and exhorting people to attend to the light within themselves.

It was in 1650 that these wandering lights first received the denomination of Quakers, upon this ground, that their speaking to the people was usually attended with convulsive agonies, and shakings of the body. All these

speakers had these tremblings, which they gloried in, asserting it to be the character of a good man to tremble before God. When George Fox appeared before Gervas Bennet, Esq. one of the justices of Derby, he had one of his agitations, or fits of trembling upon him, and with a loud voice and vehement emotion of body, bid the justice and those about him, *tremble at the word of the Lord*; whereupon the justice gave him and his friends, the name of QUAKERS, which being agreeable to their common behaviour, quickly became the distinguishing denomination of this people. At length they disturbed the public worship by appearing in ridiculous habits, with emblematical or typical representations of some impending calamity; they also took the liberty of giving ministers the reproachful names of *hirelings, deceivers of the people, false prophets, &c.* Some of them went through divers towns and villages naked, denouncing judgments and calamities upon the nation. Some have famished and destroyed themselves by deep melancholy; and others have undertaken to raise their friends from the dead.

It cannot be expected that such an unsettled people should have an uniform system of rational principles. Their first and chief design, if they had any, was to reduce all revealed religion to allegory; and because some had laid too great stress upon rights and ceremonies, these would have neither order nor regularity, nor stated seasons of worship, but all must arise from the inward impulse of their spirits. Agreeable to this rule, they declared against all sorts of settled ministers; against people's assembling in steeple houses; against fixed times of public devotion, and consequently against the observation of the Sabbath. Their own meetings were occasional, and when they met, one or another spake as they were moved from within, and sometimes they departed without any one's being moved to speak at all. The doctrines they delivered were as vague and uncertain as the principle from which they acted. They denied the scriptures to be the only rule of their faith, calling it a dead letter, and maintaining that every man had a light within himself, which was a sufficient rule. They denied the received doctrine of the Trinity and incarnation. They

disowned the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper; nay, some of them proceeded so far, as to deny, using their own language, a Christ without them; or at least, to place more of their dependance upon a Christ within. They spake little or nothing, says Baxter, about depravity of nature; about the covenant of grace; about pardon of sin and reconciliation with God; or about moral duties. But the disturbance they gave to the public religion for a course of years was so insufferable, that the magistrates could not avoid punishing them as disturbers of the peace; though of late they are become a more sober and inoffensive people; and by the wisdom of their managers, have formed themselves into a sort of body politic, and are in general very worthy members of society.

CHAP. II.

COMMONWEALTH.

Coronation of Charles II.—He signs the Covenant. Presbyterian Plot.—Love's Trial.—His Execution.—The King marches into England with the Scots army.—Battle of Worcester.—State of Scotland.—Death of General Ireton.—State of the Commonwealth.—War with the Dutch.—Quarrel between the Parliament and Army.—Cromwell's ambitious designs.—He dissolves the long Parliament.—With his council of Officers he assumes the Government.—The little Parliament.—Cromwell declared Protector.—Episcopalians tolerated.—Death of Dr. Gouge.—Of Dr. Hill.

THE coronation of Charles by the Scots, which had been deferred hitherto, being now thought necessary to give life to their cause, was solemnized at Scone on New-year's-day, 1651, with as much magnificence as their circumstances would admit; when his majesty took the following oath:—"I Charles King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, do assure and declare by my solemn oath, in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, my allowance and approbation of the national covenant, and of the solemn league and covenant; and faithfully oblige myself to prosecute the ends thereof in my station and calling; and that I myself and successors, shall consent and agree to all the acts of parliament enjoining the national covenant, and the solemn league and covenant, and fully establish presbyterian government, the directory of worship, confession of faith, and catechisms, in the kingdom of Scotland, as

they are approved by the general assembly of this kirk, and parliament of this kingdom; and that I will give my royal assent to all acts of parliament passed, or to be passed, enjoining the same in my other dominions; and that I shall observe these in my own practice and family, and shall never make opposition to any of these, or endeavour any change thereof." This oath was annexed to the covenant itself, drawn up in a fair roll of parchment, and subscribed by him in presence of the nobility and gentry.

His majesty also signed a declaration, in which he acknowledged the sin of his father in marrying into an idolatrous family; and that the blood shed in the late wars lay at his father's door. He expressed a deep sense of his own ill education, and of his prejudices against the cause of God, of which he was now very sensible. He confessed all the former parts of his life to have been a course of enmity to the word of God. He repented of his commission to Montrose. He acknowledged his own sins, and the sins of his father's house, and says, he will account them his enemies who oppose the covenants, both which he had taken without any sinister intention of attaining his own ends. He declares his detestation and abhorrence of all popery, superstition, idolatry, and prelacy, and resolves not to tolerate them in any part of his dominions. He acknowledges his great sin in making peace with the Irish rebels, and allowing them the liberty of their religion, which he makes void, resolving for the future rather to choose affliction than sin; and though he judges charitably of those who have acted against the covenant, yet he promises not to employ them for the future till they have taken it. In the conclusion, his majesty confesses over again his own guilt; and tells the world, the state of the question was now altered, in as much as he had obtained mercy to be on God's side, and therefore hopes the Lord will be gracious, and countenance his own cause, since he is determined to do nothing but with advice of the kirk.

Our historians who complain of the prevarication of Cromwell, would do well to find a parallel to this in all history; the King took the covenant three times with

this tremendous oath, *by the eternal and almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I will observe and keep all that is contained herein.* Baxter admits, that the Scots were in the wrong in tempting the King to speak and publish that, which they might easily know was contrary to the thoughts of his heart ; but surely he was no less to blame, to trample upon the most sacred bonds of religion and society. He complied with the rigours of the Scots discipline and worship. He heard many prayers and sermons of great length. “ I remember says Burnet, in one fast-day, there were six sermons preached without intermission. He was not allowed to walk abroad on Sundays ; and if at any time there had been any gaiety at court, as dancing, or playing at cards, he was severely reprov'd for it, which contributed not a little to beget in him an aversion to all strictness in religion.” And the Scots were so jealous that all this was from necessity, that they would suffer none of his old friends to come into his presence and councils, nor so much as to serve in the army.

While the Scots were raising forces for the King's service, a private correspondence was carried on with the English presbyterians ; letters were also wrote, and messengers sent from London to the King and Queen mother in France, to hasten an accommodation with the Scots, assuring them, that the English presbyterians would then declare for him the first opportunity. Considerable sums of money were collected privately to forward an expedition into England ; but the vigilance of the commonwealth discovered and defeated their designs. The principal gentlemen concerned in the correspondence, were some disbanded officers who had served the parliament in the late wars. These held a correspondence with the King, who desired them to send commissioners to Breda to moderate the Scots demands, which service he would reward when God should restore him to his kingdoms.

But so numerous a confederacy was hardly to be concealed from the watchful eyes of the new government, who had their spies in all places. Major Adams being apprehended on suspicion, was the first who discovered

the conspiracy to the council of state. On his information warrants were issued out, for apprehending the principal parties engaged in this affair, but several absconded, and withdrew from the storm, and others were released on their petition for mercy, and promising submission to the government for the future, but Messrs. Love and Gibbons were made examples, as a terror to others. Mr. Love was brought before a new high court of justice erected for this purpose, as was the custom of these times for state criminals, when Mr. Attorney-general Prideaux, exhibited against him a charge of high treason. To this charge, after having demurred to the jurisdiction of the court, he pleaded not guilty. Mr. Jackson was summoned to witness against him, but refused to be sworn, or give evidence, because he looked on Mr. Love to be a good man; saying, he should have a hell in his conscience to his dying day, if he should speak any thing that should be circumstantially prejudicial to Mr. Love's life. The court put him in mind of his obligation to the public, and that the very safety of all government depended upon it. But he refused to be sworn, for which the court sent him to the Fleet, and fined him five hundred pounds.

But it appeared by the other witnesses, that Mr. Love had carried on a criminal correspondence both with the King and the Scots. With regard to the King it was sworn, that about a month after his late majesty's death, several of them met at a tavern at Dowgate, and other places, to concert measures to forward the King's agreement with the Scots, for which purpose they applied by letters to the Queen, and sent over Colonel Titus with one hundred pounds to defray his expences. The colonel having delivered his message, sent back letters by Col. Alsford, which were read in Mr. Love's house; with the copy of a letter from the King himself, Mr. Love being present. Upon these and such like facts, the council for the commonwealth insisted, that here was a criminal correspondence to restore the King. The other branch of the charge against Mr. Love, was his correspondence with the Scots, and assisting them in the war against the parliament.

Mr. Love in his defence, behaved with a little too much

freedom and boldness; he set too high a value upon his sacred character, which the court was inclined to treat with neglect. He objected to the witnesses, as being forced into the service to save their lives. He observes, that to several of the facts there was only one witness; and that some of them had sworn falsely, or at least their memories had failed them in some things; which might easily happen at so great a distance of time. He called no witnesses to confront the evidence, but at the close of his defence confessed ingenuously, that there had been several meetings of the above-named persons at his house and that a commission was read, but that he had dissented from it. He acknowledged further, that he was present at the reading of letters, or of some part of them, " But I was ignorant, says he, of the danger that I now see I am in.

And to move the court to shew mercy to him, he endeavoured to set out his own character in the most favourable light; " I have been called a malignant and apostate he says, but God is my witness, I never carried on a malignant interest. I shall retain my covenanting principles, from which by the grace of God I will never depart; neither am I an incendiary between the two nations of England and Scotland, but I am grieved for their divisions; and if I had as much blood in my veins as there is water in the sea, I could account it well spent to quench the fire our sins have kindled between them. I have all along engaged my life and estate in the parliament's quarrel, against the forces raised by the late King, not from a prospect of advantage, but from conscience and duty; and I am so far from repenting, that were it to do again, upon the same unquestionable authority, and for the same declared ends, I should as readily engage in it as ever; though I wish from my soul, that the ends of that just war had been better accomplished. Though I never writ nor sent letters into Scotland, yet I confess their proceedings with the King are agreeable to my judgment, and for the good of the nation; and though I disown the commission and instructions mentioned in the indictment, yet I have desired an agreement between the King and the Scots, agreeably to the covenant; for they having

declared him to be their King, I have desired and prayed as a private man, that they might accomplish their ends, upon such terms as were consistent with the safety of religion and the covenant.”—He concludes with beseeching the court, that he may not be put to death for state reasons. He owns he had been guilty of a concealment, and begs the mercy of the court for it, promising for the future to lead a quiet and peaceable life. He puts them in mind, that when Abiathar the priest had done an unjustifiable action, King Solomon said, he would not put him to death at that time, *because he bore the ark of the Lord God before David his father ; and because he had been afflicted in all wherein his father had been afflicted.*—“ Thus (says he) I commit myself and my all to God, and to your judgments and consciences, with the words of Jeremiah to the rulers of Israel, *As for me, behold I am in your hands, do with me as seemeth good and meet to you ; but know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon yourselves.* But I hope better things of you, though I thus speak.

The court allowed Mr. Love the benefit of council learned in the law, to argue some exceptions against the indictment ; but after all that Mr. Hales could say for the prisoner, the court after six days hearing, pronounced sentence of death against him as a traitor. Great intercessions were made for his life by the chief of the presbyterian party in London ; his wife presented several moving petitions ; and two were presented from himself, in one of which he acknowledges the justice of his sentence, according to the laws of the commonwealth ; in the other he petitions, that if he may not be pardoned, his sentence may be changed into banishment ; and that he might do something to deserve his life ; he presented with his last petition a narration of all that he knew relating to the plot, which admits almost all that had been objected to him at his trial.

But the affairs of the commonwealth were now at a crisis, and Charles II. having entered England at the head of sixteen thousand Scots, it was thought necessary to strike some terror into the presbyterian party, by making an example of one of their favourite clergymen. Mr.

Whitlock says, that Colonel Fortescue was sent to General Cromwell with a petition on behalf of Mr. Love, but that both the general and the rest of the officers declined meddling in the affair; Kennet and Eachard say, the general sent word in a private letter to one of his confidants, that he was content that Mr. Love should be reprieved, and upon giving security for his future good behaviour pardoned; but that the post-boy being stopt upon the road by some cavaliers belonging to the late King's army, they searched his packet, and finding this letter of reprieve for Mr. Love, they tore it with indignation, as thinking him not worthy to live, who had been such a firebrand at the treaty of Uxbridge. If this story be true, Mr. Love fell a sacrifice to the ungovernable rage of the cavaliers, as others had done before.

The mail arriving from Scotland, and no letter from Cromwell in behalf of Mr. Love, he was ordered to be executed upon Tower-hill, August 22, the very day the King entered Worcester at the head of his Scots army. Mr. Love mounted the Scaffold with great intrepidity and resolution, and taking off his hat two several times to the people, made a long speech, wherein he declares the satisfaction of his mind in the cause for which he suffered; and then adds, "I am for a regulated, mixed monarchy, which I judge to be one of the best governments in the world. I opposed in my place, the forces of the late King, because I am against screwing up monarchy into tyranny, as much as against those who would pull it down into anarchy. I was never for putting the King to death, whose person I did promise in my covenant to preserve; and I judge it an ill way of curing the body politic, by cutting off the political head. I die with my judgment against the engagement; I pray God forgive them that impose it, and them that take it, and preserve them that refuse it. Neither would I be looked upon as owning this present government; I die with my judgment against it. And lastly, I die cleaving to all those oaths, vows, covenants, and protestations, that were imposed by the two houses of parliament. I bless God I have not the least trouble on my spirit, but I die with as much quietness of

mind as if I was going to lie down on my bed to rest. I see men thirst after my blood, which will but hasten my happiness and their own ruin; for though I am but of mean parentage, yet my blood is the blood of a christian, of a minister, of an innocent man, and I speak it without vanity, of a martyr. I conclude with the speech of the apostle, *I am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand, but I have finished my course, I have kept the faith, henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, and not for me only, but for all them that love the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ,* through whose blood I expect salvation, and remission of sins. And so the Lord bless you all." After this he prayed with an audible voice for himself and his fellow-sufferer Mr. Gibbon, for the prosperity of England, for his covenanting brethren in Scotland, and for an happy union between the two nations, making no mention of the King. He then rose from his knees, and having taken leave of the ministers, and others who attended him, he laid his head upon the block, which the executioner took off at one blow, before he had attained the age of forty years. Mr. Love was a zealous presbyterian, a popular preacher, and highly esteemed by his brethren. His funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Manton, and published under the title of the saint's triumph over death.

To return to more public affairs; after the battle of Dunbar, Cromwell was seized with an ague which hung upon him all the spring, but as the summer advanced he recovered, and in the month of July marched his army towards the King's at Sterling; but not thinking it advisable to attempt his camp, he transported part of his forces over the Frith into Fife, who upon their landing defeated the Scots, killing two thousand, and taking twelve hundred prisoners. After that, without waiting any longer on the King, he reduced Johnstown, and almost all the garrisons in the north.

While the general was employed in these parts, the Scots committee that directed the marches of their army, fearing the storm would quickly fall upon themselves, resolved to march their army into England, and try the loyalty of the English presbyterians; for this purpose

Colonel Massey was sent before into Lancashire, to prepare them for a revolt ; and the King himself entered England by the way of Carlisle, at the head of sixteen thousand men ; but when the committee of ministers that attended the army, observed that the King and his friends, upon their entering England, were for dropping the covenant, they sent an express to Massey without the King's knowledge, requiring him to publish a declaration, to assure the people of their resolution to prosecute the ends of the covenant. The King had no sooner notice of this, but he sent to Massey, forbidding him to publish the declaration, and to behave with equal civility towards all men who were forward to serve him ; but before this inhibition, says Clarendon, the matter had taken air in all places, and was spread over the whole kingdom, which made all men fly from their houses, or conceal themselves, who wished the King well. But his lordship is surely mistaken, for the King's chief hopes under Massey were from the presbyterians, who were so far from being displeased with his majesty's declaring for the covenant, that it gave them all the spirit he could wish for ; but when it was known that the covenant was to be laid aside, Massey's measures were broken, many of the Scots deserted and returned home ; and not one in ten of the English would hazard his life in the quarrel.

The parliament at Westminster were quickly advised of the King's march, and by way of precaution expelled all delinquents out of the city ; they raised the militia ; they mustered the trained bands, to the number of fourteen thousand ; and in a few weeks had got together an army of near sixty thousand brave soldiers. Eachard represents the parliament as in a terrible panic, and projecting means to escape out of the land ; whereas in reality, the unhappy King was the pity of his friends, and the contempt of his enemies. Cromwell sent an express to the parliament, to have a watchful eye over the presbyterians, who were in confederacy with the Scots, and told them, that the reason of his not interposing between the enemy and England was, because he was resolved to reduce Scotland effectually before winter. He desired the house to collect their forces together, and make the best

stand they could till he could come up with the enemy, when he doubted not but to give a good account of them. At the same time he sent Major-General Lambert with a strong body of horse to harrass the King's forces, while himself with the body of the army, hastened after, leaving Lieutenant-General Monk with a sufficient force to secure his conquests, and reduce the rest of the country, which he quickly accomplished.

The Earl of Derby was the only nobleman in England who raised 1500 men for the young King, who before he could join the royal army was defeated by Colonel Lilburn, near Wigan in Lancashire, and his forces entirely dispersed. The Earl being wounded he retired into Cheshire, and from thence got to the King, who had marched his army as far as Worcester, which opened its gates, and gave him an honourable reception ; from hence his majesty sent letters to London, commanding all his subjects between the age of sixteen and sixty to repair to his royal standard ; but few had the courage to appear, the parliament having declared all such rebels, and burnt the King's summons by the hands of the common hangman. His majesty's affairs were now at a crisis ; Lambert was in his rear with a great body of horse, and Cromwell followed with ten thousand foot, which together with the forces that joined him by order of parliament, made an army of thirty thousand men. The King being unable to keep the field, fortified the city of Worcester, and encamped almost under the walls. September 3, Cromwell attacked Powick-bridge, within two miles of the city, which drew out the King's forces and occasioned a general battle, in which his majesty's army was entirely destroyed ; four thousand being slain, seven thousand taken prisoners, with the King's standard, and one hundred and fifty-eight colours. Never was a greater rout and dispersion, nor a more fatal blow to the royal cause. This Cromwell calls in his letter to the parliament a *crowning mercy*. All possible diligence was used to seize the person of the King ; it was declared high treason to conceal him, and a reward of a thousand pounds was set upon his head ; but providence ordained his escape, for after he had travelled up and down the country six or seven weeks, under various disguises, in

company with one or two confidants, and escaped a thousand dangers, he got a passage across the channel at Brighthelmston in Sussex, and landed at Dieppe in Normandy the morning after he embarked, from whence he travelled by land to Paris, where his mother maintained him out of her small pension from the court of France.

The hopes of the royalists were now expiring, for the Islands of Guernsey and Jersey, with all the British plantations in America, were reduced this summer to the obedience of the parliament, in so much that his majesty had neither fort nor castle, nor a foot of land in all his dominions. The liturgy of the church of England was also under a total eclipse, the use of it being forbid not only in England, but even to the royal family in France, which had hitherto an apartment in the Lovre separated to that purpose; but after the battle of Worcester an order was sent from the Queen Regent, to shut up the chapel, it being the King's pleasure not to permit the exercise of any religion but the Roman Catholic in any of his houses; nor could Chancellor Hyde obtain more than a bare promise, that the Queen of England would use her endeavours, that the protestants of the family should have liberty to exercise their devotions in some private room belonging to the lodgings.

Upon the King's arrival in France, he immediately threw off the mask of a presbyterian, and never went once to the protestant church at Charenton, though they invited him in the most respectful manner; but Lord Clarendon dissuaded him, because the hugonots had not been hearty in his interest, and because it might look disrespectful to the old church of England: In truth, there being no further prospect of the King's restoration by the presbyterians, the eyes of the court were turned to the Roman Catholics, and many of his majesty's retinue changed their religion, as appears by the *Legenda lignea*, published about this time, with a list of fifty-three new converts, not to mention the King himself, of whom father Huddleston his confessor writes in his treatise entitled, "A short and plain way to the faith of the church," that he put it into the King's hands in his retirement, and that

when his majesty had read it, he declared he could not see how it could be answered. Thus early, says a reverend prelate of the church of England, was the King's advance towards popery, of which we shall meet with a fuller demonstration hereafter.

General Monk, whom Cromwell left in Scotland with six thousand men, quickly reduced that kingdom, which was soon after united to the commonwealth of England, the deputies of the several counties consenting to be governed by authority of parliament, without a King or house of lords. The power of the kirk was likewise restrained within a narrow compass ; for though they had liberty to excommunicate offenders, or debar them the communion, they might not seize their estates, or deprive them of their civil rights and privileges. No oaths or covenants were to be imposed but by direction from Westminster ; and as all fitting encouragement was to be given to the ministers of the established kirk, so others not satisfied with their form of church government had liberty to serve God after their own manner ; and all who would live peaceably and yield obedience to the commonwealth, were protected in their several persuasions. This occasioned a great commotion among the clergy, who complained of the loss of their covenant, and church discipline ; and exclaimed against the toleration, as opening a door to all kinds of error and heresy : but the English supported their friends against all opposition.

The Laird of Drum being threatened with excommunication for speaking against the kirk, and for refusing to swear that its discipline was of divine authority, fled to the English for protection, and then wrote the assembly word, that their oppression was equal to that of the late bishops, but that the commonwealth of England would not permit them to enslave the consciences of men any longer. The presbytery would have proceeded to extremities with him, but Monk brandished his sword over their heads, and threatened to treat them as enemies to the state, upon which they desisted for the present. Soon after this, commissioners chiefly of the independent persuasion, were sent into Scotland, to visit the universities, and to settle liberty of conscience in that kingdom,

against the coercive claim of the kirk, by whose influence a declaration was presented to the assembly at Edinburgh, in favour of the congregational discipline, and for liberty of conscience ; but the stubborn assembly men, instead of yielding to the declaration, published a paper called " A testimony against the present encroachments of the civil power upon the ecclesiastical jurisdiction," occasioned by a proclamation of the English commissioners appointing a committee for visiting their universities, which they take to be a special flower of the kirk prerogative.

The synod of Fife also protested against the public resolutions of the civil power, but the sword of the English kept them in awe ; for when the synod of Perth cited before them several persons for slighting the admonitions of the kirk, Mr. Whitlock says, that upon the day of appearance, their wives to the number of about one hundred and twenty, with clubs in their hands, came and besieged the church where the synod sat ; that they abused one of the ministers who was sent out to treat with them, and threatened to excommunicate them ; and that they beat the clerk and dispersed the assembly ; upon which thirteen of the ministers met at a village about four miles distant, and having agreed that no more synods should be held in that place, they pronounced the village accursed. When the general assembly met again at Edinburgh next summer, and were just entering upon business, Lieutenant-Colonel Cotterel went into the church, and standing up upon one of the benches, told them that no ecclesiastical judicatories were to sit there, but by authority of the parliament of England ; and without giving them leave to reply, he commanded them to retire, and conducted them out of the west gate of the city with a troop of horse and a company of foot ; and having taken away the commissions from their several classes, enjoined them not to assemble any more above three in a company.

But with all these commotions, Burnet observes, that the country was kept in great order ; the garrisons in the highlands observed an exact discipline, and were well paid, which brought so much money into the kingdom, that it continued all the usurpation in a flourishing

condition ; justice was carefully administered, and vice was suppressed and punished ; there was a great appearance of devotion ; the sabbath was observed with uncommon strictness ; none might walk the streets in time of divine service, nor frequent public houses ; the evenings of the Lord's days were spent in catechising their children, singing psalms, and other acts of family devotion, in so much that an acquaintance with the principles of religion, and the gift of prayer, increased prodigiously among the common people.

The war being now ended, the parliament published an act of indemnity for all crimes committed before June 30, 1648, except pirates, Irish rebels, the murderers of Dr. Dorislaus and Mr. Ascham, and some others, provided they laid hold of it, and took the engagement before Feb. 1, 1652. In the close of the year they chose a new council of state out of their own body for the next year, and continued themselves, instead of dissolving and giving way to a new parliament ; the neglect of which was their ruin.

On the 26th of September, Lieutenant-General Ireton died at Limerick in Ireland, after he had reduced that city to the obedience of the commonwealth. He was bred to the law, and was a person of great integrity, bold and intrepid in all his enterprizes, and never to be diverted from what he thought just and right by any arguments or persuasions. He was most liberal in employing his purse and hazarding his person in the service of the public. He died in the midst of life of a burning fever, after ten days sickness. His body being brought over into England was laid in state at Somerset-house, and buried in Westminster-Abbey with a pomp and magnificence suited to the dignity of his station ; but after the restoration of the royal family, his body was taken out of the grave with Cromwell's, and buried under the gallows.

About the same time died Mr. Francis Woodcock, born in Chester, and educated in Brazen-Nose Coll. Oxford, where he took a degree in arts, entered into orders, and had a cure of souls bestowed upon him. In the beginning of the civil wars he sided with the parliament, and was one of the assembly of divines, being then lecturer of

St. Lawrence Jewry. He was afterwards, by ordinance of parliament made parson of St. Olave's, Southwark; having the esteem of being a good scholar, and an excellent preacher. He died in the midst of his days and usefulness.

Mr. George Walker proceeded B. D. in St. John's Coll. Cambridge. He was famous for his skill in the oriental languages, and was an excellent logician and theologist; being very much noted for his disputations with the jesuit Fisher, and others of the Romish church; and afterwards for his strict sabbatarian principles. He was a member of the assembly of divines, where he gained great reputation by his munificent and generous behaviour.

Mr. Thomas Wilson was born in Cumberland, and educated in Christ's Coll. Cambridge, where he proceeded in arts. He was first minister of Capel in Surrey, and after several other removes fixed at Maidstone in Kent, where he was suspended for refusing to read the book of sports, and not absolved till the Scots troubles in 1639. He was one of the assembly of divines at Westminster, being reputed a good linguist, and well read in ancient and modern authors; took vast pains in preaching and catechising; had a great deal of natural courage, and was in every respect a chearful and active christian, but he trespassed too much upon his constitution, which wore him out when he was little more than fifty years old. He died comfortably and chearfully towards the end of the year.

The terms of conformity in England were now lower than they had been since the beginning of the civil wars; the covenant was laid aside, and no other civil qualification for a living required, but the engagement, so that many episcopal divines complied with the government; for though they might not read the liturgy in form, they might frame their prayers as near it as they pleased. Many episcopal assemblies were connived at, where the liturgy was read, till they were found plotting against the government; nor would they have been denied an open toleration, if they would have given security for their peaceable behaviour, and not meddling with politics.

The parliament having voted in 1649, that tithes should be taken away as soon as another maintenance for the clergy could be agreed upon, several petitions came out of the country, praying the house to bring this affair to an issue : one advised, that all the tithes over the whole kingdom might be collected into a treasury, and that the ministers might be paid their salaries out of it. Others looking upon tithes unlawful, would have the livings valued, and the parish engaged to pay the minister. This was suspected to come from the sectaries, and awakened the fears of the established clergy. Mr. Baxter printed the Worcester petition on the behalf of the ministers, which was presented to the house, and Mr. Boreman, B. D. and fellow of Trinity-Coll. Cambridge, published "The country man's catechism, or the church's plea for thithes," dedicated to the nobility, gentry, and commons of the realm; in which he insists upon their divine right. But the clergy were more afraid than hurt; for though the commons were of opinion with Mr. Selden, that tithes were abolished with the old law, yet the committee not agreeing upon an expedient to satisfy the lay-impropriators, the affair was dropt for the present.

An act had passed in 1649, for propagating the gospel in Wales; and commissioners were appointed for ejecting ignorant and scandalous ministers, and placing others in their room; pursuant to which it is said, that by this time there were one hundred and fifty good preachers in the thirteen Welsh counties, most of whom preached three or four times a week; that in every market town there was placed one, and in most great towns two school-masters, able, learned, and university men; that the tithes were all employed to the uses directed by act of parliament; that is, to the maintenance of godly ministers; to the payment of taxes and officers; to school-masters; and the fifths to the wives and children of the ejected clergy.

The commonwealth was now very powerful, and the nation in as flourishing a condition, as under Queen Elizabeth. The form of government indeed was altered contrary to law, and without consent of the people, the

majority of whom were disaffected, preferring a mixed monarchy to an absolute commonwealth; but the administration was in the hands of the ablest men England had beheld for many years; all their enemies were in a manner subdued, and the two kingdoms incorporated into one commonwealth: but still there were two things that gave them uneasiness; one was the growing power of the army, who were now at leisure, and expected rewards suitable to their successes; the other, the necessity they were under to dissolve themselves in a little time, and put the power into other hands.

With regard to the army, it was resolved to reduce the land forces, and augment the fleet with them, in order to secure the nation against the Dutch; for the parliament having a desire to strengthen their hands, by uniting with the commonwealth of Holland, sent over proposals for this purpose; but the Dutch treated them with neglect, as their younger sister, which the parliament resenting, demanded satisfaction for the damages the English had sustained at Amboyna, and other parts of the East-Indies; and to cramp them in their trade, passed the famous act of navigation, prohibiting the importing goods of foreign growth in any but English bottoms; or such as were of the country from whence they came. Upon this the Dutch sent over ambassadors, desiring a clause of exception for themselves, who were the carriers of Europe; but the parliament in their turn treated them coldly, and put them in mind of the murder of their envoy Dr. Dorislaus. Both commonwealths being dissatisfied with each other, prepared for war; and Van Trump the Dutch Admiral, with a convoy of merchant-men, meeting Admiral Blake in the channel, and refusing him the flag, an engagement ensued which continued four hours, till the night parted them. The Dutch excused the accident, as done without their knowledge; but the parliament was so enraged, that they resolved to humble them. In these circumstances it was thought reasonable to augment the fleet out of the land forces, who had nothing to do, and would in a little time be a burden to the nation.

Cromwell who was at the head of the army, quickly discovered that the continuance of the war must be his

ruin, by disarming him of his power, and reducing him from a great general to the condition of a private gentleman. Besides Rapin observes, that he had secret information of a conspiracy against his life; and without all question, if the army had not agreed to stand by their general his ruin had been unavoidable; the officers therefore determined to combine together, and not suffer their men to be disbanded or sent to sea, till the arrears of the whole army were paid; for this purpose they presented a petition to the house, which they resented, and instead of giving them soft language, and encouragement to hope for some suitable rewards for their past services, ordered them to be reprimanded, for presuming to meddle in affairs of state that did not belong to them. But the officers proving as resolute as their masters, instead of submitting, presented another petition, in which, having justified their behaviour, they boldly strike at the parliament's continuance, and put them in mind how many years they had sat; that they had engrossed all preferments and places of profit to themselves and their friends; that it was a manifest injury to the gentlemen of the nation, to be excluded the service of their country, and an invasion of the rights of the people, to deprive them of the right of frequent choosing new representatives; they therefore insist upon their settling a new council of state for the administration of public affairs; and upon their fixing a peremptory day for the choice of a new parliament. This was a new and delicate crisis; the civil and military powers being engaged against each other, and resolved to maintain their respective pretensions.

Cromwell desiring Mr. Whitlock's opinion upon the present situation of affairs, said to him, it is time to consider of our present danger, that we may not be broken in pieces by our particular quarrels after we have gained an entire conquest over the enemy. Whitlock replied, that all their danger was from the army, who were men of emulation, and had now nothing to do. Cromwell answered, that the officers thought themselves not rewarded according to their deserts; that the parliament had engrossed all places of honour and trust among themselves; that they delayed the public business, and designed to perpetuate themselves;

that the officers thought it impossible to keep them within the bounds of justice, law, or reason, unless there was some authority or power to which they might be accountable. Whitlock said, he believed the parliament were honest men, and designed the public good, though some particular persons might be to blame, but that it was absurd for the officers, who were private men, and had received their commissions from the parliament, to pretend to controul them. But, says Cromwell, what if a man should take upon him to be King? Whitlock answered, That the remedy was worse than the disease; and that the general had already all the power of a King without the envy, danger and pomp of the title. But, says he, the title of King would make all acts done by him legal; it would indemnify those that should act under him at all events, and be of advantage to curb the insolence of those whom the present powers could not controul. Whitlock agreed to the general's reasons, but desired him to consider whether the title of King would not lose him his best friends in the army, as well as those gentlemen who were for settling in a free commonwealth; but if we must have a King, says he, the question will be, whether it shall be Cromwell or Stuart? The general asking his opinion upon this, Whitlock proposed a private treaty with the King of Scots, with whom he might make his own terms, and raise his family to what pitch of greatness he pleased; but Cromwell was so apprehensive of the danger of this proposal, that he broke off the conversation with some marks of dissatisfaction, and never made use of Whitlock with confidence afterwards.

Thus things remained throughout the whole winter, the army having little to do after the battle of Worcester drew near to London, but there was no treaty of accommodation between them and the parliament; one would not disband without their full pay; nor the other dissolve by the direction of their own servants, and voted the expedience of filling up their numbers, and that it should be high treason to petition for their dissolution. When the general heard this, he called a council of officers to Whitehall, who all agreed that it was not fit the parliament

should continue any longer. This was published in hopes of frightening the house to make some advances towards a dissolution; but when Colonel Ingoldsby informed the general next morning, that they were concluding upon an act to prolong the session for another year, he rose up in a heat, and with a small retinue of officers and soldiers marched to the parliament house, and having placed his men without doors, went into the house and heard the debates. After some time he beckoned to Colonel Harrison, on the other side of the house, and told him in his ear, that he thought the parliament was ripe for dissolution, and that this was the time for doing it. Harrison replied, that the work was dangerous, and desired him to think better of it. Upon this he sat down about a quarter of an hour, and then said, this is the time I must do it; and rising up in his place, he told the house, that he was come to put an end to their power, of which they made so ill an use: that some of them were whore-masters, others were drunkards, and some corrupt and unjust men, who had not at heart the public good, but were only for perpetuating their own power. Upon the whole, he thought they had sat long enough, and therefore desired them to retire and go away. When some of the members began to reply, he stepped into the middle of the house, and said, "Come, come, I will put to end to your prating; you are no parliament; I say you are no parliament;" and stamping with his foot, a file of musqueteers entered the house; one of whom he commanded to take away that fool's bauble the mace. And Major Harrison taking the speaker by the arm, conducted him out of the chair. Cromwell then seizing upon their papers obliged them to walk out of the house; and having caused the doors to be locked after them, returned to Whitehall.

In the afternoon the general went to the council of state attended by Major-generals Lambert and Harrison, and as he entered the room, said, Gentlemen if you are met here as private persons you shall not be disturbed, but if as a council of state, this is no place for you; and since you cannot but know what was done in the morning, so take notice the parliament is dissolved. Serjeant Bradshaw replied, Sir, we have heard what you did in the morning,

but you are mistaken to think the parliament is dissolved; for no power can dissolve them but themselves; therefore take you notice of that. But the general not being terrified with big words, the council thought it their wisest way to rise up and go home.

Thus ended the commonwealth of England, after it had continued four years, two months, and twenty days; which though no better than an usurpation; had raised the credit of the nation to a very high pitch of glory and renown; and with the commonwealth ended the remains of the long parliament for the present; an assembly famous throughout all the world for its undertakings, actions, and successes. But their foundation was bad, and many of their actions highly criminal; they were a packed assembly, many of their members being excluded by force, before they could be secure of a vote to put the late King to death, they subverted the constitution, by setting up themselves, and continuing their sessions after his majesty's demise, by erecting high-courts of justice of their own nomination for capital offences, by raising taxes, and doing all other acts of sovereignty without consent of the people; all which they designed to perpetuate among themselves, without being accountable to any superior, or giving place to a new body of representatives. If then it be required, what right or authority Cromwell and his officers had to offer violence to this parliament, it may be replied, 1. The right of self-preservation, the ruin of one or the other being unavoidable.—2. The right that every Englishman has to put an end to an usurpation when it is in his power, provided he can substitute something better in its room; and if Cromwell could by this method have restored the constitution, and referred the settlement of the government to a free and full representative of the people, no wise man would have blamed him. It was not therefore his turning out the old parliament that was criminal, but his not summoning a new one, by a fair and free election of the people.

The King was no way interested in the change, for it was not Charles Stuart, but a republican usurpation that was dispossessed of the supreme power. If the general

had failed in this design, and lost his life in the attempt, the King would have received no manner of advantage, for the nation was by no means disposed to restore him at this time. Supposing then it was not practicable to choose a free parliament, nor fit to let the old one perpetuate themselves. Cromwell had no other choice, but to abandon the state, or to take the administration upon himself; or put it into the hands of some other person who had no better title. How far private ambition took place of the public good in the choice, must be left to the judgment of every reader; but if it was necessary that there should be a supreme authority, capable of enforcing obedience, it cannot be denied, but that Cromwell was more capable of governing the state in such a storm, than any man then living. No objection can be raised against him, which might not with more justice have been urged against any other single person, or body of men in the nation, except the right heir. However, all the three parties of cavaliers, presbyterians, and republicans, were displeased with his conduct, loaded him with invectives, and formed conspiracies against his person, though they could never agree in any other scheme, which in the present crisis was more practicable.

The parliament being thus violently dispersed, the sovereign power devolved on the council of officers, of which Cromwell was head, who published a declaration, justifying his dissolution of the late parliament, and promising to put the administration into the hands of persons of approved fidelity and honesty, and leave them to form it into what shape they pleased. Accordingly, another declaration was published, signed by Cromwell, and thirty of his officers, nominating a new council of state to take care of the government, till a new representative body of men could be called together; and June the eighth the general, by advice of his council, sent a summons to one hundred and forty select persons, out of the several counties of England, to meet at Westminster, in order to settle the nation. These were high acts of sovereignty, and not to be justified but upon the supposition of extreme necessity. The dissolution of the long parliament was an act of violence, but not unacceptable to the people, as

appeared by the numerous addresses from the army, the fleet, and other places, approving the general's conduct and promising to stand by him and his council in their proceedings; but then for the general himself, and thirty officers, to chuse representatives for the whole nation, without interesting any of the counties or corporations of England in the choice, would have deserved the highest censure under any other circumstances.

About one hundred and twenty of the new representatives appeared at the time and place appointed, when the general after a short speech, delivered them an instrument in parchment under his hand and seal, resigning into their hands, or the hands of any forty of them, the supreme authority and government of the commonwealth, limiting the time of their continuance and empowering them three months before their dissolution, to make choice of others to succeed them for a year, and they to provide for a future succession. It was much wondered, says Whitlock, that these gentlemen, many of whom were persons of fortune and estate, should accept of the supreme authority of the nation, upon such a summons, and from such hands. Most of them were men of piety, but no great politicians, and were therefore in contempt called sometimes the *little parliament*; and by others, *Barebone's parliament*, from a leather-seller of that name, who was one of the most active members. When the general was withdrawn, they chose Mr. Rouse, an aged and venerable man, member in the late parliament for Truro, their speaker, and then voted themselves the parliament of the commonwealth of England. Baxter places them in a contemptible light, and says they intended to eject all the parish ministers, and to encourage the gathering independent churches; that they cast out all the ministers in Wales, which though bad enough for the most part, were yet better than none, or the few itinerants they set up in their room; and that they attempted, and had almost accomplished the same in England. But nothing of this appears among their acts.

When the city of London petitioned, that more learned and approved ministers might be sent into the country to preach the gospel, that their settled maintenance by

law might be confirmed, and their just properties preserved; and that the universities might be zealously countenanced and encouraged; the petitioners had the thanks of that house; and the committee gave it as their opinion, that commissioners should be sent into the several counties, who should have power to eject scandalous and insufficient ministers, and to settle others in their room. They were to appoint preaching in all vacant places, that none might live above three miles from a place of worship. That such as were approved for public ministers should enjoy the maintenance provided by the laws; and that if any scrupled the payment of tithes, the neighbouring justices of peace should settle the value, which the owner of the land should be obliged to pay: but as for the tithes themselves they were of opinion, that the incumbents and impropiators had a right in them, and therefore they could not be taken away till they were satisfied. July 23, it was referred to a committee, to consider of a repeal of such laws as hindered the progress of the gospel; that is, says Kennet; to take away the few remaining rules of decency and order; or in other language, the penal laws. This was done at the instance of the independents, who petitioned for protection against the presbyteries; upon which it was voted, that a declaration should be published, for giving proper liberty to all that feared God; and for preventing their imposing hardships upon one another.

Mr. Eachard and others of his principles write, that this parliament had under deliberation the taking away the old English laws, as badges of the Norman conquest, and substituting the Mosaic laws of government in their place; and that all schools of learning, and titles of honour, should be extinguished, as not agreeing with the christian simplicity. But no such proposals were made to the house, and therefore it is unjust to lay them to their charge.

The solemnizing of matrimony had hitherto been engrossed by the clergy; but this convention considered it as a civil contract, and put it into the hands of the justices of the peace. The ordinance for this purpose was afterwards confirmed by the Protector's parliament, with the exception of a clause, that no other marriage

whatsoever within the commonwealth of England shall be held, or accounted a legal marriage; and it was wisely done of the parliament at the restoration, to confirm these marriages in order to prevent illegitimacy, and vexatious law-suits in future times. But the acts of this convention were of little significance, for when they found the affairs of the nation too intricate, and the several parties too stubborn to yield to their ordinances, they wisely resigned, and surrendered back their sovereignty into the same hands that gave it them, after they had sat five months and twelve days.

The general and his officers finding themselves reinvested with the supreme authority, by what they fancied a more parliamentary delegation, took upon them to strike out a new form of government, a little tending towards monarchy, contained in a large instrument of forty two articles, entitled the government of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. It appoints the government to be in a single person;—that the single person be the General Oliver Cromwell, whose stile and title should be “His highness, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of the dominions thereunto belonging.”—That the lord protector should have a council, consisting of no more than twenty one persons, nor less than thirteen, to assist him in the administration.—A parliament was to be chosen out of the three kingdoms every three years at longest, and not to be dissolved without their consent in less than five months. It was to consist of four hundred members for England and Wales; thirty for Scotland, and thirty for Ireland; whereof sixty were to make a house. The counties of England and Wales were to choose two hundred thirty-nine; the other elections to be distributed among the chief cities and market-towns, without regard to ancient custom. If the protector refused to issue out writs, the commissioners of the great seal, or the high sheriff of the county, was to do it under pain of treason.—None to have votes but such as were worth two hundred pounds.—This regulation being wisely proportioned met with universal approbation.

All the great officers of state, as chancellor, treasurer, &c. if they became vacant in time of parliament, to be sup-

plied with their approbation ; and in the intervals with the approbation of the council—such bills as were offered to the protector by the parliament, if not signed in twenty days, were to be laws without him, if not contrary to this instrument—In the present crisis, the protector and his council might publish ordinances which should have force till the first sessions of parliament—the protector was to have power to make war and peace, to confer titles of honour, to pardon all crimes except treason and murder ; the militia was intrusted with him and his council, except during the sessions of parliament, when it was to be jointly in both. In short, the protector had almost all the royalties of a king—but then the protectorship was to be elective, and no protector after the present to be general of the army.

The articles relating to religion were these ; 35th, That the christian religion contained in the scriptures be held forth and recommended as the public profession of these nations, and that as soon as may be, a provision less subject to contention, and more certain than the present, be made for the maintenance of ministers ; and that till such provision be made, the present maintenance continue. 36, That none be compelled to conform to the public religion by penalties or otherwise ; but that endeavours be used to win them by sound doctrine, and the example of a good conversation. 37, That such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship or discipline, publicly held forth, shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in the profession of their faith, and exercise of their religion, so as they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others, and to the actual disturbance of the public peace on their parts ; provided this liberty be not extended to popery or prelacy, or to such as under a profession of Christ hold forth and practise licentiousness. 38, That all laws, statutes, ordinances, and clauses in any law, statute or ordinance, to the contrary of the aforesaid liberty shall be esteemed null and void.

The protector was installed with great magnificence Decemb. 16, 1653, in the court of Chancery, by order of the council of officers, in presence of the lord mayor and

aldermen of London, the judges, the commissioners of the great seal, and other great officers, who were summoned to attend on this occasion. Cromwell standing uncovered on the left hand of a chair of state set for him, first subscribed the instrument of government in the face of the court, and then took the following oath: "Whereas the major part of the last parliament, judging that their sitting any longer as then constituted, would not be for the good of the commonwealth, did dissolve the same; and by a writing under their hands, resigned to me their powers and authorities. And whereas it was necessary thereupon, that some speedy course should be taken for the settlement of these nations, upon such a basis and foundation as by the blessing of God, might be lasting, secure property, and answer those great ends of religion and liberty, so long contended for; and upon full and mature consideration had of the form of government hereunto annexed, being satisfied that the same, through divine assistance, may answer the ends aforementioned, and having also been desired and advised, as well by several persons of interest and fidelity in the commonwealth, as the officers of the army, to take upon me the protection and government of these nations in the manner expressed in the said form of government, I have accepted thereof, and do hereby declare my acceptance accordingly; and do promise, in the presence of God, that I will not violate or infringe the matters and things contained therein, but to my power observe the same, and cause them to be observed; and shall in all other things, to the best of my understanding, govern these nations according to the laws, statutes, and customs, seeking their peace, and causing justice and law to be equally administered."—After this he sat down in the chair of state covered, and the commissioners delivered him the great seal, and the lord mayor his sword and cap of maintenance; which he returned in a very obliging manner. The ceremony being over, the soldiers with a shout cried out, God bless the Lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. In their return to Whitehall, the lord mayor carried the sword before his highness uncovered, and presently after he was proclaimed in the city of London, and throughout all the British dominions.

Thus did this wonderful man, by surprizing management, supported only by the sword, advance himself to the supreme government of three kingdoms, without consent of parliament or people. His birth seemed to promise nothing of this kind ; nor does it appear that he had formed the project, till after the battle of Worcester, when he apprehended the parliament had projected his ruin by disbanding the army, and perpetuating their authority among themselves : which of the two usurpations was most eligible must be left with the reader ; but how he brought the officers into his measures, and supported his sovereignty by an army of enthusiasts, anabaptists, fifth-monarchy-men, and republicans, will be the admiration of all posterity ; and though by this adventurous act, he drew upon himself the plots and conspiracies of the several factions in the nation, yet his genius and resolution surmounted all difficulties, his short empire being one continued blaze of glory and renown to the British Isles, and of terror to the rest of Europe.

The reader will make his own remarks upon the new instrument of government, and will necessarily observe, that it was a creature of Cromwell's and his council of officers, and not drawn up by a proper representative of the people. How far the present circumstances of the nation made this necessary, must be concluded from the remarks we have made upon the change of government ; but the articles relating to religion can hardly be complained of, though they disgusted all that part of the clergy who were for church power ; the presbyterians preached and wrote against the 36th and 37th articles, as inconsistent with their establishment, and sinking it almost to a level with the sectaries. The republicans were dissatisfied, because the engagement by which they had sworn fidelity to a commonwealth, without a single person, or house of lords, was set aside. Bp. Kennet is angry with the protector's latitude, because there was no test or barrier to the establishment. How little religion was the concern, or so much as any longer the pretence of Cromwell and his officers (says his lordship), appears from hence, that in the large instrument of the government of the commonwealth, which was the *magna charta* of the new constitu-

tion, there is not a word of churches, or synods, or ministers, nor any thing but the christian religion in general, with liberty to all differing in judgment, from the doctrine, worship, or discipline, publicly held forth. Strange, that this should displease a christian bishop ! But his lordship should have remembered, that this liberty was not to extend to any kind of immoralities, nor to such as injured the civil rights of others, nor to such as disturbed the public peace. And do the scriptures authorize us to go further ? The sixth article provides, that the laws in being relating to the presbyterian religion were not to be suspended, altered, abrogated or repealed ; nor any new law made, but by consent of parliament. The 35th adds, that until a better provision can be made for the encouragement and maintenance of able and painful teachers, the present maintenance shall not be taken away nor impeached. And tryers were appointed soon after for preventing scandalous and unlearned persons invading the pulpit. This part of the instrument is in my opinion, so far from being criminal, that it breathes a noble spirit of christian liberty, though it was undoubtedly faulty, in putting popery, prelacy, and licentiousness of manners, upon a level. The open toleration of popery is hardly consistent with the safety of a protestant government, otherwise considered merely as a religious institution, I see not why it should be crushed by the civil power : and licentiousness of manners, is not to be indulged in any civilized nation ; but if the episcopalians would have given security for their living peaceably under their new masters, they ought undoubtedly to have been protected ; however the protector did not in every instance adhere strictly to the instrument.

But though in point of policy the episcopalians were at this time excepted from a legal toleration, their assemblies were connived at ; and several of their clergy indulged the public exercise of their ministry without the fetters of oaths, subscriptions, or engagements. Several of the bishops who had been kept from public service by the covenant and engagement, preached again publicly in the city, as Usher, Brownrigg, and others. Baxter who was very far from being a friend of the protector's,

says, that all men were suffered to live quietly, and enjoy their properties under his government—That he removed the errors and prejudices which hindered the success of the gospel, especially considering that godliness had countenance and reputation as well as liberty, whereas before, if it did not appear in all the fetters and formalities of the times, it was the way to common shame and ruin. It is well known that the presbyterians did not approve of the usurpation, but when they saw that Cromwell's design was to do good in the main, and encourage religion as far as his cause would admit, they acquiesced. And then comparing these times with those after the restoration, he adds, I shall for the future think that land happy, where the people have but bare liberty to be as good as they are willing; and if countenance and maintenance be but added to liberty, and tolerated errors and sects be but forced to keep the peace, I shall not hereafter much fear such a toleration, nor despair that truth will bear down its adversaries. This was a considerable testimony to the protector's administration from the pen of an adversary.

The protector's wise conduct appeared in nothing more than in his unwearied endeavours to make all religious parties easy. He indulged the army in their enthusiastic raptures, and sometimes joined in their prayers and sermons. He countenanced the presbyterians, by assuring them he would maintain the public ministry, and give them all due encouragement. He supported the independents, by making them his chaplains; by preferring them to considerable livings in the church and universities; and by joining them in one commission with the presbyterians as tryers of all such as desired to be admitted to benefices. But he absolutely forbade the clergy of every denomination dealing in politics, as not belonging to their profession; and when he perceived the managing presbyterians took too much upon them, he always found means to mortify them; and would sometimes glory that he had curbed that insolent sect, that would suffer none but itself. It was happy for the wise and moderate presbyterians, that the protector disarmed their discipline of its coercive power, for he still left them all that was sufficient for the purposes of religion; they had

their monthly or quarterly classical presbyteries in every county, for the ordination of ministers, by imposition of hands, according to the directory, to whom they gave certificates, or testimonials.

When the presbyterians found that their classes could obtain no power to inflict pains and penalties on those who refused to submit to their discipline, the ministers of the several denominations in the country, began to enter into friendly associations for brotherly council and advice. Mr. Baxter and his brethren of Worcestershire, formed a scheme upon such general principles as all good men were agreed in; and when he had drawn up articles of concord he submitted them to the correction of Abp. Usher, and other episcopal divines, who agreed with him, that no more discipline should be practised than the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Independent divines agreed in; that they should not "Meddle with politics, or affairs of civil government in their assemblies, nor pretend to exercise the power of the keys, or any church censures, but only to assist, advise, and encourage each other in propogating truth and holiness, and in keeping their churches from prophane and scandalous communicants." Their meetings were appointed to be once a month in some market town, where there was a sermon in the morning; and after dinner the conversation was upon such points of doctrine or discipline as required advice; or else an hour was spent in disputing upon some theological question which had been appointed the preceeding month.

In the West of England Mr. Hughes of Plymouth, and Mr. Good of Exeter, prevailed with the ministers of the several persuasions in those parts, to follow the example of Worcestershire; accordingly they parcelled themselves into four divisions, which met once a quarter; and all four had a general meeting for concord once a year. The moderator began and ended with prayer, and several of the episcopal divines of the best character, as well as independents, joined with them; the chief of the presbyterian and independent divines, who were weary of divisions, and willing to strengthen each others hands, united in these assemblies, though the exasperated prelatists, the more

rigid presbyterians, and several sort of independents kept at a distance: but many remarkable advantages attended these associations; they opened and preserved a friendly correspondence among the ministers; they removed a great many prejudices and misunderstandings, insomuch that the controversies and heats of angry men began to be allayed, their spirits bettered, and the ends of religion more generally promoted.

But these country associations were not countenanced by the more zealous presbyterians of London, who met weekly at Sion College; they could hardly digest a toleration of the sectaries, much less submit to a coalition, but resolved to keep close to the ordinances of parliament, and to the acts of their provincial assembly: they wanted the sword of discipline, and were impatient under the present restraint; and nothing but the piercing eye of the protector, whose spies were in every corner, kept them from preaching, praying and plotting against the government. However the country ministers being easy in their possessions, cultivated good neighbourhood, and spread the associations through Wiltshire, Essex, Hampshire, Dorsetshire, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and other parts; and if I am not misinformed, there are the like brotherly associations among the dissenters, in several counties to this day.

This year died old Dr. William Gouge, born at Stratford Bow, in 1575, and educated at King's Coll. Cambridge, of which he was fellow. He entered into orders 1607, and the very next year was settled at Black-Friars, London, where he continued to his death. He commenced doctor of divinity in 1628, about which time he became one of the feoffees for buying up impropriations, for which he was ordered to be prosecuted in the Star Chamber. In 1643 he was nominated one of the assembly of divines, and was in such reputation, that he often filled the moderator's chair in his absence. He was a modest, humble, and affable person, of strict and exemplary piety, an universal scholar, and a most constant preacher, as long as he was able to get up into the pulpit. For many years he was esteemed the Father of the London ministers, and died comfortably and piously, December 12, 1653, in

the 79th year of his age, having been minister of Black-Friars almost forty-six years.

Doctor Thomas Hill, of whom mention has been made before, was born in Worcestershire, and educated in Emanuel Coll. Cambridge, of which he was a fellow, and tutor to young scholars for many years. He was afterwards preferred to the living of Tichmarsh in Northamptonshire, and was chosen into the assembly of divines for that county. While he was at London he preached every day at St. Martin's in the fields, and was one of the morning lecturers at Westminster Abbey. He was afterwards chosen to be master of Emanuel Coll. Cambridge, and from thence removed to Trinity College; in which stations he behaved with great prudence and circumspection. He was a good scholar, and very careful of the antiquities and privileges of the university; a strict calvinist, a plain, powerful, and practical preacher, and of an holy and unblameable conversation. He died in an advanced age, very much lamented by his acquaintance and brethren.

CHAP. III.

CROMWELL.

State of the Nation.—Peace with the Dutch.—Cromwell's reputation.—His Enemies' Plots.—Commissioners for approbation of Preachers :—For rejecting Scandalous Preachers.—Commissioners for Wales.—Cromwell encourages Learning.—State of the Royal Family.—Alliance with France.—Jamaica Taken.—Corporation for the Sons of the Clergy.—Death of Abp. Usher.—A New Parliament.—Spanish Fleet taken.—Death of Bp. Hall.—Treaty with France.—Naval Victory.—Origin of the Royal Society.—Dunkirk delivered to the English.—Plots against Government.—Death of Cromwell.—His Character.

IF the reader will carefully review the divided state of the nation at this time, the strength of the several parties in opposite interests, and almost equal in power, each sanguine for his own scheme of settlement, and all conspiring against the present, he will be surprized that any wise man should be prevailed with to put himself at the head of such a distracted body; and yet more that such a genius should arise, who without any foreign alliances, should be capable of guarding against so many foreign and domestic enemies, and of steering the commonwealth through such an hurricane, clear of the rocks and quicksands which threatened its ruin.

This was the province that the enterprizing Oliver Cromwell undertook, with the title and style of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and

Ireland. He assumed all the state and ceremony of a crowned head; his household officers and guards attended in their places, and his court appeared in as great splendor, and more order, than had been seen at Whitehall since Queen Elizabeth's reign. His first concern was to fill the courts of justice with the ablest lawyers; Sir Matthew Hale was made Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas; Messrs. Maynard, Twisden, Newdigate, and Windham, serjeants at law; Mr. Thurloe secretary of state; and Monk governor of Scotland. His next care was to deliver himself from his foreign enemies; for this purpose he gave peace to the Dutch; which the fame of his power enabled him to accomplish without the ceremony of a formal treaty; he therefore sent his secretary Thurloe with the conditions to which they were to submit; the Dutch pleaded for abatements, but his highness was at a point, and obliged them to deliver up the Island of Polerone in the East Indies, to pay three hundred thousand pounds for the affair of Amboyna, to abandon the interests of Charles II. to exclude the prince of Orange from being stadtholder, and to yield up the sovereignty of the seas.

When this was accomplished, most of the sovereign princes in Europe sent to compliment his highness upon his advancement, and to cultivate his friendship: the King of Portugal asked pardon for receiving Prince Rupert into his ports; the Danes got themselves included in the Dutch treaty, and became security for one hundred and forty thousand pounds damages done to the English shipping; the Swedes sued for an alliance, which was concluded with their ambassador; the crown of Spain made offers which the protector rejected; but the address of the French ambassador was most extraordinary; the protector received him in the banquetting house at Whitehall, with all the state and magnificence of a crowned head; and the ambassador having made his obeisance, acquainted his highness with the King his master's desire, to establish a correspondence between his dominions and England. He mentioned the value of the friendship of France, and how much it was courted by the greatest potentates of the

earth ;—"And, says the ambassador, the King my master communicates his resolutions to none with so much joy and chearfulness, as to those whose virtuous actions, and extraordinary merits, render them more conspicuously famous, than the largeness of their dominions. His majesty is sensible, that all these advantages do wholly reside in your highness, and that the divine providence, after so many calamities, could not deal more favourably with these three nations, nor cause them to forget their past miseries with greater satisfaction, than by subjecting them to so just a government."

The protector's most dangerous enemies were the royalists, presbyterians, and republicans at home ; the former menaced him with an assassination, upon which he declared openly, that though he would never begin so detestable a practice, yet if any of the King's party should attempt it and fail, he would make an assassinating war of it, and exterminate the whole family, which his servants were ready to execute : the terror of this threatening, was a greater security to him than his coat of mail or guards. The protector had the skill always to discover the most secret designs of the royalists by some of their own number, whom he spared no cost to gain over to his interests. Sir R. Willis was Chancellor Hyde's chief confidant, to whom he wrote often, and in whom all the party confided, as in a able and wise statesman ; but the protector gained him with two hundred pounds a year, by which means he had all the King's party in a net, and let them dance in it at pleasure. He had another correspondent in the King's little family, one Manning, a Roman Catholic, who gave Secretary Thurloe intelligence of all his majesty's councils and proceedings. But though the King's friends were always in one plot or other against the protector's person and government ; he always behaved with decency towards them, as long as they kept within tolerable bounds ; and without all question, the severe laws that were made against the episcopal party, were not on the account of religion, but of their irreconcilable aversion to the government.

The whole body of the Presbyterians were in principle for the King and the covenant, but after the battle of

Worcester, and the execution of Mr. Love, they were terrified into a compliance with the Commonwealth, though they disallowed their proceedings, and were pleased to see them broken in pieces ; but the surprizing advancement of Cromwell to the protectorship, filled them with new terrors, and threatened the overthrow of their church power, for they considered him not only as an usurper, but a sectarian, who would countenance the free exercise of religion to all who would live peaceably under his government ; and though he assured them he would continue religion upon the foot of the present establishment, yet nothing would satisfy them, as long as their discipline was disarmed of its coercive power.

But the protector's most determined adversaries were the commonwealth party ; these were divided into two branches ; one had little or no religion, but were for a democracy in the state, and universal liberty of conscience in religion ; the heads of them were deists, or in the language of the protector heathens. It was impossible to work upon these men, or reconcile them to the government of a single person, and therefore he disarmed them of their power. The other were high enthusiasts, and fifth-monarchy-men, who were in expectation of King Jesus, and of a glorious thousand years reign of Christ upon earth. They were for pulling down churches, says Burnet, for discharging tithes, and leaving religion free, as they called it, without either encouragement or restraint. Most of them were for destroying the clergy, and for breaking every thing that looked like a national establishment. These the protector endeavoured to gain. With the chiefs of this party he affected to converse upon terms of great familiarity, shutting the door, and making them sit down covered in his presence, to let them see how little he valued those distances he was bound to observe for form sake with others ; he talked with them in their own language, and the conversation commonly ended with a long prayer. His chief support against these powerful adversaries were the Independents, the city of London, and the army ; the former looked upon him as the head of their party, though he was no more theirs,

than as he was averse to church power, and for an universal toleration. He courted the city of London with a decent respect, declaring upon all occasions, his resolution to confirm their privileges, and consult measures for promoting trade and commerce. These in return after his instalment, entertained him at dinner in a most magnificent and prince-like manner, and by degrees modelled their magistrates to his mind. But his chief dependence was upon the army, which consisting of different parties, he took care to reform by degrees, till they were in a manner entirely at his devotion. He paid the soldiers well, and advanced them according to their merits, and zeal for his government, without regard to their birth, or seniority.

It was the protector's felicity, that the parties above-mentioned had as great an enmity to each other, as to him, the Cavaliers hated the Presbyterians and Republicans, as these did the Cavaliers; the Royalists fancied all who were against the Protector, must join with them in restoring the King; while the Presbyterians were pushing for their covenant uniformity, and the republicans for a commonwealth. Cromwell had the skill not only to keep them divided, but to increase their jealousies of each other, and by that means to disconcert all their measures against himself. Let the reader recollect what a difficult situation this was; and what a genius it must require to maintain so high a reputation abroad, in the midst of so many domestic enemies, who were continually plotting his destruction.

This year Scotland and Ireland were incorporated; and from this time the arms of both nations were quartered with those of England.

But the protector was hardly seated in his chair, before an assassination plot of the royalists was discovered, and three of the conspirators (*viz.*) Mr. Fox, Mr. Gerhard, and Mr. Vowel, were apprehended, and tried before an high court of justice, for conspiring to murder the Lord Protector as he was going to Hampton-Court, to seize the guards, and the Tower of London; and to proclaim the King. Mr. Fox who confessed most of what was alledged against him, pleaded guilty, and was reprieved; but the

other two putting themselves on their trial, though they denied the jurisdiction of the court, were convicted, and executed. Gerhard a young hot-headed ensign in the late King's army being beheaded ; and Vowel a school-master at Islington, hanged at Charing Cross : Gerhard confessed he knew of the plot, but Vowel was silent. These commotions were the occasion of the hardships the royalists underwent some time after.

Don Pantaleon Sa, brother of the Portuguese ambassador, was beheaded the same day, upon account of a riot and murder in the New Exchange. Pantaleon had quarrelled with the above-mentioned Gerhard, and to revenge himself, brought his servants next day armed with swords and pistols to kill him ; but instead of Gerhard, they killed another man, and wounded several others. The Portuguese Knight and his associates, fled to his brother the ambassador's house for sanctuary, but the mob followed them, and threatened to pull down the house, unless they were delivered up to justice. The protector being informed of the tumult, sent an officer with a party of soldiers to demand the murderers. The ambassador pleaded his public character, but the protector would admit of no excuse ; and therefore being forced to surrender them, they were all tried and convicted, by a jury half English and half foreigners ; the servants were reprieved and pardoned ; but the ambassador's brother, who was the principal, notwithstanding all the intercession that could be made for his life, was carried in a mourning coach to Tower Hill and beheaded. This singular act of justice raised the people's esteem of the protector's resolution, and of the equity of his government.

In order to a further settlement of the nation, the protector summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster, September 3, which being reckoned one of his auspicious days, he would not alter, though it fell on a Sunday ; the house met accordingly, and having waited upon the Protector in the painted chamber, adjourned to the next day, when his highness rode from Whitehall to Westminster with all the pomp and state of the greatest monarch ;

some hundreds of gentlemen went before him uncovered ; his pages and lacqueys in the richest liveries ; the captains of his guards on each side his coach, with their attendants, all uncovered ; then followed the commissioners of the treasury, master of ceremonies, and other officers. The sword, the great seal, the purse, and four maces, were carried before him by their proper officers.

After a sermon preached by Dr. T. Goodwin, his highness repaired to the painted chamber, and being seated in a chair of state, raised by sundry steps, he made a speech to the members, in which he complained of the levellers and fifth-monarchy-men, who were for subverting the established laws, and throwing all things back into confusion. He put them in mind of the difficulties in which the nation was involved at the time he assumed the government, and of its present prosperity and happiness : He then advises them to concert measures for the support of the present government, and desires them to believe, that he spoke to them not as one that intended to be a Lord over them, but as one that was resolved to be a fellow-servant with them for the interest of their country ; and then having exhorted them to unanimity, he dismissed them to their house to chuse a speaker. The first point the house entered on was the instrument of government, which occasioned many warm debates, and was like to have occasioned a fatal breach amongst them. To prevent this, the Protector gave orders, that as the members came to the house they should be directed to attend his highness in the painted chamber, where he made the following remarkable speech, which is deserving the reader's careful attention.

“ Gentlemen, I am surprized at your conduct, in debating so freely the instrument of government, for the same power that has made you a parliament has appointed me protector, so that if you dispute the one, you must disown the other. He added, that he was a gentleman by birth, and had been called to several employments in parliament, and in the wars, which being at an end, he was willing to retire to a private life, and prayed to be dismissed, but could not obtain it. That he had pressed the long parliament, as a member, to dissolve themselves ;

but finding they intended to continue their sessions, he thought himself obliged to dismiss them, and to call some persons together from the several parts of the nation, to see if they could fall upon a better settlement. Accordingly he resigned up all his power into their hands, but they after some time returned it back to him. After this, says he, divers gentlemen having consulted together, framed the present model without my privity, and told me, that unless I would undertake the same, blood and confusion would break in upon them ; but I refused again, and again, till considering that it did not put me into an higher capacity than I was in before, I consented ; since which time I have had the thanks of the army, the fleet, the city of London, and of great numbers of gentry in the three nations. Now the government being thus settled, I apprehend there are four fundamentals which may not be examined into, or altered. 1. That the government be in a single person and a parliament. 2. That parliaments be not perpetual. 3. The article relating to the militia. And, 4. A due liberty of conscience in matters of religion. Other things in the government may be changed as occasion requires. For as much therefore as you have gone about to subvert the fundamentals of this government, and throw all things back into confusion, to prevent the like for the future I am necessitated to appoint you a test, or recognition of the government, by which you are made a parliament, before you go any more into the house."

Accordingly at their return, they found a guard at the door denying entrance to any who would not first sign the following engagement. " I do hereby freely promise and engage, to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and will not propose or give my consent to alter the government, as it is settled in one single person and a parliament." About three hundred of the members signed the recognition, and having taken their places in the house, with some difficulty confirmed the instrument of government almost in every thing, but the right of nominating a successor to the present Protector ; which they reserved to the parliament. They voted the present

Lord Protector to continue for life. They continued the standing army of ten thousand horse and twenty thousand foot, and sixty thousand pounds a month for their maintenance. They gave the Protector two hundred thousand pounds a year for his civil list, and assigned Whitehall, St. James's, and the rest of the late King's houses, for his use; but they were out of humour, and were so far from shewing respect to the court, that they held no manner of correspondence with it; which, together with their voting, "That no one clause of what they had agreed upon should be binding, unless the whole were consented to," provoked the Protector, as derogating from his power of consenting to or refusing particular bills, and therefore having discovered several plots against his government ready to break out, in which some of the members were concerned, he sent for them into the painted chamber, and after a long and intricate speech, in which, after some strong expressions in favour of liberty to men of the same faith, though of different judgments in lesser matters, he complained, that they had taken no more notice of him, either by message or address, than if there had been no such person in being; that they had done nothing for the honour and support of the government, but spent their time in fruitless debates of little consequence, while the nation was bleeding to death; and instead of making things easy, that they had laid a foundation for future dissatisfactions; he therefore dissolved them, without confirming any of their acts, after they had sat five months. This was deemed an unpopular action, and a renouncing the additional title the parliament would have given him; but this great man with the sword in his hand was not to be jostled out of the saddle with votes and resolutions; and if one may credit his speech, his assuming the government was not so much the effect of his own ambition, as of a bold resolution to prevent the nation's falling back into anarchy and blood.

Upon the rising of the parliament, Major-General Harrison, one of the chiefs of the republicans, was taken into custody; and Mr. J. Wildman, who had been expelled the house, was apprehended as he was drawing up

a paper, entitled, "A declaration of the free and well affected people of England now in arms against the tyrant Oliver Cromwell;" which prevented the rising of that party. The royalists were buying up arms at the same time, and preparing to rise in several parts of the kingdom. They had procured commissions from the young King at Cologne, and desired his majesty to be ready on the sea coast by the 11th of March, when there would be a revolt in the army, and when Dover castle would be delivered into their hands. The King accordingly removed to Middleburgh in Zealand; but the Protector had intelligence of it from his spies, and declared it openly as soon as he was arrived, which intimidated the conspirators, and made them fear they were discovered: however about the time appointed, some small parties of royalists got together in Shropshire, with an intent to surprize Shrewsbury and Chirk castle. A cart load of arms was brought to a place of rendezvous for the northern parts, where they were to be headed by the Earl of Rochester; but they no sooner met, than they dispersed for fear of being fallen upon by the regular troops. In the West Sir J. Wagstaffe, Colonel Penruddock, Captain Grove, Mr. Jones and others, entered the city of Salisbury, with two hundred horse well armed, in the time of the assizes, and seized the judges, with the sheriff of the county, whom they resolved to hang. They proclaimed the King, and threatened violence to such as would not join them: but the country not coming in according to their expectations, they were intimidated, and marched away into Dorsetshire, and from thence to Devonshire, where Captain Crook overtook them, and with one single troop of horse defeated and took most of them prisoners; Penruddock and Grove were beheaded at Exeter; and some few others were executed at Salisbury, the place where they had so lately triumphed. The vigilance of the Protector on this occasion is almost incredible; he caused a great many suspected lords and gentlemen to be secured; he sent letters to the justices of peace in every county, whom he had already changed to his mind, commanding them to look out, and secure all persons who should make the least disturbance.

And his private intelligence of people's discourse and behaviour, in every corner of the land, never failed.

If the reader will duly consider the danger arising from these commotions, and the necessity of striking some terrors into the authors of them, he will easily account for the Protector's severity against the royalists; when therefore the insurrection was quashed, he resolved to make the whole party pay the expence; and accordingly with the consent of his council, published an order, that all who had been in arms for the King, or had declared themselves of the royal party, should be decimated; that is, pay a tenth part of their estates, to support the charge of such extraordinary forces as their turbulent and seditious practices obliged him to keep up; for which purpose commissioners were appointed in every county, and considerable sums were brought into the treasury. To justify this extraordinary procedure, the Protector published another declaration; in which he complains of the irreconcilableness of those who had adhered to the King, towards all those who had served their country on the side of the parliament; that they were now to be looked upon as public enemies, and to be kept from being able to do mischief, since it sufficiently appeared that they were always disposed to do all they could. Upon these accounts he thought it highly reasonable, and declares it to be his resolution, that if any desperate attempts were undertaken by them for the future, the whole party should suffer for it.

To return to the affairs of religion: though the presbyterian discipline was at a low ebb, it was still the established religion of the nation. The provincial assembly of London continued their sessions at Sion College every half year, and endeavoured to support the dignity of the ministerial office. Complaint having been made that the pulpit doors were set open to laymen, and gifted brethren, they appointed a committee to collect materials for the vindication of the ministerial character, which being revised by the synod, was published this summer under the title of the divine right of an evangelical ministry, in two parts. By the provincial assembly of London. With an appendix, of the judgment and practice of antiquity.

In the debates of parliament upon the instrument of government, it was observed that by the thirty-seventh article, all who professed faith in God by Jesus Christ should be protected in their religion. This was interpreted, to imply an agreement in fundamentals. Upon which it was voted, that all should be tolerated or indulged who professed the fundamentals of christianity; and a committee was appointed to nominate certain divines to draw up a catalogue of fundamentals to be presented to the house; the committee being about fourteen, named each of them a divine; among others Abp. Usher was nominated, but he declining the affair, Mr. Baxter was appointed in his room.

Baxter would have persuaded his brethren to offer the committee the apostles' creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments alone, as containing the fundamentals of religion; but it was objected, that this would include socinians and papists. Mr. Baxter replied, that it was so much fitter for a centre of unity or concord, because it was impossible in his opinion, to devise a form of words which heretics would not subscribe, when they had perverted them to their own sense. These arguments not prevailing, the following articles were presented to the committee, but not brought into the house; under the title of, "The principles of faith presented by Mr. Thomas Goodwin, Mr. Nye, Mr. Sydrach Simpson, and other ministers, to the committee of parliament for religion, by way of explanation to the proposals for propogating the gospel." However the parliament being abruptly dissolved, they were all buried in oblivion.

It appears by these articles, that the divines intended to exclude, not only deists, socinians, and papists, but arians, antinomians, quakers, and others. In such difficulties do wise and good men fall, when they usurp the Kingly office of Christ, and pretend to restrain that liberty which is the birth-right of every reasonable creature. It is an unwarrantable presumption for any number of men to declare what is fundamental in the christian religion, any further than the scriptures have expressly declared it. It is one thing to maintain a doctrine to be true, and another to declare, that without the belief of it no

man can be saved. None may say this but God himself. Besides, why should the civil magistrate protect none but those who profess faith in God by Jesus Christ? If a colony of English merchants should settle among the Mahometans or Chinese, should we not think that the government of those countries ought to protect them in their religion, as long as they invaded no man's property, and paid obedience and submission to the government under which they lived? Why then should christians deny others the same liberty?

The protector and his council were in more generous sentiments of liberty; they could not understand what the magistrates had to do in matters of religion; they thought that all men should be left to the liberty of their own consciences, and that the magistrate could not interpose without ensnaring himself in the guilt of persecution. And were not these just and noble sentiments, though the parliament would not accept them? His highness therefore, in his speech at their dissolution, reproaches them in these words; "How proper is it to labour for liberty, that men should not be trampled upon for their consciences? Had we not lately laboured under the weight of persecution; and is it fit then to sit heavy upon others? Is it ingenuous to ask liberty and not to give it? What greater hypocrisy, than for those who were oppressed by the bishops, to become the greatest oppressors themselves so soon as their yoke is removed? I could wish, that they who call for liberty now also, had not too much of that spirit, if the power were in their hands. As for prophane persons, blasphemers, such as preach sedition, contentious railers, evil-speakers, who seek by evil words to corrupt good manners, and persons of loose conversation; punishment from the civil magistrate ought to meet with them; because if these pretend conscience, yet walking disorderly, and not according but contrary to the gospel and natural light, they are judged of all, and their sins being open, make them the subject of the magistrate's sword, who ought not to bear it in vain."

The approbation of public ministers had been hitherto reserved to the several presbyteries in city and country; but the protector observing some inconvenience in this

method, and not being willing to entrust the qualification of candidates all over England, to a number of presbyterians only, who might admit none but those of their own persuasion, contrived a middle way of joining the several parties together, and entrusting the affair with certain commissioners of each denomination, men of as known abilities and integrity as any the nation had. These were commonly called TRYERS; in all thirty-eight; of whom some were presbyterians, others independents, and two or three were baptists. Any five were sufficient to approve; but no number under nine had power to reject a person as unqualified. In case of death or removal of any of the commissioners, their numbers were to be filled up by the protector and his council; or by the parliament if sitting. But some of the presbyterian divines declined acting, for want of a better authority; or because they did not like the company; though the authority was as good as any these times could produce, till the next sessions of parliament.

To such as were approved, the commissioners gave an instrument in writing under a common seal for that purpose, by virtue of which they were put into as full possession of the living to which they were nominated or chosen, as if they had been admitted by institution and induction. It was further provided, that all who presented themselves for approbation, should produce a certificate signed by three persons at least of known integrity, one of whom to be a preacher of the gospel in some settled place, testifying on their personal knowledge, the holy and good conversation of the person to be admitted; which certificate was to be registered and filed. And all penalties for not subscribing, or reading the articles of religion, according to the act of 13th Eliz. were to cease and be void. And for as much as some persons might have been preferred to livings within the last twelvemonth, when there was no settled method of approbation, "that no such person ordained should be allowed to continue in it, unless he got himself approved by an appointed time."

It is observable that this ordinance provides no security for the civil government, the commissioners not being impowered to administer an oath of allegiance or fidelity

to the protector. By this means some of the sequestered clergy taking advantage of the act of oblivion in 1651, passed their trials before the commissioners and returned to their livings. The protector being advised of this defect, by advice of his council, published an additional ordinance requiring the commissioners not to give admission to any who had been sequestered from their ecclesiastical benefices for delinquency, till by experience of their conformity, and submission to the present government, his highness and his council should be satisfied of their fitness to be admitted into ecclesiastical promotions; and the same to be signified to the said commissioners. Both these ordinances were confirmed by parliament in 1656, with this proviso,—That the commissioners appointed by his highness in the intervals of parliament, should afterwards be confirmed by the succeeding parliament. Another defect in the ordinance was, that it did not appoint some standard or rule for the tryers to go by; this would have taken off all odium from themselves, and prevented a great many needless disputes; but as matters now stood, men's qualifications were perhaps left too much to the arbitrary opinions and votes of the commissioners.

Loud complaints having been made against these tryers, and no doubt they did commit sundry mistakes, which it was hardly possible to avoid in their station. I am far from vindicating all their proceedings; they had a difficult work on their hands, lived in times when the extent of christian liberty was not well understood, had to deal with men of different principles in religion and politics; and those who were not approved, would of course complain. Had this power been lodged with the bishops of these times, or their chaplains, or with the high presbyterians; would they not have had their *shibboleth*, for which ill-natured men might have called them an *holy inquisition*? But Mr. Baxter has given a very fair and candid account of them, who was considered as one of their boldest adversaries, he says, “They saved many a congregation from ignorant, ungodly, drunken teachers, that sort of men who intend no more in the ministry than to say a sermon, as readers say their common prayers on Sundays, and all the rest of the week go with the people to the ale-house

and harden them in sin ; and that sort of ministers who either preached against a holy life, or preached as men that were never acquainted with it. These they usually rejected, and in their stead, admitted of any that were able, serious preachers, and lived a godly life, of what tolerable opinion soever they were ; so that though many of them were a little partial for the independents, separatists, fifth-monarchy-men, and anabaptists, and against the prelatists and arminians, yet so great was the benefit above the hurt which they brought to the church, that many thousands of souls blessed God for the faithful ministers whom they let in, and grieved when the prelatists afterwards cast them out again."

But to humble the clergy yet further, and keep them within the bounds of their spiritual function, his highness, by the advice of his council, published an ordinance, for ejecting scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers, and school-masters. The ordinance appoints and nominates certain lay-commissioners for every county, and joins with them ten or more, of the gravest, and most noted ministers, as their assistants, and empowers any five, or more of them, to call before them any public preacher, lecturer, parson, vicar, curate, or school-master, who is or shall be reputed ignorant, scandalous, insufficient, or negligent ; and to receive all articles or charges that shall be exhibited against them on this account ; and to proceed to the examination and determination of such offences, according to certain rules.

The lay-commissioners were to proceed upon oath, both for and against the person accused ; but in cases of ignorance or insufficiency, they were to be joined by five of the assistant clergy at least ; and if ten of the commissioners, whereof five to be ministers, gave it under their hands, that the party was ignorant or insufficient, then the said minister or school-master was to be ejected, and the said judgment entered in a register book with the reasons thereof. After ejectment, the party might not preach or teach school in the parish from whence he was ejected ; but convenient time was to be allowed for his removal, and the fifths reserved for the support of his family. The rightful patron was to present to the vacant living an approved preacher ;

and in case of lapse it fell to the protector and his council. This ordinance being confirmed by the parliament, gave great offence to the old clergy.

To give the reader an example or two of the proceedings of the commissioners; those for Berkshire summoned Dr. Pordage, rector of Bradfield, to appear before them, to answer to divers articles of blasphemy and heresy. After several days hearing, and witnesses produced on both sides, the commissioners determined that the said doctor was guilty of denying the deity of Christ; the merits of his blood; and several other such like opinions. It is further declared under the hands of six of the commissioners, and a sufficient number of ministers their assistants, that the said doctor was ignorant, and insufficient for the work of the ministry; it is therefore ordered, that he is hereby ejected out of the rectory of Bradfield, and the profits thereof; but the said commissioners do grant him time to remove himself, his family, his goods and chattels, out of the said parsonage house; and further time to remove his corn out of the barns. The Oxford historian says, this Pordage was a mystic enthusiast, and used to talk of the fiery deity of Christ dwelling in the soul, and mixing itself with our flesh. He dealt much in astrology, and pretended to converse with the world of spirits. After his ejection he wrote a pamphlet against the commissioners, entitled, "Innocency appearing:" which was answered by Mr. Christopher Fowler, vicar of St. Mary, Reading, in his *demonium meridianum*. However the doctor was restored to his living at Bradfield at the restoration.

The Wiltshire commissioners summoned Mr. Bushnel, vicar of Box near Malmsbury, before them, to answer to a charge of drunkenness, profanation of the sabbath, gaming, and disaffection to the government; and after a full hearing, and proof upon oath, they ejected him. The vicar prepared for the press, a narrative of the proceedings of the commissioners appointed by Oliver Cromwell for ejecting scandalous and ignorant ministers, but it was not printed till the King's restoration; and even then the commissioners did themselves justice in a reply. And Dr. Chambers, who was reproached by the said

Bushnel, did himself justice in a distinct vindication. However the vicar was restored to his vicarage in a lump with the rest at the restoration.—Upon the whole, the industrious Dr. Walker says, he can find no footsteps of the numbers of clergy that were ejected by the commissioners, though he imagines they might be considerable. But I am well satisfied, there were none of any considerable character; for there were not a great many zealous loyalists in livings at this time; and those that were, had the wisdom to be silent about public affairs, while they saw the eyes of the government were upon them in every corner of the land. The commissioners continued to act till some time after the Protector's death, and were a greater terror to the fanatics and visionaries of those times, than to the regular clergy of any denomination.

The Protector and his council passed another ordinance, for the service of Wales, appointing Sir H. Owen, and about eighteen other commissioners, for the six counties of South Wales, with the county of Monmouth; and Matthew Morgan with about twelve other commissioners, for the six counties of North Wales; any three of which were empowered to call before them, all such who by authority of the act for propagating the gospel in Wales, had received or disposed of any of the profits of the rectories, vicarages, &c. in that principality; and to give an account upon oath, of all such rents and profits; and the surplus money in the hands of the commissioners, to be paid into the exchequer.

To set this affair before the reader in one view; the principality of Wales, by reason of the poverty of the people, and the small endowments of church livings, was never well supplied with a learned or pious clergy; the people were generally very ignorant, and only one remove from heathens. In 1641, a petition was presented to the King and parliament, which declares, that there were not so many conscientious and constant preachers in Wales as there were counties; and that these were either silenced or much persecuted. The civil wars had made their condition worse; for as they generally adhered to the King, and received great numbers of Irish papists into their

country, their preachers went into his majesty's service, or fled from their cures, when the parliament forces took possession of it. After the King's death the parliament passed the ordinance already mentioned, for the better propagating the preaching of the gospel in Wales, and for ejecting scandalous ministers and school-masters, and for redress of some grievances; and it empowers the commissioners therein mentioned, or any twelve of them, to receive and dispose of all and singular rents, issues, and profits of all ecclesiastical livings, impropriations, and glebe lands, within the said counties, which then were, or afterwards should be under sequestration, or in the disposal of the parliament, and out of them to order and appoint a constant yearly maintenance for such persons as should be recommended, and approved for the work of the ministry, or education of children; and for such other ministers as were then residing in the said counties. This ordinance to continue in force for three years.

By virtue of this ordinance many clergymen were ejected, but not all, for in Montgomeryshire eleven or twelve remained, as did several in other counties; but all who were ejected were for manifest scandal. Afterwards complaints being made, that the people were turning papists or heathens, for want of the word of God, several were sent into Montgomeryshire, where there were at least sixteen preachers, of which ten were university men, the meanest of whom were settled in parishes at the restoration. The commissioners were empowered to examine into the behaviour of such as were reputed ignorant, insufficient, non-resident, scandalous, or enemies to the present government. And it being impossible to fill up the vacant livings with such as could preach in the Welch language, the revenues were to be collected and brought into a common treasury, out of which one hundred pounds *per annum*, was to be given to sundry itinerant preachers in each county.

Dr. Walker says, that from the account drawn up by the commissioners themselves it appears, that there had been ejected in South Wales, and Monmouthshire, one hundred seventy-five ministers in the whole. Mr. Vavasor Powel, who had a chief hand in the sequestrations, says,

that by virtue of this act between fifty and sixty of the old clergy were dispossessed of their livings. The commissioners who continued to act as long as the protector lived, charge themselves with between three hundred and twenty, and three hundred and thirty distinct livings; but there could not be an equal number of sequestered clergymen, because in the compass of seven years a great many must die; some fled, or were killed in the wars; in many parishes the tithes were not duly paid by reason of the confusion of the times, and the livings being but from five to ten or twenty pounds a year, most of the incumbents were pluralists. It is computed that about one half of the church lands and revenues in the principality of Wales, by the several accidents of death, desertion, sequestration, &c. fell into the hands of the government before the expiration of this ordinance, the profits of which if duly collected and paid, must amount to a very considerable sum. There were thirteen counties in North and South Wales within the limits of the commission; but the largest sum that the sequestrators and agents charge themselves with for the county of Brecknockshire, is one thousand five hundred forty-three pounds, by which the reader may make a tolerable computation of the whole; and if we may believe Mr. Whitlock, who lived through these times, that in 1653, there were one hundred and fifty good preachers in the thirteen Welch counties, most of whom preached three or four times a week; that in every market town there was a school-master, and in most great towns two able, learned, and university men; and that the tithes were all employed to uses directed by act of parliament; there can be no great reason to complain of the negligence of the commissioners.

The crime for which the old clergy were ejected, were malignancy, insufficiency, drunkenness, and negligence of their cures. Mr. Vavasor Powel says, that of all the men they had put out in North Wales, he knew not any that had the power of godliness, and very few the form; but that most of them were unpreaching curates, or scandalous in their morals. The commissioners affirm, that of the sixteen they had dispossessed in Cardiganshire, there were but three that were preachers, and these most

scandalous livers. And Mr. Baxter admits, that they were all weak, and bad enough for the most part. But the writers on the other side say, that the commissioners had no regard to ability in preaching, or sobriety in conversation. And Dr. Walker thinks, the sequestered Welch clergy need no other vindication than to let the world know, that many of them were graduates in the university; as if every graduate must of course be possessed of all ministerial qualifications. There might possibly be some few pious and industrious preachers among the ejected Welch clergy; but they who will argue very strenuously in favour of the body of them, must know very little of the country, or their manner of life.

It was not in the power of the commissioners to find a succession of pious and learned preachers in the Welch language; but to remedy this in the best manner they could, they appointed six itinerant preachers of university education for each county, to whom they allowed one hundred pounds a-year; besides which, they sent out thirty-two ministers, of whom twenty-four were university men, and some of the rest good scholars; but these were but too few for the work, though they were indefatigable in their labours. To supply what was further wanting, they approved of several gifted laymen, members of churches, to travel into the neighbourhood, and assist the people's devotions, and to these they allowed from seventeen to twenty pounds per annum. In an article of the sequestrators accompts, there appears three hundred and forty pounds per annum distributed among godly members of the church of Lanvacles, and Mynthist Loyn, who had been sent out to exercise their gifts among the Welch mountaineers, and to help forward the work of the Lord. Many others of the same quality were approved by the commissioners, who went through great difficulties and hardships in their work. Mr. Powel says, that some hundreds, if not thousands, had been converted and reformed by the propagators. After all it must be confessed, that at first the number of itinerants, both scholars and others, was by no means equal to their work, the parishes in that mountainous country are large and wide, and there being but one itinerant to several of those parishes, the people

must have been neglected, and their children too much without instruction; but this was owing to the necessity of the times.

When the commissioners had acted about two years, a petition was presented to the parliament by the inhabitants of South Wales, signed by above a thousand hands, in favour of the old ejected clergy, setting forth the numbers that had been dispossessed, and the want of a competent number of preachers in their places, upon which account the country was reduced to a very miserable condition. They therefore pray the house to take some course for a future supply of godly and able preachers; and to call those persons to account, who had received all the profits of church livings into their hands. The house received the petition, and referred it to the committee for plundered ministers, who were empowered to examine witnesses, and to authorize other commissioners in the country to examine witnesses upon oath, touching the matters contained in the petition. The committee ordered the commissioners to bring in their accounts in a month's time, which they did accordingly. And the petitioners were ordered to deliver in the particulars on which they desired witnesses might be examined, within two days; but not being provided, they desired liberty to make good their allegations in the country; to which the commissioners willingly agreed. But this taking up some time, the long parliament was dissolved, and the prosecution of this enquiry suspended for the present: but as soon as the protector was fixed in his government, he published an ordinance to bring the propagators to an account; pursuant to which the sequestrators and treasurer for South Wales delivered in their accounts for three years; which was all the time the ordinance continued in force; and the commissioners appointed by the protector having received and examined them, after a full enquiry allowed and passed them.

It is hard to read with temper, the reproaches cast upon these commissioners by our angry historians, who have charged them with all manner of corruption, as if they had got great estates out of the revenues of the church, though without producing a single example. Mr.

Powel, who took more pains among them than any man of his time, declares, that he never received for all his preaching in Wales, by salary, above six or seven hundred pounds; that he never had any thing from the tithes; and whereas it was said, that he had enriched himself by purchasing some thousands a year of crown lands, he protests, that he never purchased above seventy pounds a-year, which he lost at the restoration. And if Mr. Powel did not enrich himself, I apprehend, none of his brethren could. Besides if this had been true, the protector's commissioners would have discovered them; or if they had escaped the protector's enquiry, their enemies would have exposed them at the restoration, when King Charles appointed a commission to make the strictest enquiry into their management. But after all this mighty outcry and scrutiny, nothing of any consequence appeared, and therefore it was thought proper to drop the commission, and bury the whole affair in silence. Mr. Vavasor Powel above-mentioned, was cruelly handled by the Welch clergy, but he did himself justice in a pamphlet, entitled *Examen & purgamen Vavasoris*; wherein he vindicates his proceedings in the propagation. And when he was in the Fleet after the restoration, he published a brief narrative concerning the proceedings of the commissioners in Wales against the ejected clergy, occasioned by a report that he had been thrown into that prison for some of the revenues; which was never answered.

By an ordinance of September 2, commissioners were appointed to enquire into the yearly value of all ecclesiastical livings and benefices without cure of souls; what person or persons received the profits, and who was the patron; and to certify the same into chancery; and if upon a careful consideration of things, it shall be found convenient and advantageous, to unite two parishes or more into one, and that the whole ecclesiastical revenues, tithes, and profits belonging to the said parishes so united should be applied for a provision for one godly and painful minister, to preach in the said united parishes; then the trustees, or commissioners appointed by this act shall represent the same to his highness and council, upon whose approbation they shall, by an instrument under the hands

and seals of any five, or more of them, declare, that they do hereby unite such parishes into one; which instrument being enrolled in chancery, the said parishes from thenceforth shall be adjudged and taken to be consolidated into one. If there happen to be more patrons than one in the parishes thus united, the patrons shall present by turns: but the union shall not take place till the avoidance of one of the livings by the death of the incumbent. On the other hand, where parishes were too large, the trustees for the augmentation of poor livings were empowered to divide them into two or more upon their avoidance by death. Further, if when two or more parishes were united into one, the income or salary did not amount to one hundred pounds per annum, the trustees for receiving impropriations, tithes, first fruits, and tenths, &c. were directed to make up the deficiency; and where there was a considerable surplus they might take off the augmentations formerly granted. Provided this ordinance be not construed to restrain the said trustees from granting augmentations to preachers in cities and market-towns, where there shall be cause, to a greater proportion, with the consent of the protector and his council. This was a noble and generous design; and if the protector had lived to have carried it into execution, must have been of general service to the body of the clergy.

Though his highness himself was no great scholar, he was a patron of learning and learned men. He settled one hundred pounds a-year on a divinity professor in Oxford; and gave twenty-four rare manuscripts to the Bodleian library; he erected and endowed a college in Durham for the benefit of the northern counties, Mr. Frankland, M. A. being one of the first fellows. But these and some other designs that he had formed for the advancement of learning, died with him. In order to secure the education of youth, he took care to regulate both universities, by appointing new visitors, the former ceasing with the dissolution of the long parliament. Any seven or more of whom were authorized to visit all colleges and halls within their respective universities; to examine what statutes were fit to be abrogated, altered, or added, and to exhibit the same to his highness,

and the parliament. They are further authorized, to explain such statutes as are ambiguous and obscure; to determine appeals; and are to be assisted upon all occasions by the mayor, sheriffs, and justices of peace. The said visitors, or any four of them, are authorized to visit Westminster school, Winchester school, Merchant Taylor's school, and Eaton College; and to consider of such statutes of the said schools as are fit to be abrogated, and of others that may be proper to be added, for the well government of the said schools and colleges.

The visitors discharged their duty with great fidelity; and the heads of colleges had a watchful eye over their several houses; drunkenness, swearing, gaming, and all kinds of immorality, were severely punished; all students, graduates, and others, were obliged to be at home in proper hours; the public houses were searched, and the practice of religion in the several colleges enforced with rigor. One of the professors writes, that there was more frequent practical preaching in the colleges than ever had been known. On the Lord's day at different hours, there were three or four sermons in several churches; and lectures on the week days. The tutors were very diligent in discharge of their duty; the public lectures were well attended, and the students under strict discipline; learning revived, and the muses returned to their seats, as appears by the numbers of learned men who flourished in the reign of Charles II. and owed their education to these times.

The protector's zeal for the welfare of the protestant churches abroad deserves a particular notice, and was highly valued by all the reformed in foreign countries. He took all imaginable care to appear at the head of that interest on all occasions, and to shew his power in protecting them. What projects the protector formed for this purpose will be seen hereafter. But the royal interest abroad was inclining towards popery; the Duke of York was already perverted to the Romish faith; no attempts were unessayed by the Queen mother, the Queen of France, and others to gain the young Duke of Gloucester, who had been under the instruction of parliamentary tutors till the last year: But this young Prince was too well established in his religion to be perverted at present, upon which the Queen forbid him her

presence ; and the Marquis of Ormond conducted him to his brother at Cologne. The King was a man of no religion, and having little to do, devoted his leisure hours to the ladies, and other private pleasures. His majesty had some trial, says Kennet, of his conscience and courage in resisting the little arguments, or rather importunities of popery. The papists put him in mind, that all his hopes from the protestant party were at an end ; that the bishops were dead, except a very few ; and the church lands sold ; and that since the late defeat at Worcester the presbyterian power was destroyed ; all his hopes therefore must be from the Roman Catholics, from whose assistance only he could now hope for his restoration. But the prospect was so distant, that the King, by advice of Lord Clarendon, was prevailed with not to declare himself openly at present.

On the last of November died the learned Mr. John Selden, the glory of the English nation : he was born in Sussex, and educated in Hart-Hall, Oxford, after which he was transplanted to the Inner-Temple, where he became a prodigy in the most uncommon parts of science. He was a great philologist, antiquary, herald, linguist, statesman, and lawyer, but seldom appeared at the bar. He was chosen burgess for several parliaments, where he displayed his profound erudition in speeches and debates in favour of the liberties of his country ; for which he was imprisoned, and severely fined. He was chosen again in the long parliament, and appeared against the prerogative as he had formerly done. He was one of the lay members of the assembly of divines, and by his vast skill in the oriental learning, and Jewish antiquities, frequently silenced the most able divines. He wrote on various subjects, which gained him the title among foreigners, of the " Dictator of learning in the English nation." Among other remarkable pieces, we may reckon his History of Tithes, in which he proves them not to be due to the christian clergy by divine institution : for this he was summoned before the high commission court, and obliged to make a public recantation. But after some time his reputation was so great, that it was thought worth while to gain him over to the court ; and upon the new civilities he received at Lambeth, he was prevailed with to publish

his *Mare clausum* against *Hugo Grotius*, which was esteemed such an invaluable treasure, that it was ordered to be laid up in the court of records. The archbishop offered him preferments, but he would accept of nothing. Upon the first pressures against the bishops, he published his *Eutychus* in Greek and Latin, with notes, in which he proves, that bishops and presbyters differ only in degree. He afterwards answered his majesty's declaration about the commission of array, and was made master of the rolls by the long parliament. He had a large and curious library of books, in the frontispiece of each he used to write this motto, "Above all, liberty." At length being worn out with age, and hard study, he died at his house in the White-Fryers, aged seventy years, and was magnificently interred in the Temple church, in the presence of all the judges, some parliament men, benchers, and great officers. His funeral sermon was preached by Abp. Usher, who acknowledged he was not worthy to carry his books after him. His works are lately collected, and printed together in six volumes folio.

Mr. T. Gataker was born in London, and educated in St. John's Coll. Cambridge, where he proceeded M. A. and was afterwards removed to Sidney College, where he became remarkable for his skill in the Hebrew and Greek languages. After his ordination he was chosen minister of Lincoln's-Inn, and occupied that station ten years; but in the year 1611, he was presented to the rectory of Rotherhithe, where he continued till his death. He was one of the assembly of divines, and was an ornament and reputation to it. When the Earl of Manchester visited and reformed the university of Cambridge, he offered Mr. Gataker the mastership of Trinity College, but he refused it on the account of his health. Mr. Gataker was a very learned man, and a considerable critic and linguist, as appears by his writings, which were very numerous, considering his infirm state of health. He was a constant preacher, of a most holy and exemplary deportment, but withall of great modesty. It is hard, says Mr. Eachard, to say, which was most remarkable, his exemplary piety and charity, his polite literature, or his humility and modesty in refusing preferments. He maintained a correspondence

with Salmasius, Hornbeck, and other learned foreigners, and was in high esteem both at home and in the Low Countries, where he had travelled. He died of age and a complication of infirmities in the eightieth year of his age.

Mr. W. Strong was educated in Catherine Hall, Cambridge, of which he was fellow. He was afterwards rector of More Chrichel in Dorsetshire, where he continued till he was forced to fly from the cavaliers; he then came to London and was chosen one of the assembly of divines, and minister of St. Dunstan's in the West. After some time he became preacher at Westminster Abbey, where he died suddenly in the vigor of life. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Sedgwick, who says that he was so plain in heart, so deep in judgment, so painful in study, so exact in preaching, and in a word, so fit for all the parts of the ministerial service, that he did not know his equal. But after the restoration, his bones were dug up, and removed to St. Margaret's Church-yard, with those of other eminent presbyterian divines. He published several sermons, and theological treatises in his life-time; and after his death there was a posthumous one upon the covenants, in the preface to which Mr. Theophilus Gale observes, that the author was a wonder of nature for natural parts, and a miracle of grace for his deep insight into the more profound mysteries of the gospel. His thoughts were sublime, but clear and penetrating, especially in interpreting difficult texts.

Mr. Andrew Pern, was educated in Cambridge, and from thence removed to Welby in Northamptonshire, where he maintained the character of a zealous, laborious and successful preacher, for twenty-seven years. In 1643, he was chosen a member of the assembly of divines at Westminster. When he was at London he was offered several considerable preferments, but refused them, resolving to return to his people at Welby, who honoured him as a father; for by his awakening sermons, and exemplary life and conversation, he accomplished a great reformation of manners in that town. He was full of spiritual warmth, says the preacher of his funeral sermon, filled with an holy indignation against sin, active in his work; and never more in his element than in the pulpit.

As his life was holy so his death was comfortable. He blessed God that he was not afraid to die ; nay he earnestly desired to be gone, often crying out in his last sickness, " When will that hour come ? One assault more and this earthen vessel will be broken, and I shall be with God " He died in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

Dr. S. Bolton was educated in Cambridge, and from thence removed to the living of St. Martin's, Ludgate. Upon his coming to the city, he was chosen one of the additional members of the assembly of divines, being a person of great name and character for learning, and practical preaching. He was a burning and shining light, an interpreter one of a thousand, an admirable preacher, and his life was an excellent commentary upon his sermons. Upon the death of Dr. Bainbrigg, he was chosen master of Christ Coll. Cambridge, which he governed with great wisdom and prudence till his death. He was buried with great solemnity in his parish church of Ludgate, very much lamented by the London clergy of those times.

Mr. Jer. Whitaker was born at Wakefield in Yorkshire, and educated in Sidney Coll. Cambridge, where he proceeded in arts. He taught the free school at Oakham in Rutlandshire seven years, and then became minister of Stretton in the same county, where he continued thirteen years. He was nominated one of the assembly of divines at Westminster, which brought him to London, where he was chosen to the rectory of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey. He preached three or four sermons every week ; two in Southwark, one at Westminster, and one at Christ Church, London. He never withdrew from any opportunity of preaching if he was in health ; and though he preached often, his sermons were solid and judicious. He was an universal scholar, both in arts and languages ; well acquainted with the fathers and schoolmen, an acute disputant, and inferior to none in his acquaintance with the holy scriptures. He was of the presbyterian persuasion, and had a chief hand in composing the defence of the gospel ministry, published this year by the provincial synod of London. He refused the engagement, and lamented the wars between England, Scotland, and Holland. No man was more beloved by the presbyterian

ministers of London than Mr. Whitaker. When he was seized with the violent and acute pain of the stone, many days of prayer and fasting were observed for his recovery, but the distemper was incurable. He bore his pains with uncommon patience, fearing nothing more than to dishonour God by unreasonable complaints. When his distemper was most violent, he would desire his friends to withdraw, that they might not be affected with his roarings. At length nature being quite spent, he cheerfully resigned his soul into the hands of his Redeemer, about the fifty-fifth year of his age. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Calamy, who gave him a large and deserved encomium.

Mr. R. Vines, of whom mention has been made already, was born at Blazon in Leicestershire, educated in Magdalen Coll. Cambridge, where he commenced M. A. He was first school-master at Hinckley, then minister of Weddington in Warwickshire. At the beginning of the civil war he was driven from his parish, and forced to take shelter in Coventry. When the assembly of divines was convened, he was chosen one of their number; and, as Fuller says, was the champion of their party. While he was at London he became minister of St. Clements Danes; afterwards he removed to Watton in Hertfordshire, and was chosen master of Pembroke Hall, in Cambridge, but resigned that, and his living of St. Lawrence Jewry, on account of the engagement. He was a son of thunder, and therefore compared to Luther; but moderate and charitable to them who differed from him in judgment. The parliament employed him in all their treaties with the King; and his majesty, though of a different judgment, valued him for his ingenuity, seldom speaking to him without touching his hat, which Mr. Vines returned with most respectful language and gestures. He was an admirable scholar; holy and pious in his conversation, and indefatigable in his labours, which wasted his strength and brought him into a consumption, when he had lived about fifty-six years. His funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Jacomb, who gave him his just commendation. He was a perfect master of the Greek tongue, a good philologist, and an admirable disputant.

He was a thorough calvinist, and a bold honest man without pride or flattery.

The Protector having dissolved his second parliament without confirming their acts, was obliged still to rely on the military arm ; this, together with the insurrections in several parts of the country, induced him for his greater security, to canton the nation into eleven districts, and place over them Major-Generals, whose commission was to inspect the behaviour of the inferior commissioners within their districts ; to commit to prison all suspected persons ; to take care of collecting the public taxes ; and to sequester such as did not pay their decimation. They were to enquire after all private assemblies of suspected persons, and after such as bought up arms ; after vagabonds and idle persons ; after such as lived at an higher rate than they could afford ; and after such as frequented taverns and gaming houses, and after scandalous and unlearned ministers and school-masters ; and there was no appeal from them but to the Protector and his council. They were ordered to list a body of reserves both horse and foot at half pay, who were to be called together upon any sudden emergence, and to attend so many days at their own expence, but if they were detained longer to have full pay ; by which means the Protector had a second army in view, if any disaster should befall the first ; but these officers became so severe and arbitrary, that his highness found it necessary after some time to reduce their power, and when affairs were a little more settled to dissolve them.

Having provided for the security of his government at home, the Protector concluded an alliance with France, in which it is remarkable that Lewis XIV. is not allowed to style himself King of France, but King of the French, his Highness claiming the protectorship of that kingdom among his other titles ; and which is more surprizing, the name of Oliver stands in the treaty before that of the French King. At the same time he sent Admiral Blake with a fleet into the Mediterranean, who spread the terror of the English name over all Italy, even to Rome itself ; processions being made, and the host exposed for forty hours, to avert the judgments of heaven, and

preserve the patrimony of the church. But Blake's commission was only to demand sixty thousand pounds of the Duke of Tuscany, for damages sustained by the English merchants while he harboured Prince Rupert, which he paid immediately. The Admiral released all the English slaves on the coast of Barbary to the number of four hundred, and obtained satisfaction for the ships taken by the pirates of Algiers, Tunis, &c. Upon the whole, he brought home sixteen ships laden with booty, which sailed up the river Thames to the port of London, as a grateful spectacle of triumph to the people.

While Blake was in the Mediterranean, Admirals Pen and Venables with thirty men of war, and some land forces, sailed to the West Indies, with a design to surprize the town of Hispaniola; but miscarrying in the attempt, they re-embarked and took possession of the Island of Jamaica, which is in possession of the crown of Great Britain to this day. The Protector did not commission Blake to assault the Spanish coasts in the Mediterranean, because there was no open rupture between the two nations in Europe; but the West Indies not being included in the treaty, he thought himself at liberty in those parts; which occasioned a declaration of war, on the part of Spain, with all the English dominions; upon which Blake was ordered to cruise upon the Spanish coasts, and to wait for the return of the Plate fleet, of which he gave a very good account the next summer.

To support these additional expences, the Protector by advice of his council, raised some extraordinary taxes before the parliament met, which he knew to be illegal, and did not pretend to justify on any other foot than the absolute necessity of the public safety;—the distracted condition of the nation;—that it was impracticable in the present juncture to call a parliament, or to proceed in the ordinary course of law;—and that in extraordinary cases, wherein all was at stake, some extraordinary methods were allowable. How far this reasoning will excuse the Protector, or vindicate his conduct, must be left with the reader. But it is agreed on all hands, that in things that did not affect the very being of his government he never interposed, but let the laws have their free course.

He had a zeal for trade and commerce beyond all his predecessors, and appointed a standing committee of merchants for advancing it, which continued to his death.

The provincial assembly of London finding their attempts to establish their discipline ineffectual, employed themselves this year in promoting the religious education of youth; for which purpose they published an exhortation to catechising; with the following directions for the more orderly carrying it on. 1. That the ministers on some Lord's-day prove in their sermons, the necessity and usefulness of such a work, and exhort all parents, and masters of families, to prepare their children and servants for it, by catechising them at home, that they may more readily make their answers in public. 2. That the catechism to be used be the lesser catechism of the assembly of divines. This catechism excelling all others in this respect, that every answer is a perfect proposition without the question. 3. That the persons to be catechised be children and servants, that have not been admitted to the Lord's-supper by the eldership. 4. That the time of catechising be on the Lord's-day in the afternoon, before the sermon, to the end that the whole congregation may receive benefit thereby. 5. That the catechism may be explained briefly at the first going over, that the people may in a short time have a notion of the whole body of divinity. 6. That the parish be desired at the common charge, to provide catechisms for the poorer sort, who cannot well provide for themselves, and that the distribution of them be referred to the respective ministers. 7. It is desired that an account in writing, what progress is made in the premises, may be returned from the classes to the provincial assembly, within forty days after the receipt hereof. —These instructions were sent to the several classes of London; and after their example, the associated ministers in the several counties of England published the like exhortations to their brethren.

The occasion of this proceeding, was the publishing two catechisms of Mr. John Biddle, one called "A scripture catechism;" and the other, "A brief scripture catechism, for the use of children." Complaints of which

being made to the last parliament, they were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, and the author to be imprisoned. Mr. Biddle had been in custody for his opinions before the late King's death. While he was there, he had published twelve questions or arguments against the deity of the Holy Spirit, which were answered by Mr. Pool, and the book ordered to be burnt. Next year, being still in prison, he published seven articles against the deity of Christ, with the testimonies of several of the fathers on this head ; upon which some zealots in the assembly moved, that he might be put to death as an heretic ; but he went on, and being set at liberty, he composed and published the catechisms above-mentioned, in which he maintains, 1. That God is confined to a certain place. 2. That he has a bodily shape. 3. That he has passions. 4. That he is neither omnipotent nor unchangeable. 5. That we are not to believe three persons in the godhead. 6. That Jesus Christ has not the nature of God, but only a divine lordship. 7. That he was not a priest while upon earth, nor did reconcile men to God. And, 8. That there is no deity in the Holy Ghost. These propositions were condemned by the parliament, and the author committed to the Gate-House. But as soon as the protector had dissolved his parliament he gave him his liberty.

After this, being of a restless spirit, he challenged Mr. Griffin, a baptist preacher, to dispute with him on this question, "Whether Jesus Christ be the Most High, or Almighty God ?" This occasioning new disturbances, the council committed him to Newgate ; but the Protector thought it best to send him out of the way, and accordingly transported him to Scilly, and allowed him one hundred crowns a year for his maintenance. Here he remained till the year 1658, when the noise being over, he was set at liberty ; his catechisms having been answered by Dr. Owen, in a learned and elaborate treatise, entitled "*Vindiciæ Evangelicæ*," &c.—After the Protector's death, Biddle set up a private conventicle in London, which continued till the restoration, when the church being restored to its coercive power, he was apprehended while

preaching, and committed to prison, where he died. He had such a prodigious memory, says Wood, that he could repeat all St. Paul's epistles in Greek, and was reckoned by those of his persuasion a sober man, and so devout, that he seldom prayed without lying prostrate on the ground.

Though it was well known by this, as well as other examples, that the Protector was averse to all acts of severity on the account of religion, yet such was the turbulent behaviour of the loyalists, who threatened an assassination, published the most daring libels against the government, and were actually in arms, that he thought it necessary to crush them, and therefore an order was published,—“That no persons shall keep in their houses or families as chaplains or school-masters, for the education of their children, any sequestered or ejected minister, fellow of a college, or school-master, nor permit their children to be taught by such. That no such persons shall keep school either publicly or privately, nor preach in any public place, or private meeting, of any others than those of his own family; nor shall administer baptism, or the Lord's-supper, or marry any persons, or use the book of common-prayer, or the forms of prayer therein contained, on pain of being prosecuted, according to the orders lately published by his highness and council, for securing the peace of the commonwealth.—Nevertheless his highness declares, that toward such of the said persons as have since their ejection or sequestration, given or hereafter shall give, a real testimony of their godliness, and good affection to the present government, so much tenderness shall be used, as may consist with the safety and good of the nation.”—This was a severe and terrible order upon the episcopalians, and absolutely unjustifiable in itself; but the title of the act, which is an ordinance for securing the peace of the commonwealth, as well as the last clause, shews it was made for the safety of the government, against a number of men who were undermining it, and was published chiefly *in terrorem*, for no person was prosecuted upon it; and the parliament which met next year, not confirming it, it became absolutely void.

Dr. Gauden presented a petitionary remonstrance to the Protector against this order; and Abp. Usher was desired to use his interest with his highness in behalf of the episcopal clergy; upon which the Protector promised either to recal his declaration, or to prevent its being put in execution, provided the clergy were inoffensive in their language and sermons, and stood clear in meddling with matters of state. His highness accordingly laid the matter before his council, who were of opinion, that it was not safe for him to recal his declaration, and give open liberty to men who were declared enemies to his government, but that he should suspend the execution of it as far as their behaviour should deserve; so that in the event there was no great cause of complaint, for notwithstanding this ordinance, the sober episcopal clergy preached publicly in the churches, at London and in the country. For the same reasons his highness girt the laws close upon the papists, not upon account of their religion, but because they were enemies to his government; for in the month of May, a proclamation was published for the better executing the laws against jesuits and priests, and for the conviction of popish recusants; the reason of which the Protector gives in his declaration of October 31st, published with the advice of his council in these words;—“Because it was not only commonly observed, but there remains with us somewhat of proof, that jesuits have been found among discontented parties of this nation, who are observed to quarrel, and fall out with every form of administration in church and state.” The Protector gave notice of the like kind to the republicans, fifth-monarchymen, levellers, and to the presbyterians, that they should stand upon the same foot with the royalists, in case of any future delinquencies.

Such was the Protector's latitude that he was for indulging the Jews, who petitioned for liberty of their religion, and for carrying on a trade in London. Manasseh Ben Israel one of their chief Rabbis, with some others, came from Amsterdam to Whitehall for this purpose, whom the Protector treated with respect, and summoned an assembly of divines, lawyers, and merchants,

to consult upon the affair : the divines were to consider it as a case of conscience ; the lawyers to report how far it was consistent with the laws of England ; and the merchants, whether it was for the advantage of trade and commerce. Burnet apprehends, that the Protector designed the Jews for spies in the several nations of Europe ; however, he was of opinion, that their admission under certain limitations might be for the advantage of commerce ; and told the divines, that since there was a promise in holy scripture of the conversion of the Jews, he did not know but the preaching of the christian religion, as it was then in England, without idolatry or superstition, might conduce to it. But the assembly not agreeing in their opinions, the affair was dropt, and the petitioners returned to Holland, where Manasseh Ben Israel wrote a handsome letter, which he calls " An answer to certain questions propounded by a noble and learned gentleman, touching the reproaches cast upon the nation of the Jews, wherein all objections are candidly and fully stated." The famous Mr. Prynne and Mr. Dury, a presbyterian minister wrote fiercely against the admission of the Jews ; but other divines whom the Protector consulted, were for admitting them with some limitations.

Eachard says, the Jews offered the Protector two hundred thousand pounds provided they might have St. Paul's cathedral for a settlement. And he adds the following malicious reflection, that " The money made his highness look upon it as the cause of God, but that both the clergy and laity so declaimed against them, that the religious juggle would not take place." But this he could not himself believe, as being quite out of character, for he knew that the protector did not enrich his family, nor value money, but for the public service. He concludes, that the Jews could never be permitted to live long in a well-settled monarchy. What then does he call the monarchy of England ; where the Jews have been indulged the free exercise of their religion, without doing any damage to the religion or commerce of the nation, for above sixty years ?

Cromwell's zeal for the reformed religion, made him the refuge of persecuted protestants in all parts of the

world. The Duke of Savoy, at the instance of his Dutchess, sister to the Queen of England, determined to oblige his reformed subjects in the valleys of Piedmont, to embrace the Roman Catholic religion or depart the country. For this purpose he quartered an army upon them, which eat up their substance. The protestants making some little resistance to the rudeness of the soldiers, the Duke gave orders, that all the protestant families in the valley of Lucern should go into banishment, which some obeyed, while the rest sent deputies to the court of Turin, to implore mercy ; but the Pope, and the princes of Italy, advised the Duke to improve the present opportunity for extirpating the reformed, and making all his subjects of one religion. The Duke accordingly sent express orders to his general, to drive them all out of the country, with their wives and children, and to put to death such as should remain. This was executed with great severity. Those who escaped the sword fled into the mountains, from whence, being ready to perish with hunger and cold, they sent their agents to the Lord Protector of England, and other protestant powers for relief. When his highness was first made acquainted with their distress, he thereupon appointed a general fast, and charitable contributions throughout all England for their present assistance ; and such was the compassion of the people, that the collection amounted to upwards of thirty-seven thousand pounds. About thirty thousand pounds, was remitted to their deputies at several payments, in this and the next year ; but the confusions which followed upon the Protector's death, prevented the clearing the whole account, till the convention parliament at the restoration, who ordered the remaining seven thousand pounds to be paid.

The Protector applied to the protestant Kings of Sweden and Denmark, to the states of Holland, the cantons of Switzerland, and the reformed churches of Germany and France ; and by his powerful instances procured large contributions from those parts. He wrote to the King of France, and to Cardinal Mazarine ; and being glad of an opportunity to strike terror into the Roman Catholic powers, he sent a letter to the Duke of

Savoy, in which having represented the cruelty and injustice of his behaviour towards the protestants in the Valleys, he tells him,—“ That he was pierced with grief at the news of the sufferings of the Vaudois, being united to them not only by the common ties of humanity, but by the profession of the same faith, which obliged him to regard them as his brethren ; and he should think himself wanting in his duty to God, to charity, and to his religion, if he should be satisfied with pitying them only, (whose miserable condition was enough to raise compassion in the most barbarous minds ;) unless he also exerted himself to the utmost of his ability to deliver them out of it.”

This awakened the popish powers, insomuch that Mazarine wrote in the most pressing language to the court of Turin, to give the Protector immediate satisfaction ; with which the dutchess reproached him, because he had made no terms for the English papists ; but his eminence replied, “ We must leave to God the care of defending the catholics whose cause is most just ; but that of the heretics needs for its support the clemency of princes.” Upon this the persecution immediately ceased ; the Duke recalled his army out of the Valleys, and restored their goods ; the poor people returned to their houses, and recovered all their ancient rights and privileges. But to strike some further terror into the Pope, and the little princes of Italy, the Protector gave out, that for as much as he was satisfied they had been the promoters of this persecution, he would keep it in mind, and lay hold of the first opportunity to send his fleet into the Mediterranean to visit Civita Vecchia, and other parts of the ecclesiastical territories ; and that the sound of his cannon should be heard in Rome itself. He declared publicly that he would not suffer the protestant faith, to be insulted in any part of the world ; and therefore procured liberty to the reformed in Bohemia and France ; nor was there any potentate in Europe so hardy, as to risk his displeasure by denying his requests.

The charitable society for the relief of the widows and children of clergymen, since known by the name of the “ Corporation for the sons of the Clergy,” had its begin-

ning this year; the first sermon being preached by Mr. Hall, son of the famous Bp. Hall, then minister of Aldersgate. From this time sermons have been preached annually, and large contributions made for the service of this charity. In the reign of Charles II. they became a body corporate; and their present grandeur is sufficiently known to the whole nation.

This year, died the learned Abp. Usher, born in Dublin 1580, and educated in Trinity College. In the year 1620, he was made Bp. of Meath, and four years after Abp. of Armagh; in which station he remained till the dissolution of the hierarchy during the civil wars. In his younger years he was a calvinist, but in his advanced age he embraced the middle way between Calvin and Arminius. He was one of the most moderate prelates of his time, and allowed of the ordinations of foreign protestants; which none but he and Bp. Davenant, and one or two more among the bishops of those times, would admit. The archbishop having lost all his revenues by the Irish rebellion, the King conferred upon him the bishopric of Carlisle in commendam. In 1643 he was nominated one of the assembly of divines at Westminster, but did not appear among them. As long as the King was at Oxford he continued with him, but when the war was ended, he returned to London and lived privately, without any molestation. He assisted at the treaty of the Isle of Wight, but could do no service, the contending parties being then at too great a distance to be reconciled. A little before the King's death, the archbishop was chosen preacher to the honourable society of Lincoln's-Inn, preaching constantly all term time, till his eyes failing, he quitted that post, about a year and a half before his death, and retired with the Countess of Peterborough to her house at Rygate. The Protector had a high esteem for this excellent prelate, and consulted him about proper measures, for advancing the protestant interest at home and abroad: he allowed him a pension, and promised him a lease of part of the lands of his archbishopric in Ireland for twenty-one years; but his death prevented the accomplishment of his design. He was seized with a pleurisy, of which he died, in the seventy-sixth year of his age,

having been fifty-five years a preacher, four years Bp. of Meath, and thirty-one years Abp. of Armagh. The archbishop was one of the most learned men of his age; he had a penetrating judgment, a tenacious memory; above all, he was a most pious, humble, exemplary christian. The Protector did him the honour of a public funeral, and buried him at his own expence, in King Henry the VII.'s chapel.

Stephen Marshall, B. D. was born at Godmanchester in Huntingdonshire, and was educated in Cambridge, and afterwards beneficed at Finchamfield in Essex, where he acquired such reputation by his preaching, that he was often called to preach before the long parliament, who consulted him in all affairs relating to religion. He was one of the assembly of divines, and employed in most if not all the treaties between the King and parliament. He was a person of sober and moderate principles, inso-much that Mr. Baxter used to say, if all the bishops had been of the spirit and temper of Usher, the presbyterians of the temper of Mr. Marshall, and the independents like Mr. Burroughs, the divisions of the church would have been easily compromised. He was an admired preacher, and far from running into the extremes of the times. In the decline of his life he retired from the city, and spent the two last years of his life in Ipswich. Mr. Firmin, in a preface to one of Mr. Marshall's posthumous sermons, writes, that he had left few such labourers as himself behind him; that he was a christian by practice as well as profession; that he lived by faith, and died by faith, and was an example to the believers in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith, and purity. He enjoyed the full use of his understanding to the last. His remains were solemnly interred in Westminster-Abbey, but were dug up again at the restoration.

The Protector having as yet no better than a military title to his high dignity, resolved to obtain a more legal one as soon as the times would admit. He had now cut his way through a great many difficulties, and the success of his arms this summer, having raised his reputation to an uncommon pitch of greatness, he resolved to summon a new parliament to meet at Westminster, to confirm his

title to the protectorship; and the republicans being his most dangerous enemies, the Protector sent for Sir H. Vane and Major-general Ludlow, to give security not to act against the present government. He asked Ludlow, what made him uneasy? or what he would have? Ludlow answered, he would have the nation governed by its own consent. I am, said the Protector, as much for a government by consent as any man; but where shall we find that consent? Among the prelatical, presbyterian, independent, anabaptist, or levelling parties? The other replied, among those of all sorts who have acted with fidelity and affection to the public. The Protector apprehending that he was for throwing all things back into confusion, told him, that all men now enjoyed as much liberty and protection as they could desire, and that he was resolved to keep the nation from being embrued again in blood. I desire not, says he, to put any more hardships upon you than upon myself; nor do I aim at any thing by this proceeding but the public quiet and security. As to my own circumstances in the world, I have not much improved them, as these gentlemen (pointing to his council) well know. But Ludlow, Sir Henry Vane, and Colonel Rich, persisting in their refusal to give security, were taken into custody. Burnet says, that others solicited him to restore the young King, and that the Earl of Orrery told him, he might make his own terms; but that Cromwell replied, that the son could never forgive his father's blood; and that he was so debauched he would undo every thing. It was therefore resolved to set him aside, and proceed upon the present plan.

When the parliament met according to appointment, Dr. Owen preached before them on Isa. xiv. 32. "What shall one then answer the messengers of the nation? that the Lord hath founded Zion, and the poor of his people shall trust in it." From the Abbey, the Protector went with the members to the painted chamber, where he made a speech and then dismissed them to their house; but to prevent their entering into debates about his title, a guard was placed at the door, with a paper of recognition for each member to subscribe, wherein they promise not to act any thing prejudicial to the government as it was esta-

blished under a protector. Upon their subscribing this, if they were under no disqualification, they had a certificate of their return, and of their being approved by his highness and council. This measure was certainly inconsistent with the freedom of parliaments. But it is highly probable, that these stretches of power might be absolutely unavoidable at this time, to maintain government under any form, and that without them the several parties would have fallen to pieces, and involved the nation in confusion and a new war. The parliament in their humble petition and advice, guarded against the exclusion of their members for the future, except by a vote of the house, which the protector freely consented to, so that this was only a temporary expedient, and not to be made a precedent of; but at present almost one hundred members refused to subscribe, and were therefore excluded. These presented a petition to the sitting members for redress, and were answered, that the protector had promised to relieve them, if they could shew cause of complaint. But instead of this, they appealed to the people in a severe remonstrance, charging his highness with invading their fundamental rights and liberties, and preventing the free meeting of the representatives of the people in parliament. To which it was replied, that if they would not so much as own the protector, they had no colour or pretence to call themselves members of parliament.

The sitting members having chosen their speaker, approved of the war with Spain, and voted supplies to support his highness in the prosecution of it. They renounced and disannulled the title of Charles-Stuart; and passed an act, making it high treason to compass or imagine the death of the Lord Protector. They reviewed the orders and ordinances of the protector, and his council, in the intervals of parliament, and confirmed most of them. They abrogated the authority and power of the major-generals, conceiving it inconsistent with the laws of England, and liberties of the people. These, and some other acts were presented to his highness for confirmation; and as he was pleased to confirm them all, he told them, that as it had been the custom of the chief governors to acknowledge the care and kindness of the commons upon such

occasions, so he did very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their kindness therein. But the parliament continued sitting till next year, when we shall meet with more important transactions.

The act for security of the protector's person was no sooner passed, than a plot was discovered against his life. Miles Syndercomb a leveller, a bold resolute man, having been disbanded in Scotland, combined with one Cecil, and another of the protector's life-guards, to assassinate him as he was going to Hampton-Court; but being disappointed once and again by some unexpected accidents, the other conspirators betrayed the design. Syndercomb put himself on his trial, and was condemned on the statute 25th of Edward III. the Chief Justice Glynne declaring, that by the word King in the statute, any chief magistrate was understood. But Syndercomb prevented the execution, for the very morning he was to suffer, he was found dead in his bed; whereupon his body was tied to a horse's tail, and dragged naked to the Scaffold on Tower-Hill, and then buried with a stake driven through it. However a day of public thanksgiving was appointed for the protector's deliverance, when his highness gave the speaker and members of parliament, a splendid entertainment at the banqueting-house.

The war with Spain this summer was attended with vast success, for no sooner had the King of Spain seized the effects of the English merchants in his country, than the Protector ordered his Admirals, Blake and Montague, to block up the harbour of Cadiz, and look out for the Plate fleet, which Captain Stayner, who was left with seven men of war upon the coast, while the admirals were gone to Portugal for fresh water, discovered; consisting of eight men of war making directly for Cadiz; Stayner bore up to them with all the sail he could make, and engaged them within four leagues of their port; the Spanish admiral run his ship ashore with six hundred thousand pieces of eight; but the vice-admiral, with twelve hundred thousand pieces of eight, and another galleon, were fired and sunk; the rear-admiral, with two millions of plate in her, was taken; and upon the whole, six of the eight ships were destroyed; the plate to the value of two millions was

brought to Portsmouth, and conveyed in carts to London, and carried through the city to the Tower to be coined. Admiral Blake, with the rest of the fleet, wintered upon the coast of Spain, and destroyed another fleet of much greater value the next summer.

After the discovery of Syndercomb's plot, the prelatists, presbyterians, and levellers were pretty quiet, but the quakers began to be very troublesome. They set up separate assemblies in Lancashire, and opened their first meetings in London and the adjacent parts. These unwary people, by interrupting public worship, and refusing to pay any respect to the magistrate, frequently exposed themselves to sufferings. But they were so far from being discouraged, that they opened a public meeting under favour of the toleration, at the Bull and Mouth inn, in Aldersgate-street, where women as well as men spake as they were moved; and when none were moved, there was no speaking at all. The novelty of this assembly drew great numbers of people thither out of curiosity; nor did any give them disturbance, as long as they continued quiet within themselves; but in several places where they had no business, the extravagance of their speakers was insufferable; one of them interrupted the minister in White-chapel church, and disturbed the whole assembly. A female came into Whitehall-chapel, stark naked, in the midst of public worship, the lord protector himself being present. Another came into the parliament house with a trenchard in her hand, which she broke in pieces, saying, "Thus shall ye be broke in pieces." Thomas Adams having complained to the protector of the imprisonment of some friends in the country, and not finding redress, he took off his cap and tore it to pieces, saying, "So shall thy government be torn from thee, and thy house." Several pretending an extraordinary message from heaven, went about the streets of London, denouncing the judgments of God against the protector and his council. One came to the door of the parliament house, with a drawn sword, and wounded several persons who were present, saying, "He was inspired by the Holy Spirit to kill every man that sat in the house." Others in their prophetic raptures denounced judgments on the whole

nation, and frequently disturbed the public assemblies where the chief magistrate himself was present. Many opened their shops on the Lord's day, in defiance of the laws, and were so very obstinate and intractable, that it was impossible to keep the peace without some marks of severity.

But the most extravagant quaker that appeared at this time was James Naylor, formerly an officer in Major-general Lambert's troop in Scotland, a man of good natural parts, and an admired speaker among these people; some of whom had such a veneration for him, that they stiled him in blasphemous language, "The everlasting sun of righteousness; the prince of peace; the only begotten son of God; the fairest among ten thousand." Some of the friends kissed his feet in the prison at Exeter, and after his release went before him into the city of Bristol, after the manner of our Saviour's entrance into Jerusalem; one walked bareheaded; another of the women led his horse; others spread their scarves and handkerchiefs before him in the way, crying continually as they went on, "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God of Hosts; Hosanna in the highest; holy, holy, is the Lord God of Israel." Upon this the magistrates of Bristol caused him to be apprehended, and sent up to the parliament, who appointed a committee to examine witnesses against him, upon a charge of blasphemy;—1. For admitting religious worship to be paid to him. And, 2. For assuming the names and incommunicable titles and attributes of our blessed Saviour, as the name Jesus, "The fairest among ten thousand, the only begotten son of God, the prophet of the Most High, the King of Israel, the everlasting sun of righteousness, the Prince of Peace." All which he confessed, but alledged in his own defence, that these honours were not paid to him, but to Christ who dwelt in him.

The committee asked him, why he came in so extraordinary a manner into Bristol? to which he replied, that "He might not refuse any honours which others who were moved by the Lord gave him." Being further asked whether he had reprov'd the persons who gave him those titles and attributes? he answered, "If they had it from the Lord,

what had I to do to reprove them? If the Father has moved them to give these honours to Christ, I may not deny them; if they have given them to any other but to Christ, I disown them." He concluded his defence thus; "I do abhor that any honours due to God should be given to me as I am a creature; but it pleased the Lord to set me up as a sign of the coming of the righteous one, and what has been done to me passing through the town, I was commanded by the power of the Lord to suffer to be done to the outward man, as a sign; but I abhor any honour as a creature."

From the committee, he was brought to the bar of the house, where the report being read, he confessed it; upon which the house voted him guilty of blasphemy, and ordered him to be set in the pillory two hours at Westminster, and two hours at the Old Exchange; that he should be whipped through the streets from Westminster to the Old Exchange; that his tongue should be bored through with an hot iron, and his forehead stigmatized with the letter B; he was afterwards to be sent to Bristol, and to ride through the city with his face to the horse's tail, and to be whipped the next market day after he came thither. Last of all, he was to be committed to Bridewell, in London, to be restrained from company, and to be put to hard labour till he should be released by parliament; during which time he was to be debarred from pen, ink, and paper, and to have no sustenance but what he got by his daily labour. A sentence much too severe for such a wrong-headed obstinate creature.

December 18, he stood in the pillory in the Palace-Yard, Westminster, and was whipped to the Old Exchange; the remainder of his sentence being respited for a week, in which time Messrs. Caryl, Manton, Nye, Griffith, and Reynolds, went to him, in order to bring him to some acknowledgement of his crime, but not being able to reclaim him, the remainder of his sentence was executed Dec. 27, when some of his followers licked his wounds, and paid him other honours both ridiculous and superstitious. He was afterwards sent to Bristol, and whipped from the middle of Thomas-street, over the bridge to the middle of Broad-street. From Bristol he was brought

back to Bridewell, London, where he remained sullen for three days, and would not work, but then begged for victuals, and was content to labour. At length after two years imprisonment, he recanted his errors so far as to acknowledge, that the honours he received at his entrance into Bristol were wrong. After the Protector's death James Naylor was released out of prison, and wrote several things in defence of the Quakers, who owned him as a friend, notwithstanding his extravagant behaviour; but he did not long survive his enlargement.

Other extravagancies of this people about this time, are recorded by our historians. The Protector was continually teized with their importunities; they waited for him on the road, and watched about his palace, till they got an opportunity to speak to him. George Fox and others, wrote letters filled with denunciations of divine judgments, unless he would pull down the remains of antichrist, by which they understood church ministers, and church maintenance. To which the Protector paid no regard.

As new inroads were made upon the ordinances for observation of the sabbath, the parliament took care to amend them. This year they ordained, that "the sabbath should be deemed to extend from twelve o'clock on Saturday night, to twelve on Sunday night, and within that compass of time they prohibited all kinds of business and diversions, except works of necessity and mercy, &c. This ordinance was to be read in every church or chapel of this nation annually, the first Lord's-day in every March.

The oath of abjuration, for discovering popish recusants, not being effectual, it was now further ordained,—“that all justices of peace at the quarter sessions, should charge the grand juries to present all persons whom they suspected to be popishly affected; and that every such person should appear at the next quarter sessions, and take and subscribe a new oath of abjuration, on penalty of being adjudged popish recusants convict, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.”

Upon refusal of this oath, the Protector and his successors might by process in the Exchequer, seize upon

two-thirds of their estates both real and personal, for the use of the public, during the time of their recusancy; but after their decease, the same were to return to the right heir, provided they took the above-mentioned oath. It was further ordained, that no subject of this commonwealth shall at any time be present at mass, in the house of any foreign ambassador, or agent, or at any other place, on penalty of one hundred pounds, and imprisonment for six months, half to the Protector, and half to the informer. How far these severities were needful or justifiable I leave with the judgment of the reader.

The Protector had an opportunity this year, of appearing for the protestants of France, as he had done last year for those of the Valleys; there happened a quarrel between the burghers of Nismes, who were mostly hugonots, and the magistrates and bishop of the city; the intendent of the province being informed of it, repaired thither to prevent an insurrection; but the burghers standing in their own defence raised a tumult, of which the intendent sent an account to court. The burghers being soon sensible of their folly, submitted and begged pardon; but the court laying hold of the opportunity, resolved to ruin them. Upon which they dispatched a messenger privately to Cromwell, and begged his interposition. The Protector having heard the whole account, bid the messenger stay and refresh himself, and before he could return to Paris, his business should be done. Accordingly an express was immediately dispatched with a letter to the King of France, under cover to Cardinal Mazarine.

And in his instructions to his ambassador Lockhart, he commanded him to insist peremptorily, that the tumult of Nismes be forgiven, or else to leave the court immediately. Mazarine complained of this usage, as too high and imperious; but his eminence stood in too much awe of the Protector to quarrel with him, and therefore sent orders to the intendent to make up the matter as well as he could. Mr. Welwood says, the cardinal would change countenance whenever he heard the name of the Protector, insomuch that it became a proverb in France, that Mazarine was not so much afraid of the devil as of Oliver

Cromwell. Such was the terror of this great man's name in the principal courts of Europe !

This year died the pious Dr. Hall, Bp. of Norwich, whose practical works have been in great esteem among the dissenters. He was born at Ashby de la Zouch, and educated in Emanuel Coll. Camb. When he left the university, he travelled with Sir Edmund Bacon to the Spaw in Germany. Upon his return, he was taken into the service of Prince Henry; and preferred to the rectory of Waltham in Essex, which he held twenty-two years. King James sent him to the synod of Dort with other English divines, where he preached a Latin sermon; but was forced to retire to England before the synod broke up, on the account of his health. Some time after his return, he was preferred to the bishopric of Exeter, and from thence translated to Norwich. At the beginning of the troubles between the King and parliament, the bishop published several treatises in favour of diocesan episcopacy, which were answered by *Smectymnuus*, as has been already related. He was afterwards imprisoned in the Tower with the rest of the protesting bishops; upon his release he retired to Norwich, the revenues of which bishopric being soon sequestered, together with his own real and personal estate, he was forced to be content with the fifths. The soldiers used him severely, turning him out of his palace, and threatening to sell his books, if a friend had not given bond for the money, at which they were appraised. The bishop complained very justly of this usage, in a pamphlet entitled "Hard measure." At length the parliament to make him some amends, voted him 40*l. per annum*; and when the war was ended, they took off the sequestration from his estate, and the bishop lived peaceably upon it afterwards, spending his solitude in acts of charity and divine meditation. He was a learned and pious man, and of great humility and goodness in conversation; but his being the tool of Abp. Laud in supporting the divine right of diocesan episcopacy, lessened him in the esteem of the parliament. Mr. Fuller says, he was frequently called our English Seneca, for the pureness, plainness, and fulness of his style. He was

more happy in his practical than polemical writings. There is one remarkable passage in his will, which is this, after having desired a private funeral, he adds, "I do not hold God's house a meet repository for the dead bodies of the greatest saints." In his last sickness he was afflicted with violent pains of the stone and stranguary, which he bore with wonderful patience, till death put an end to all his troubles, in the eighty-second year of his age.

Towards the latter end of this year died Mr. Capel, M. A. born at Gloucester, and educated in Magdalen Coll. Oxon. His eminence in the university (says the Oxford historian) was great; he had divers learned men for his pupils, who were afterwards famous in the church. He left the university for the rectory of Easington in his own country, where he became celebrated for his painful and practical preaching, as well as for his exemplary life. When the book of sports came out, he refused to read it, but resigned his rectory, and commenced physician. In 1641 he closed with the parliament, and was chosen one of the assembly of divines, but declined sitting among them, chusing to reside at his living at Pitchcomb, near Stroud, where he was in great reputation as a physician and divine, preaching gratis to his congregation. He published several valuable treatises, and among others a celebrated one, "Of temptations, their nature, danger, and cure." He was a good old puritan, of the stamp of Mr. Dod; and died at Pitchcomb in Gloucestershire, aged seventy-two years.

The parliament which met September 17th, continued sitting till the next year, having before them an affair of the greatest consequence, which was confirming the government under CROMWELL as LORD PROTECTOR, or changing it for the title King. Colonel Jephson one of the members from Ireland, moved, that the Protector might have the crown, with the title of KING, and was seconded by Alderman Pack, one of the representatives for the city of London; but the republicans in the house opposed it with great vehemence; however upon putting the question, it was carried for a King; most of the lawyers being on that side. April 4, a petition was presented

to the Protector, recommending the title and office of a King, as best fitted to the laws and temper of the people of England ; and upon his desiring time to consider of it, a committee was appointed to give him satisfaction in any difficulties that might arise. The Protector would no doubt have complied, if he could have relied upon the army, but the chief officers remonstrated strongly against it, and many of his old friends, among whom was his own son-in-law Fleetwood, threatened to lay down their commissions. All the republicans declaimed loudly against his accepting the crown, and presented a petition to the house against it. So that whatever might be his inclination, he judged it most prudent to decline the crown at present ; and accordingly, he sent for the house, and acquainted them, that as the circumstances of affairs then stood, he could not undertake the government with the title of KING.

Some have been of opinion, that the Protector's great genius forsook him in this affair ; but it is impossible, at this distance of time, to judge of the strength of the reasons that determined him the other way. Had he assumed the title of King, the army would have revolted ; the cavaliers would have joined the republicans to have pulled him down from the throne, the whole nation would in all probability have been thrown into confusion, and himself have been the sacrifice. The Protector had made large advances in power already, and he might apprehend it not worth while at present, to risk the whole for the sake of a name ; though I make no question, but if he had lived to see his government established, and the spirits of the people calmed, he would in a proper time have accepted of the style and title, as he had already done the office of King. Nay, Mr. Welwood says, that a crown was actually made, and brought to Whitehall for that purpose.

Upon Cromwell's declining the title of King, the parliament concluded upon an humble petition and advice, which was presented to the Protector May 25, containing eighteen articles, to which the Protector having consented, an oath was appointed to be taken by all

privy counsellors, and members of parliament for the future, to maintain the protestant religion ; to be faithful to the Lord Protector ; and to preserve the rights and liberties of the people ; and a few days after Oliver Cromwell was proclaimed a second time Lord Protector in the cities of London and Westminster ; this being esteemed a new, and more parliamentary title ; and if the house had been full and free it might have been so, but the council's assuming a power to approve or disapprove of the members after they were returned ; their forbidding them to debate the fundamentals of the new government, and obliging them to sign a recognition of it before they entered the house, looks like a force, or taking the election out of their hands. But lame and imperfect as the Protector's title may seem, it was as good as that of the Roman Emperors, or the original claims of many of the royal houses of Europe ; and in the present disjointed state of the English nation, not only necessary, but it may be the best thing that could be done ; for if the protectorship had been set aside, there was hardly a man in the house who would have ventured to vote for the King ; an absolute commonwealth could not have been supported, and therefore anarchy would inevitably have ensued.

Remarkable are the words of the Lord Commissioner Fiennes, at the opening of the second session of this parliament, in which he—"warns the houses of the rock on which many had split, which was a spirit of imposing upon men's consciences in things wherein God leaves them a latitude, and would have them free. The prelates and their adherents ; nay, and their master and supporter, with all his posterity, have split upon it. The bloody rebels in Ireland, who would endure no religion but their own, have split upon it ; and we doubt not but the prince of those satanical spirits will in due time split upon it, and be brought to the ground with his bloody inquisition. But as God is no respecter of persons, so he is no respecter of forms, but in what form soever the spirit of imposition appears, he would testify against it. If men, though otherwise good, will turn ceremony into substance, and make the kingdom of Christ consist in

circumstances, in discipline and in forms ; and if they carry their animosities to such an height, that if one says *Sibboleth* instead of *Shibboleth*, it shall be accounted ground enough to cut his throat : if they shall account such devils, or the seed of the serpent, that are not within such a circle or of such an opinion, in vain do they protest against the persecution of God's people, when they make the definition of God's people so narrow, that their persecution is as broad as any other, and usually more fierce, because edged with a sharp temper of spirit. Blessed therefore be God, who in mercy to us and them, has placed the power in such hands as make it their business to preserve peace and hinder men from biting and devouring one another.—It is good to hold forth a public profession of the truth, but not so as to exclude those that cannot come up to it in all points, from the privilege that belongs to them as christians, much less from the privilege that belongs to them as men."

His highness having now a more parliamentary title, it was thought proper that he should have a more solemn inauguration ; and Westminster-hall was adorned and beautified for this purpose as for a coronation. At the upper end there was an ascent of two degrees covered with carpets, in the midst of which there was a rich canopy, and under it a chair of state. Before the canopy there was a table and chair for the speaker, and on each side seats for the members of parliament, for the judges, for the Lord-mayor and Aldermen of London. The Protector was conducted from the house of lords with all the state and grandeur of a King, and being seated under the canopy of state, the speaker of the parliament, the Earl of Warwick, and commissioner Whitlock, vested him with a purple velvet robe lined with ermin : they delivered into one of his hands a bible richly gilt, and embossed with gold ; and into the other a scepter of massy gold ; and, lastly, they girt him with a rich sword ; after this they administered an oath to the Protector, to govern according to law. The solemnity concluded with a short prayer pronounced by Dr. Manton ; and then the herald having proclaimed his Highness's titles, the people shouted

with loud acclamations, "Long live the Lord Protector," &c. and the day concluded with feasting, and all other kinds of public rejoicing.

The Protector having waded through all these difficulties to the supreme government of these nations, appeared on a sudden like a comet or blazing star, raised up by providence to exalt this nation to a distinguished pitch of glory, and to strike terror into the rest of Europe. His management for the little time he survived, was the admiration of all mankind ; for though he would never suffer his title to the supreme government to be disputed, yet his greatest enemies have confessed, that in all other cases distributive justice was restored to its ancient splendor. The judges executed their duty according to equity, without partiality or bribery ; the laws had their full and free course without impediment or delay ; men's manners were wonderfully reformed, and the Protector's court kept under an exact discipline. Trade flourished, and the arts of peace were cultivated throughout the whole nation ; the public money was managed with frugality, and to the best advantage ; the army and navy were well paid, and served accordingly. As the Protector proceeded with great steadiness and resolution against the enemies of his government, he was no less generous and bountiful to those of all parties who submitted to it ; for as he would not declare himself of any particular sect, he gave out, that "It was his only wish, that all would gather into one sheepfold, under one shepherd, Jesus Christ, and love one another." He respected the clergy in their places, but confined them to their spiritual function. Nor was he jealous of any who did not meddle in politics, and endeavour to raise disturbances in the state : even the prejudice he had against the episcopal party, says Bp. Kennet, was more for their being royalists, than being of the church of England. But when one party of the clergy began to lift up their heads above their brethren, or to act out of their sphere, he always found means to take them down. He had a watchful eye over the royalists and republicans, who were always plotting against his person and government ; but his erecting a house of lords, or upper house, so quickly after his instalment, roused the

malecontents, and had like to have subverted his government in its infancy.

The Protector was in high reputation abroad, and carried victory with his armies and navies wherever they appeared. There had been a negotiation with France concerning an alliance against Spain, begun at London 1655, but not concluded till 1657, by which the Protector obliged himself to join six thousand men with the French army, and to furnish fifty men of war to conquer the maritime towns belonging to Spain in the Low Countries, on this condition, that Dunkirk and Mardyke should be put into his hands, and the family of the Stuarts depart the territories of France. That which determined him to join with France rather than Spain, was the numerous parties that were against him at home ; for if the young King, assisted by France, should have made a descent upon England with an army of French protestants, it might have been of fatal consequence to his infant government ; whereas the Spaniards were at a distance, and having no protestant subjects, were less to be feared. Upon the conclusion of this treaty, King Charles entered into an alliance with the Spaniard, who allowed him a small pension, and promised him the command of six thousand men, as soon as he was possessed of any sea-port in England. In consequence of this treaty, most of the royalists inlisted in the Spanish service. But the Protector's six thousand men in Flanders, behaved with undaunted bravery, and took St. Venant, Mardyke, and some other places from the Spaniards this summer.

Admiral Blake was no less successful at sea, for having received advice of the return of the Spanish West India fleet, he sailed to the Canaries with twenty five men of war, and arrived at the Bay of Sancta Cruz, in the island of Teneriff, where the galleons, to the number of sixteen, richly laden, lay close under a strong castle, defended by seven forts mounted with canon ; the admiral finding it impossible to make them prize, had the good fortune to burn and destroy them all, only with the loss of one ship, and one hundred and sixty men. When the news of this success arrived in England, a day of thanksgiving was appointed, and a rich present ordered the admiral upon

his return; but this great sea-officer having been three years at sea, died as he was entering Plymouth. He was of the ancient family of the Blakes of Planchfield, Somersetshire, and was educated in Wadham-Coll. Oxford. He was small of stature, but the bravest and boldest sailor that England ever bred, and consulted the honour of his country beyond all his predecessors. When some of his men being ashore at Malaga, refused to do honour to the host as it passed by, one of the priests raised the mob upon them. Upon which Blake sent a trumpet to the viceroy to demand the priest, who saying he had no authority to deliver him up, the admiral answered, that if he did not send him aboard in three hours he would burn the town about their ears; upon which he came, and begged pardon; the admiral after a severe reprimand, told him, that if he had complained to him of his sailors he would have punished them, but he would have all the world know, that an Englishman was only to be punished by an Englishman, and so dismissed him, being satisfied with having struck terror into the priest, and had him at his mercy. When Oliver read this passage of Blake's letter in council, he said, he hoped to make the name of an Englishman as great as ever that of a Roman had been. The admiral preserved an exact discipline in the fleet, and taught his men to despise castles on shore, as well as ships at sea. Valour seldom missed its reward with him, nor cowardice its punishment. He had a noble public spirit, for after all his services for his country, and opportunities of acquiring immense riches from the Spaniards, he died not five hundred pounds richer than his father left him. His body was brought by water to Greenwich, and deposited in a most magnificent manner, in a vault made on purpose in Henry Seventh's chapel, at the public expence; but at the restoration his body was taken out of the grave, and flung with others into a common pit; and his brother, being a dissenter, suffered so many hardships for religion in Charles the Second's reign, that he was obliged to sell the little estate the admiral left him, and transport himself and children to Carolina.

By the second article of the humble advice, which appoints all future parliaments to consist of two houses,

the form of the present government began to change in favour of the ancient constitution. The Protector, pursuant to the powers given him, made several promotions of knights, and lords, and issued out writs, by advice of his council, to divers lords and gentlemen, to sit as members of the other house, at the next session of parliament. His intention was to have this house considered as a house of peers, though he declined giving it that name till a more favourable conjuncture. Some declined the honour, and chose to sit in the lower house, but between fifty and sixty appeared, among whom were seven or eight of the ancient peers; divers knights and gentlemen of good families, and some few chief officers of the army. They met in the house of lords, whither his highness came at the time of their meeting, and according to ancient custom, sent the usher of the black rod to bring up the commons, to whom he made a short speech from the throne, beginning with the usual form, "My lords, and you the knights, citizens, and burgesses, &c." and then as our Kings used to do, he referred them to the Lord-commissioner Fiennes, who tired them with a long and perplexed harangue before they entered upon business.

This hasty resolution of the Protector and his council, had like to have subverted the infant government, for many of the Protector's best friends being called out of the lower house to the upper, the balance of power among the commons was changed; whereas, if he had deferred the settling of the upper house till the present parliament had been dissolved, they would have gone through their business without interruption; but the lower house was now in a flame, some being disappointed of their expectations, and others envied for their advancement, insomuch that as soon as they returned to their house, they called for the third article of the humble advice, which says, that no members legally chosen, shall be excluded from performing their duty, but by consent of the house of which they are members; and then to strengthen their party, they ordered all those who had been excluded last sessions, because they would not recognize the new government, to return to their places; which was no

sooner done, than they began to call in question the authority and jurisdiction of the other house, though themselves had advised it, and though there was almost as good reason for their being an upper, as for the other being a lower house; but these gentlemen were determined to erect an absolute commonwealth, on the ruins of the present family. Many degrading speeches were made in the lower house, against the persons who had been thus promoted, who were no less resolute in defending their honours and characters; so that there was no prospect of an agreement, till the Protector himself appeared, and having sent for them to Whitehall, spoke with such an accent in favour of the other house, that they returned and acknowledged it; but then they went on to re-examine the validity of the whole instrument of government, as being made when many members were excluded. Upon which the Protector, being out of all patience, went to the house and dissolved them, after they had sat about fifteen days.

The Protector being now convinced, that the disturbances in parliament arose from the chief officers of the army, who clogged his affairs, in order to introduce a commonwealth government, resolved to clear his hands of them at once; Harrison and Ludlow were laid aside; Fleetwood was recalled from his government in Ireland; Major general Lambert was ordered to surrender his commission; and the rest were obliged to take an oath not to oppose the present government. By such methods he went on purging the army and navy; and if he had lived a little longer would have had none in power, but such as were thoroughly attached to his person and government. It was observed after this, that all things succeeded at home and abroad according to his wish; and that his power and greatness were better established than ever, though there were a few malecontents who were hardy enough to attempt some little disturbances; but the disasters that befel the Protector's family soon after, broke the firmness of his constitution, and hastened his end.

It was his ambition, not only to set himself at the head, but to strengthen the whole body of the protestant interest, and unite its several members, so that it might maintain

its ground against the church of Rome. Burnet informs us, that he had projected a sort of general council, to be set up in opposition to the congregation *de propaganda fide* at Rome; it was to consist of seven counsellors, and four secretaries for different provinces; the first was for France, Switzerland, and the Valleys: the second for the Palatinate, and other Calvinists; the third for Germany, for the North, and for Turkey; the fourth for the East and West Indies. The secretaries were to have five hundred pounds a year each, and to hold a correspondence every where, to acquaint themselves with the state of religion all over the world, that so all good designs for the welfare of the whole, and of the several parts, might by their means be protected and encouraged. They were to have a fund of ten thousand pounds a year, and to be further supplied as occasion should require. Chelsea College was to be fitted up for them. This was a noble project, says the bishops and must have been attended with extraordinary effects under the protection of a power, which was formidable and terrible to all nations to whom it was known.

About the beginning of this year Dr. Bryan Walton, afterwards Bp. of Chester, published the "*Biblia polyglotta*," in six volumes, folio, wherein the sacred text is printed in the vulgar Latin, Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, Chaldee, Samaritan, Arabic, Æthiopic, and Persic languages, each having its peculiar Latin translation, with an *apparatus* for the better understanding those tongues. This laborious performance by the assistance of several who engaged in it, was completed in about four years, and was reckoned the most absolute edition of the bible that the world had ever seen. Several learned persons, both puritans and others, assisted in correcting the press, and in collating the copies. Many noblemen, and gentlemen of quality, contributed to the expence of printing this work, without which it could not have seen the light. After the restoration, the doctor presented King Charles II. with the six volumes, which his majesty received very graciously, and rewarded the author with the bishopric of Chester.

On the 3d of July the Protector resigned his chancellorship of Oxford, and his eldest son Richard was chosen his

successor, and installed at Whitehall on the twenty-ninth. About six weeks after, the new chancellor dismissed Dr. Owen, who had been vice-chancellor of the university about five years, and appointed Dr. John Conant, rector of Exeter-Coll. to succeed him. This gentleman, says the Oxford historian, was a good Latinist, and Grecian, a profound theologist, a learned, pious, and meek divine, and an excellent preacher. He had been one of the assembly of divines, and was elected rector of this college upon the death of Dr. Hakewell. In the latter end of the year 1654, he became King's professor of divinity in the room of Dr. Hoyle. He continued in the vice-chancellorship two years with due commendation, keeping a severe discipline in his college, as did all the heads of colleges in these times. He was ejected out of every thing for non-conformity; but some time after being persuaded to comply with the establishment, he became vicar of All Saints in Northampton, archdeacon of Norwich, and prebendary of Worcester; which places he held till his death.

Nov. 24, the Protector signed a commission, appointing his youngerson Henry to be Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, with a power of conferring the honour of knighthood. Henry was a wise and discreet governor, and by his prudent behaviour kept the Irish in awe, and brought the nation into a flourishing condition. Upon the accession of Richard to the Protectorship, he advised him to abide by the parliament, and have a watchful eye over the army, whom he suspected to be designing mischief. Nay, he offered to come over to his assistance, but was forbid till it was too late. When Richard was deposed, his brother Henry laid down his charge, and came over to England, and lived privately upon an estate of his own, of about 600l. a-year at Spinny-Abbey, in Cambridgeshire, till his death. While he was in Ireland he behaved with such a generous impartiality as gained him the esteem even of the royalists themselves; and after his retirement Charles II. did him once the honour of a visit. He had a son Henry who was bred to arms, had a major's commission, and died in the service of the crown. He left behind him several children, some of the sons are yet living in

good reputation in the city of London, and are the only male descendants of the Protector Cromwell, the posterity of Richard being extinct.

The Royal Society, which has been the ornament of the English nation, by the vast improvements it has made in natural and experimental philosophy, was formed at Oxford in these times, which some have represented as covered with ignorance, barbarism, and pedantry. The meetings of the Society were as frequent as their occasions would permit; their proceedings were upon some particular trials in Chymistry or Mechanics, which they communicated to each other. They continued without any great interruption till the death of the Protector, when their meetings were transferred to London. Here they began to enlarge their design, and formed the platform of a philosophical college, to enquire into the works of nature. They set up a correspondence with learned foreigners, and admitted such into their numbers without distinction of names or parties in religion; and were at length incorporated by royal patent or charter.

This year died Mr. Langley, the noted master of St. Paul's school, London; he was born near Banbury, in Oxfordshire, and became a commoner or brother of Magdalen-Hall; was also prebendary of Gloucester, where he kept a school for twenty years. He was an universal scholar, an excellent linguist, grammarian, historian, cosmographer, a most judicious divine, and so great an antiquarian that his delight and acquaintance in antiquity, deserves greater commendation than can be given in a few lines. He was esteemed by learned men; but was not regarded by the clergy, because he was a puritan, and a witness against Laud at his trial. He was a member of the assembly of divines. Dr. Reynolds preached his funeral sermon, and gave him a very high encomium.

Mr. Sedgwick was born at Marlborough, and educated in Magdalen-Coll. Oxford, where he took the degrees in arts, and was afterwards chaplain to Sir Horatio Vere, with whom he travelled into the Low Countries. After his return he became reader of the sentences, and was chosen preacher to the inhabitants of St. Mildred, Bread-street, London; but being driven from thence by the severity of

the governors of the church, he retired to Coggeshall, in Essex, where he continued till the breaking out of the civil wars. He was chosen a member of the assembly of divines, and became preacher at St. Paul's, Covent-Garden; He often preached before the parliament, and was esteemed an orthodox, as well as an admired preacher. In 1653 he was appointed one of the triers, and the year after, one of the commissioners for ejecting scandalous ministers; but finding his health declining he resigned his preferments, and retired to his native town of Marlborough, where he died

Mr. Corbet was born in Shropshire, and educated in Merton-Coll. Oxford, where he took the degrees in arts, and was made probationer fellow of his college. In 1638 he was one of the Protectors of the university; but being a puritan divine was denied the rectory of Chatham by Laud, then in the Tower; upon which an ordinance of parliament was issued appointing him rector of Chatham. He was a member of the assembly of divines, a witness against the archbishop at his trial; one of the preachers appointed to reconcile the Oxford scholars to the parliament; and afterwards one of the visitors, orator, and canon of Christ Church, in the room of Dr. Hammond, which he soon after quitted, and became rector of Great Hasely, in Oxfordshire, where he continued to his death. He was a very considerable divine, a valuable preacher, and a person of remarkable integrity and steadiness of conscience.

Mr. Cranford was born in Coventry, and sometime master of the free-school there. He was educated in Baliol-Coll. Oxford, where he took the degrees in arts, and was at length rector of St. Christopher's le Stocks, near the Old Exchange, London. He was an exact linguist, well acquainted with the fathers and schoolmen, as well as with the modern divines; a zealous presbyterian, and a laborious preacher. Mr. Fuller adds, that he was a subtle disputant, orthodox in judgment, and a person of great humility, charity and moderation towards all men. In the beginning of the civil wars, he was appointed licenser of the press in London, which gave him an occasion to write several epistles before books, besides some

treatises that he published of his own. He died aged about fifty-five years.

The Protector's arms were no less successful this summer than they had been the last, for in the month of June, Marshal Turenne in conjunction with the English forces, laid siege to Dunkirk, then in possession of the Spaniards, which brought on an engagement between the two armies. The Spanish forces consisted of 30,000 men, but Major-general Morgan who covered the siege, attacked the right wing of the Spanish army which came to relieve it with 6000 English, who routed the whole army, which was followed with the surrender of the town. The French looked on, and said they never saw a more glorious action in their lives. Cardinal Mazarine intended to keep this important place in French hands, contrary to the late treaty; of which his highness being informed, acquainted the ambassador; but his excellency denying any such intended breach of contract, the Protector pulled out of his pocket a copy of the Cardinal's private order, and desired him to let his eminence know, that if the keys of Dunkirk were not delivered to Lockhart within an hour after it was taken, he would come in person, and demand them at the gates of Paris; and the Cardinal had too great a dread of the name of Cromwell, to deny any thing he required. By this conquest the Protector gained immortal glory, because it gave the English a settlement on the continent, and made them masters of both sides of the channel. How basely it was sold by Lord Clarendon to the French, will be seen hereafter.

The enthusiastic republicans, or fifth-monarchy-men, having failed of their design in parliament, agreed to the number of three hundred, to attempt a revolution of government by force, and having killed the Protector, to proclaim King Jesus; but Secretary Thurloe, who never spared expence to gain intelligence, had a spy among them, who discovered their intrigues, and seized their arms and ammunition in Shoreditch, with their standard, containing a *Lion couchant*, alluding to the Lion of the tribe of Judah, with this motto, "Who will rouse him up." The chief conspirators were imprisoned in the Gate-House till the Protector's death, with their accom-

plices, Major-General Harrison, Colonel Rich, Colonel Danvers, and others, after which they created new disturbances, which hastened their own destruction, soon after the King's restoration.

But the most formidable conspiracy against the government, was a new one of the cavaliers, with which the Protector acquainted the Lord-mayor and common-council of the city in a speech, wherein he takes notice, that the Marquis of Ormond had been privately in London three weeks, to promote the King's affairs, who lay ready on the coast with an army of eight thousand men, and twenty-two ships; that there was a design to seize the Tower; and that several ill affected persons were endeavouring to put themselves in arms for that purpose; he therefore desired them to put the city into a posture of defence, professing a more passionate regard for their safety than his own. The citizens returned his highness thanks, and in an address promised to defend his person and government with their lives and fortunes. The like addresses came from several of the regiments at home, and from the English army in Flanders. This was the plot the Protector mentioned in his speech to the parliament, and was discovered by one Stapley, whose father had been one of the King's judges. Immediately after the dissolution of the parliament, three of the conspirators were apprehended, and tried before an high court of justice, according to the late act for the security of his highness's person. Mr. Mordaunt, younger son and brother of the Earl of Peterborough, was acquitted by one vote; but the other two, Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Hewet were condemned. The doctor was indicted for holding correspondence with Charles Stuart, for publishing him to be King of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and for sending him money. He behaved with great boldness towards his judges, keeping his hat upon his head while the indictment was reading; but an officer being sent to take it off, he saved him the trouble. The doctor then refused to plead three times, disowning the jurisdiction of the court: but though they read the clause in the late act, by which they were empowered to be his judges, he continued mute; upon which

one of the judges summed up the charge, and was going to pronounce sentence, when he offered to put himself upon his trial, but was told it was then too late, so judgment was given against him as a *mute*. The doctor had prepared a plea and demurrer to the jurisdiction and proceedings of the court, and exceptions to their judgment, drawn up in form by council, and ready to be engrossed, but was not suffered to have them argued. And he was beheaded on Tower-Hill. His funeral sermon was preached the Sunday following, by Mr. Nath. Hardy at St. Dionis Back Church, in Lime-street; and soon after, both the sermon, and the doctor's intended defence were published, entitled, "Beheaded Dr. John Hewet's ghost crying for justice;" containing his legal plea, demurrer, and exceptions to the jurisdiction of the court, &c. The doctor was a Cambridge divine, but lived at Oxford, and in the army, till the end of the war, when he came to London, and was permitted to preach in the church of St. Gregory's, London, though he was known to be a malignant. After his conviction, Lady Claypole and Lady Falconbridge, the Protector's daughters, interceded with their father for his life; but because he disputed the authority of the court, which struck at the very life of his government, the Protector would not pardon him. He told Dr. Manton, one of his chaplains, that if Dr. Hewet had shewn himself an ingenious person, and would have owned what he knew was his share in the design against him, he would have spared his life; but he said he would not be trifled with, and the Dr. was of so obstinate a temper that he was resolved he should die; and the Protector convinced Dr. Manton before they parted, that he knew without his confession, how far he was engaged in the plot. Three more of the conspirators were executed in other parts of the city, but the rest were pardoned.

A little before the Protector's death, the independents petitioned for liberty to hold a synod; in order to publish to the world an uniform confession of their faith. They were now become a considerable body, their churches being increased both in city and country, by the addition of great numbers of rich and substantial persons; but

they were not agreed upon any standard of faith or discipline. The presbyterians in the assembly of divines, had urged them to this; and their brethren in New England had done it ten years ago; nor were the English independents insensible of the defect. To remedy this, some of their divines and principal brethren in London met together, and proposed, that there might be a correspondence among their churches in city and country, for counsel and mutual edification; and for as much as all sects and parties of christians had published a confession of their faith, they apprehended the world might reasonably expect it from them; for these reasons they petitioned the Protector for liberty to assemble for this purpose. This was opposed by some of the court, as tending to establish a separation between them and the presbyterians; nor was the Protector himself fond of it; however he gave way to their importunity.

But the Protector did not live to see the fruits of this assembly, which was appointed to be held at the Savoy, October 12, 1658, where ministers and messengers from above one hundred congregational churches met together, of which the majority were laymen, the rest pastors in churches, and some younger divines about the court, as the reverend and learned Mr. John Howe, at that time chaplain to the young Protector and others. They opened their synod with a day of fasting and prayer, and after some debate, whether they should adopt the doctrinal articles of the Westminster assembly for their own, with some amendments and additions, it was thought more advisable to draw up a new confession, but to keep as near as possible to the method and order of the other. And a committee of the most eminent divines was chosen for this work. While they were employed in preparing, and putting together the articles of their confession, the synod heard complaints, and gave advice in several cases which were brought before them, relating to disputes or differences in their churches. The particular heads of doctrines agreed to by the committee, were presented to the synod every morning. There were some speeches and debates upon words and phrases, but at length all acquiesced, and the whole was soon after published in quarto,

under the title of "A declaration of the faith and order owned and practised in the congregational churches in England, agreed upon and consented unto, by their elders and messengers in their meetings at the Savoy." Next year it was translated into Latin by professor Hornbeek, and published at the end of his *epistola ad Duræum de independentissimo*.

The Savoy confession proceeds upon the plan of the Westminster assembly, which made the work very easy; and in most places retains their very words. They tell the world in their preface, that they fully consent to the Westminster confession for the substance of it, but have taken liberty to add a few things, in order to obviate some erroneous opinions that have been more boldly maintained of late than in former times. They have likewise varied the method in some places, and have here and there expressed themselves more clearly, as they found occasion. They have omitted all those chapters in the assembly's confession which relate to discipline, as the 30th and 31st, with part of the 20th and 24th, relating to the power of synods, councils, church censures, marriage and divorce, and the power of the civil magistrate in matters of religion. These, say they, were such doubtful assertions, and so unsuited to a confession of faith, that the English parliament would never ratify them, there being nothing that tends more to heighten dissensions among brethren, than to place these doubtful speculations under so high a title as a confession of faith. After the 19th chapter of the assembly's confession, of the law, the Savoy divines have added an entire chapter, of the gospel, in which what is dispersed up and down the assembly's confession, is collected, and put together. Upon the whole, the difference between these two confessions, in points of doctrine is so very small, that the modern independents have in a manner laid aside the use of it in their families, and agreed with the presbyterians in the use of the assembly's catechism.

The hierarchy of the church of England was now at a very low ebb, and in danger of being lost beyond recovery; for if the bishops who were now very ancient, had all died off, before others had been consecrated, the line

of succession must have failed; for the church of Rome was so far from supporting it, that they published a treatise this year, on the nature of the catholic faith, and of heresy; in which they endeavour to invalidate the English ordinations, and revived the story of the Nag's-head club; for the truth of which they appealed to the Bp. of Durham, who in a solemn speech made in full parliament (say they) declared in express words, that our first bishops after the reformation had been consecrated in a tavern; and that this was so far from being doubted, that it was a fact most notorious to all the world; adding, that the rest of the bishops present rather approved, than in the least opposed what he had said. The bishop, then in the ninety-fourth year of his age, being advised of this calumny, sent for a public notary from London, and in the presence of proper witnesses, made a solemn protestation of the falshood of this story, and signed it in due form. He then sent his chaplain, Dr. Barwick, to all the lords spiritual and temporal then alive, who had sat in that parliament, desiring, that if they believed him undeservedly aspersed, they would attest it by subscribing their names; which was done by six bishops, and fourteen temporal lords, and by the several clerks and registers of the house. The bishop died soon after, but his protestation with the proofs, was afterwards published by the Bp. of Derry, in a treatise entitled, "The consecration and succession of protestant bishops justified; the Bp. of Duresme vindicated; and the fable of the ordination of the Nag's-head club clearly confuted." This awakened the clergy to enter upon measures for the continuance of a succession of bishops, though they could not be regularly chosen, lest the validity of the episcopal ministry should cease; which will come under consideration in the transactions of the next year.

Lord Clarendon mentions an address of the anabaptists to the King, who being disappointed in their expectations of a commonwealth, threw themselves at his majesty's feet, offering their assistance to pull down the present government. His lordship adds, that the messenger that brought the propositions, asking the sum of two thousand pounds to carry on the project, his majesty dismissed him

with civil expressions, telling him, he had no designs to trouble any man for his opinion. However, if there had been such an address from the body of the anabaptists, it is a little strange that after the restoration it was not remembered to their advantage. But his lordship seems to have had no great acquaintance with these men, when he says, they always pretended a just esteem and value for all men who faithfully adhered to the King, whereas they were of all the sects most zealous for a commonwealth, and were enemies to the Protector for no other reason, but because he was for government by a single person. In truth, this whole affair seems no more than an artifice to get a little money out of the poor King's purse.

The Protector's health was now declining, through his advanced age, and excessive toils and fatigues. The restless spirits of the royalists and republicans put him upon his guard, insomuch that he usually wore under his clothes a piece of armour, or a coat of mail. The loss of his beloved daughter Claypole, who died this summer, had also a very sensible influence on his health. About the middle of August he was seized with a slow fever, which turned to a tertian ague; but the distemper appeared so favourable for a while, that he walked abroad in the gardens at Hampton-court. Ludlow says, the Protector had a humour in his leg, which he desired the physicians to disperse, by which means it was thrown into his blood. At length his pulse began to intermit, and he was advised to keep his bed; and his ague fits growing stronger, it was thought proper to remove him to Whitehall, where he began to be light-headed; upon which his physicians declared his life in danger, and the council being summoned to desire him to nominate his successor, he appointed his eldest son Richard. In the intervals of his fits, he behaved with great devotion and piety, but manifested no remorse for his public actions; he declared in general, that he designed the good of the nation, and to preserve it from anarchy and a new war. He once asked Dr. Goodwin, who attended at his bed-side, and is said to have expressed an unbecoming assurance to Almighty God in

prayer of his recovery, "whether a man could fall from grace?" which the Dr. answering in the negative, the Protector replied, "then I am safe, for I am sure I was once in a state of grace." About twelve hours before he died he lay very quiet, when Major Butler being in his chamber, says he heard him make his last prayer to this purpose: "Lord, I am a poor foolish creature; this people would fain have me live; they think it best for them, and that it will redound much to thy glory, and all the stir is about this. Others would fain have me die; Lord pardon them, and pardon thy foolish people, forgive their sins, and do not forsake them, but love and bless, and give them rest, and bring them to a consistency, and give me rest, for Jesus Christ's sake, to whom with thee, and thy Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory, now and forever, Amen." The Protector died in the sixtieth year of his age, Sept. 3d, 1558, the day on which he had triumphed in the battles of Dunbar and Worcester, and four years and eight months after he had been declared Protector. As he had lived most part of his life in a storm, his death was attended with one of the greatest hurricanes that had been known for many years. Some have said, that next night after his death, his body was wrapped up in lead and buried in Naseby-field, according to his desire. Others, more probably, that it was deposited privately in a vault in King Henry the seventh's chapel, sometime before the public funeral, which was performed with all imaginable grandeur and military pomp, from Somerset-House, where he had lain in state, to the Abbey-church in Westminster, where a fine mausoleum was erected for him, on which his effigies was placed, and exhibited to the view of all spectators for a time; but after the King's restoration, his coffin was taken out of the vault, and drawn upon a sledge to Tyburn, where it was hanged up till sun-set, and then buried under the gallows.

Thus died the mighty Oliver Cromwell, the greatest soldier and statesman of his age, after he had undergone excessive fatigues and labours in a long course of warlike actions, and escaped innumerable dangers from the plots and conspiracies of domestic enemies. Few historians have spoken of him with temper, though no other genius,

it may be, could have held the reins, or steered the commonwealth, through so many storms and hurricanes, as the factions of these times had raised in the nation. He was born at Huntingdon, April 25, 1599, and descended of the family of Williams, of Glamorgan, in Wales, which assumed the name of Cromwell by marrying with a sister of Cromwell, Earl of Essex, in the reign of Henry VIII. The seat of the eldest branch of the family was called Hinchbrook, now belonging to the Earl of Sandwich, who were reputed to possess an estate of 30,000*l.* a-year. Oliver who was descended of a younger branch, was educated in Cambridge, and from thence became a student of Lincoln's-Inn, being a wild and extravagant youth till about the thirty-fifth year of his age, when he quitted his irregular life, and became remarkably sober. In 1640, he was chosen representative in parliament for the town of Cambridge, and sat two years undistinguished in the house, as a mere country gentleman, appearing in a plain cloth suit of clothes made by a country taylor, his linen not very clean, his band unfashionable, his hat without an hatband, and his sword close by his side; his countenance was swoln and reddish, his voice hoarse and untunable, but his elocution was full of fervour and warmth, and he was well-heard in the house. His person somewhat exceeded the middle stature, but was well proportioned, compact and strong. He had a masculine countenance, a sparkling eye, a manly stern look, a vigorous constitution, and was an enemy to ease and excess.

Upon the breaking out of the civil war he took arms for the parliament, and though he was forty-three years of age before he drew a sword, he soon became colonel of a regiment of chosen men, who declared they fought not for gain, but for the cause of religion and liberty. He always went to prayer before battle, and returned solemn thanks for his success afterwards. He was careful to promote an exact discipline in the army, and would not have pardoned his own brother if he found him plundering the country people. The army had not an officer who faced danger with greater intrepidity, or more eagerly sought occasions to distinguish his personal valour. He had a

great presence of mind in the heat of action, and taught his soldiers to fight in a more desperate manner than usual, not allowing them to discharge their musquets, till they were so near the enemy as to be sure of doing execution. His reputation rose so fast, that he quickly became a major-general, then lieutenant-general under Fairfax, and at last supplanted him. His troops believed themselves invincibly under his conduct; he never lost a battle where he had the chief command. The victory at Marston-Moor was chiefly ascribed to his valour. The reduction of Ireland in less than a year made him the terror of his enemies; and the battles of Dunbar and Worcester compleated his martial glory.

How far his usurping the Protectorship of the three nations, without the previous consent of a free parliament was the result of ambition or necessity, has been considered already; but if we view him as a statesman, he was an able politician, a steady resolute governor; and though he had more numerous and powerful enemies than any man of the age, he was never intimidated, having a peculiar art of keeping men quiet, and giving them by turns hopes of his favour. He had a wonderful knowledge of mankind, and an inimitable sagacity and penetration. If there was a man in England who excelled in any faculty or science, he would find him out and reward him according to his merit. In nothing was his good understanding better discovered than in seeking out able and worthy men for all employments, which gave a general satisfaction. By these methods, in the space of four or five years, he carried the reputation and glory of the English nation as high, as it was capable of being raised. He was equally dreaded by France, Spain, and the United Provinces, who condescended to servile compliances to obtain his friendship; Charles Gustavus King of Sweden, thought himself honoured by his alliance; and Cardinal Mazarine said, that nothing but the King of France's having the small pox, could have hindered him from coming over to England, that he might have the honour of waiting on one of the greatest men.

The Protector had an uncommon command of his passions, and knew how to behave in character upon all

occasions; though in private life he would be jocose and merry with his inferiors; yet no prince was more jealous of his dignity on public occasions. His ambassadors in foreign courts had all the respects paid them that those of our Kings ever had. All Europe trembled at his name! And though he could converse with no foreigners but in broken Latin, yet no man ever had better intelligence, nor understood the views and interests of the several courts of Europe better than himself. He had spies at Madrid and Paris, and was so happy as to fix upon persons who never failed him. Mr. Algernon Sydney, who was not inclined to think or speak well of Kings, commended him to Bp. Burnet as one who had just notions of public liberty; and though he made some severe and cruel laws against the episcopal clergy, it was not for their religious profession, but because they were open and declared enemies to his person and government. He was a protestant, but affected to go under no denomination or party: he had chaplains of all persuasions; and though he was by principle an Independent, he esteemed all reformed churches as part of the catholic church: and without aiming to establish any tenets by force or violence, he witnessed, on all occasions, an extreme zeal for the protestant religion, and a just regard for the liberty of conscience.

As to his moral character, his greatest enemies have not charged him with any public vices. Dr. Welwood admits, that he was not addicted to swearing, gluttony, drunkenness, gaming, avarice, or the love of women. Nor is he chargeable with covetousness, for it has been computed that he distributed forty thousand pounds a year out of his privy purse to charitable uses. He promoted virtuous men, and was inflexible in his punishment of ill actions. His court was regulated according to a most strict discipline, where every vice was banished or severely punished. He maintained a constant appearance of piety, and was regular in his private and public devotions: he retired constantly every day to read the scriptures and prayer; and some who watched him narrowly have reported, that after he had read and expounded a chapter, he prostrated himself with his face on the ground, and with

tears poured out his soul to God for a quarter of an hour. He was a strict observer of the sabbath, and an encourager of goodness and austerity of life.

But with all these good qualities, it is certain the Protector was a strong enthusiast, and did not take up his religion upon rational or solid principles, which led him into sundry mistakes, not supported by reason or scripture. One of his favourite principles was a particular faith; that is, if any thing was strongly impressed upon his mind in prayer, he apprehended it came immediately from God, and was a rule of action; but if there were no impressions, but a flatness in his devotions, it was a denial. Upon this maxim he is said to suffer the late King to be put to death, in an arbitrary and illegal manner. Another maxim was, that "In extraordinary cases, something extraordinary or beyond the common rules of justice, may be done; that the moral laws, which are binding in ordinary cases, may then be dispensed with: and that private justice must give way to public necessity." Which was the Protector's governing principle in all his unwarrantable stretches of power. A third principle by which the Protector was misled, was, his determining the goodness of a cause by the success. An appeal to the sword was with him an appeal to God; and as victory inclined, God owned or discountenanced the cause.—But it is impossible that a man's conduct could be just or consistent, while it was directed by such mistaken principles.

It has been further objected to the Protector's character, that he was notoriously guilty of hypocrisy and dissimulation both to God and man; that he mocked God by the pretence of piety and devotion, and by long prayers full of hypocritical zeal. But who can penetrate the heart, to see whether the outward actions flow from an inward principle? With regard to men it is certain the Protector knew how to address their passions, and talk to them in their own way; and if in his devotions he uttered with his mouth what his heart never meant, no one can vindicate him: but men are not slightly to be arraigned, says Rapin, for the inward motions of their heart, which pass all human knowledge. Besides, it is not easy to conceive the watchful eyes that were upon

him, and the vast difficulties he had to contend with. Queen Elizabeth's dissimulation has been extolled, for the very same reason that the Protector's is condemned : if therefore such a conduct was necessary to govern the several parties, there is nothing greatly blame-worthy in it, says the same author, unless it was a crime in him not to put it into the power of his enemies, to destroy him with the greater ease.

Ambition and thirst of glory, might sometimes lead the Protector aside, for he imagined himself to be a second Phineas, raised up by providence to be the scourge of idolatry and superstition, and in climbing up to the pinnacle of supreme power, did not always keep within the bounds of law and equity : to this passion some have ascribed his assuming the protectorship ; though others are of opinion, it was owing to hard necessity and self-preservation. I will not venture to decide in this case ; possibly there might be a mixture of both. When he was in possession of the sovereign power, no man ever used it to greater public advantage, for he had a due veneration for the laws of his country, in all things wherein the life of his jurisdiction was not concerned : and though he kept a standing army, they were under an exact discipline, and very little burden to the people.—The charge of cruelty, which is brought against him, for having put some men to death for conspiring against his person and government, deserves no confutation, unless they would have had him sit still, till some conspiracy or other had succeeded. Cruelty was not in his nature ; he was not for unnecessary effusion of blood. Lord Clarendon assures us, that when a general massacre of the royalists was proposed by the officers in council, he warmly opposed and prevented it. Dr. Welwood compares the Protector to an unusual meteor, which with its surprizing influences over-awed not only three kingdoms, but the most powerful princes and states about us. A great man he was, says he, and posterity might have paid a just homage to his memory, if he had not embrued his hands in the blood of his Prince, and trampled upon the liberties of his country.

Upon the whole, it is not to be wondered, that the

character of this great man has been transmitted down to posterity with some disadvantage, by the several factions of royalists, presbyterians, and republicans, because each were disappointed, and enraged to see the supreme power wrested from them ; but his management is a convincing proof of his great abilities : he was at the helm in the most stormy and tempestuous season that England ever saw ; but by his consummate wisdom and valour, he disconcerted the measures and designs of his enemies, and preserved both himself and the commonwealth from shipwreck. I shall only observe further, with Rapin, that the confusions which prevailed in England after the death of Cromwell, clearly evidence the necessity of this usurpation, at least till the constitution could be restored. After his death his great achievements were celebrated in verse, by the greatest wits of the age, who in their panegyrics out-did every thing, which till that time had been wrote in the English language.

Four divines of the assembly died this year : Dr. John Harris, son of Richard Harris of Buckinghamshire. He was born in the parsonage house of Hardwick in the same county, educated in Wickham school near Winchester, and admitted perpetual fellow of New College. He was so admirable a Grecian, and eloquent a preacher, that Sir Henry Saville called him a second St. Chrysostom. In 1619 he was chosen Greek professor of the university. He was afterwards prebendary of Winchester, rector of Meonstoke in Hampshire, and warden of Wickham College ; in all which places he behaved with great reputation. In the beginning of the civil wars he took part with the parliament, took the covenant, and other oaths, and kept his wardenship to his death ; he published several learned works, and died at Winchester aged seventy years.

Mr. Sympson, a meek and quiet divine, of the Independent persuasion, was educated in Cambridge, but forced to fly his country for non-conformity, in the times of Laud. He was one of the dissenting brethren in the assembly, and behaved with great temper and moderation. Bp. Kennet says, he was silenced for some time from preaching, because he differed in judgment from the

assembly in points of church discipline, but was restored to his liberty October 28, 1646. He afterwards gathered a congregation in London, which met in Abchurch near Cannon-street. Upon the resignation of Mr. Vines for refusing the engagement, he was by the visitors made master of Pembroke-Hall, Cambridge. He was a divine of considerable learning, and of great piety and devotion. In his last sickness he was under some darkness, and melancholy apprehensions; upon which account some of his friends and brethren assembled in his own house to assist him with their prayers; and in the evening, when they took their leave, he thanked them, and said, he was now satisfied in his soul; and lifting up his hands towards heaven said, "He is come, he is come." And that night died.

Dr. Harris was born at Broad Campden in Gloucestershire, and educated in Magdalen Coll. Oxon. He preached for some time about Oxford, and settled afterwards at Hanwel, in the place of famous Mr. Dodd, then suspended for non-conformity; here he continued till the breaking out of the civil wars, when by the King's soldiers he was driven to London. He was appointed one of the assembly of divines, and minister of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate. In 1646 he was one of the six preachers to the university of Oxford, and next year one of their visitors, when he was created D. D. and made president of Trinity Coll. and rector of Garlington near Oxford, which is always annexed to it. Here he continued till his death, governing his college with a paternal affection, being revered by the students as a father. The inscription over his grave gives him a greater character; but the royalists charge him, and I believe justly, with being a notorious pluralist. He died in the eightieth year of his age.

Mr. W. Carter was educated in Cambridge, and afterwards a very popular preacher in London. He was a good scholar, of great seriousness, and though a young man, appointed one of the assembly of divines. After some time he joined the Independents. He had offers of many livings but refused them, being dissatisfied with the parochial discipline of those times; nevertheless, he was indefatigable in his ministry, preaching twice every

Lord's-day to two large congregations in the city, besides lectures on the week days : this wasted his strength, and put an end to his life, in his fifty-third year.

CHAP. IV.

INTER-REGNUM.

Richard proclaimed Protector.—He is deposed by the Army.—Rump Parliament.—Attempts to reduce the Army.—Monk marches into England.—Enters the City.—Presbytery restored.—Character of Monk.—State of Episcopacy.—King abjures the Protestant Religion.—Policy of Monk.—Behaviour and state of the Independents.—Death of Bp. Brownrigge.—Restoration of Charles II.—His arrival.—The Liturgy restored.—Character of the times before the Reformation.—The times after the Restoration.

UPON the death of the Protector, all the discontented spirits who had been subdued by his administration resumed their courage, and within the compass of one year, revived the confusions of the preceding ten. Richard Cromwell being proclaimed Protector upon his father's decease, received numberless addresses from all parts, congratulating his accession to the dignity of Protector, with assurances of lives and fortunes chearfully devoted to support his title. He was a young gentleman of a calm and peaceable temper, but had by no means the capacity or resolution of his father, and was therefore unfit to be at the helm in such boisterous times. He was highly caressed by the presbyterians, though he set out upon the principles of general toleration.

The young Protector summoned a parliament to meet on the 27th of Jan. 1658-9. The elections were not

according to the method practised by his father, but according to the old constitution, because it was apprehended that the smaller boroughs might be more easily influenced, than cities and counties ; but it was ill judged to break in upon the instrument of government, by which he held his protectorship. The parliament met according to appointment, but did little business, the lower house not being willing to own the upper. The army was divided into two grand factions ; the Wallingford-House party, which was for a commonwealth ; and the presbyterian, which with the majority of the parliament, was for the Protector. The Wallingford-House party, of which Fleetwood and Desborough were the head, invited Dr. Owen and Dr. Manton to their consultations. Dr. Owen went to prayer before they entered on business, but Dr. Manton being late before he came, heard a loud voice from within, saying, " He must down, and he shall down." Manton knew the voice to be Dr. Owen's, and understood him to mean the deposing of Richard, and therefore would not go in. But the writer of Dr. Owen's life discredits this story ; though in my opinion, it is very probable, for the doctor inclined to a republican government : he sided with the army, and drew up their address against Oliver's being King : upon which he declined in the Protector's favour, and as soon as Richard became chancellor of Oxford, he turned him out of the vice-chancellorship. The cabinet council at Wallingford-House having gained over several to their party, prevailed with Richard to consent to their erecting a general council of officers, though he could not but know they designed his ruin, being all republicans ; and therefore instead of supporting the Protector, they presented a remonstrance, complaining of the advancement of disaffected persons, and that the good old cause was ridiculed. Richard sensible of his fatal mistake, by the advice of Lord Broghil, dissolved the council, and then the parliament voted that they should meet no more ; but the officers bid him defiance, and like a company of sovereign dictators armed with power, sent the Protector a peremptory message to dissolve the parliament, telling him that it was impossible for him to keep both the

parliament and army at his devotion, but that he might choose which he would prefer ; if he dissolved the parliament he might depend upon the army, but if he refused, they would quickly pull him out of Whitehall. Upon this the timorous gentleman being at a plunge, and destitute of his father's courage, submitted to part with the only men who could support him.

After the dissolution of the parliament, Richard became a cypher in the government ; Lord Broghill, afterwards Earl of Orrery, advised him to the last to support the parliament and declare against the council of officers ; and if he had allowed the Captain of his guard at the same time to have secured Fleetwood and Desborough, as he undertook to do, with the hazard of his life, he might have been established ; but the poor-spirited Protector told him, that he was afraid of blood ; upon which the Captain, Lord Howard, made his peace with the King. The officers at Wallingford-House having carried their point, published a declaration about twelve days after, without so much as asking the Protector's leave, inviting the remains of the long parliament to resume the government, who immediately declared their resolutions for a commonwealth without a single person, or house of peers. Thus was the grandeur of Cromwell's family destroyed by the pride and resentment of some of its own branches : Fleetwood had married the widow of Ireton, one of Oliver's daughters, and being disappointed of the protectorship by his last will, was determined that no single person should be his superior. Desborough, who had married Oliver's sister, joined in the fatal conspiracy. Lambert, whom Oliver had dismissed the army, was called from his retirement to take his place among the council of officers. These, with Sir H. Vane, and one or two more behind the curtain, subverted the government, and were the springs of all the confusions of this year, as is evident by the letters of Mr. Henry Cromwell, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, who saw farther into their intrigues at that distance, than the Protector who was upon the spot.

From these letters, it is natural to conclude, that

Lieutenant-General Fleetwood was at the head of the councils which deposed Richard, which might be owing either to his republican principles, or to his disappointment of the protectorship. However, when he found he could not keep the army within bounds, who were for new changes, he retired from public business, and spent the remainder of his life privately among his friends at Stoke-Newington, where he died soon after the revolution, being more remarkable for piety and devotion than for courage and deep penetration in politics.

The Protector having parted with the parliament who were his chief support, had not the resolution to strike a bold stroke for three kingdoms, but tamely submitted to resign his high dignity, by a writing under his hand, after he had enjoyed it eight months. How little the soul of Oliver survived in his son Richard may be seen by this conduct! His brother Henry, who was at the head of an army in Ireland, offered to come immediately to his assistance, but was forbid, and the timorous young gentleman returned to a private life, with more seeming satisfaction than he had accepted the sovereignty. Upon his quitting Whitehall, and the other royal palaces, the parliament voted him a maintenance, but refused to concern themselves with his father's debts, the payment whereof swept away the greatest part of his estate, which was far from being large, considering the high preferments his father had enjoyed for several years. This was a further contempt thrown upon the Protector's memory; former obligations were forgotten, and a new council of state being chosen, the nation seemed to slide peaceably into a commonwealth government.

The presbyterians would have been content with Richard's government; but seeing no likelihood of restoring the covenant, or coming into power, they entered into a kind of confederacy with the royalists, to restore the King and the old constitution. The particulars of this union are not known, because the historians who write of it being all royalists, have not thought fit to do so much honour to the presbyterians. But it is generally agreed, that from this time the presbyterians appeared no longer among the King's enemies, but very

much promoted his restoration. Upon the foundation of this union, an insurrection was formed in several parts of the country, which was discovered by Sir R. Willis, a correspondent of Secretary Thurloe's, so that only Sir G. Booth, a presbyterian, had an opportunity of appearing about Chester, at the head of five or six hundred men, declaring for a free parliament, without mentioning the King; but he and Sir T. Middleton, who joined him, were defeated by Lambert, and made prisoners. The King and Duke of York came to Calais, to be in readiness to embark in case it succeeded, but upon the news of its miscarriage they retired, and his majesty in despair determined to rely upon the Roman Catholic powers for the future. Several of the presbyterian ministers appeared in this insurrection.

The parliament to secure their republican government, first appointed an oath of abjuration, whereby they renounced allegiance to Charles Stuart, and the whole race of King James, and promised fidelity to the commonwealth, without a single person or the house of peers. They then attempted the reduction of the army, which had set them up, depending upon the assurances General Monk had given them from Scotland, of his army's entire submission to their orders; but the English officers, instead of submitting, stood in their own defence, and presented another petition to the house, desiring their former address from Wallingford-House might not lie asleep, but that Fleetwood, whom they had chosen for their General, might be confirmed in his high station. The house demurred upon the petition, and seeing there was like to be a new contest for dominion, endeavoured to divide the officers, by cashiering some, and paying others their arrears. Upon this the officers presented a third petition to the same purpose; but the parliament being out of all patience, told them their complaints were without just grounds, and cashiered nine of the chiefs, among whom were Lieutenant-Generals Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, Berry, Kelsey, Cobbet, and others of the first rank: by means whereof things were brought to this crisis, that the army must submit to the parliament, or

instantly dissolve them. The discarded officers resolved on the latter, for which purpose, Lambert with his forces secured all the avenues to the parliament house, and as the speaker passed by Whitehall he rode up to his coach, and having told him there was nothing to be done at Westminster, commanded Major Creed to conduct him back to his house. At the same time all the members were stopped in their passage, and prevented from taking their seats in parliament; Fleetwood having placed a strong guard at the door of the parliament house for that purpose. Thus the remains of the long parliament, after they had sat five months and six days, having no army to support them, were turned out of their house a second time, by a company of head-strong officers, who knew how to pull down, but could not agree upon any form of government to set up in its place.

There being now a perfect anarchy, the officers who were masters of the nation, first appointed a council of ten of their own body to take care of the public, and having restored their general officers, they concluded upon a select number of men to assume the administration, under the title of a committee of safety, which consisted of twenty-three persons, who had the same authority and power that the late council of state had, to manage all public affairs, till they could agree upon a new settlement. The people of England were highly disgusted with these changes, but there was no parliament nor King to fly to; many of the gentry therefore from several parts, sent letters to General Monk in Scotland, inviting him to march his army into England to obtain a free parliament, and promising him all necessary assistance. The committee of safety being aware of this, attempted an accommodation with Monk by Clarges his brother-in-law, but without success, for they had not sat above a fortnight before they received letters from Scotland, full of reproaches for their late violation of faith to the parliament, and of the general's resolution to march his army into England to restore them. Upon this Lambert was sent immediately to the frontiers, who quartering his soldiers about Newcastle, put a stop to Monk's march for about a month. In the mean time, the general in order to gain

time, sent commissioners to London, to come to terms with the committee of safety, who were so supple, that a treaty was concluded November 15, but when it was brought to Monk he pretended his commissioners had exceeded their instructions, and refused to ratify it. The council of state therefore, which sat before the rump parliament was interrupted, taking advantage of this, resolved to gain over Monk to their party, and being assembled privately, sent him a commission, constituting him General of the Armies of England, Scotland and Ireland, which was the very thing he desired.

At this juncture died Serjeant Bradshaw, who sat as judge and pronounced sentence of death on King Charles at his trial : he died with a firm belief of the justice of putting his majesty to death in the manner it was done, and said that if it were to do again, he would be the first man that should do it : he was buried in Westminster-Abbey, being attended by most of the members of the long parliament, and other gentlemen of quality, but his body was not suffered to rest long in its grave.

The General having secured Scotland, and put garri-sons into the fortified places, marched to the borders with no more than five thousand men ; but while Lambert was encamped about Newcastle to oppose his progress, it appeared that the nation was sick of the frenzies of the officers, and willing to prefer any government to the present anarchy ; Portsmouth, and part of the fleet revolted, and declared for a free parliament, as did several detachments of the army : upon which Lambert retired towards London, and made way for Monk's entering England. The committee of safety seeing all things in confusion, and not knowing whom to trust, resigned their authority, and restored the parliament, and would now have been glad to have had Monk back again in Scotland : for this purpose they sent letters to acquaint him with their restoration, and that now he might return to his government in Scotland ; but the general having entered England, continued his march towards London, designing a new as well as a free parliament. When he came to York, Lord Fairfax received him into that city, and de-

clared for a new and free parliament ; as did the London apprentices, and great numbers of all ranks and orders of men both in city and country. The rump being suspicious that Monk had some further design, either of establishing himself after the example of Cromwell, or of restoring the King, obliged him to take the oath of abjuration of Charles Stuart, already mentioned, and to swear, that by the grace and assistance of almighty God, he would be true, faithful, and constant to the parliament and commonwealth ; and that he would oppose the bringing in, or setting up any single person or house of lords in this commonwealth. They also sent Messrs. Scot and Robinson to be spies upon his conduct, who came to him at Leicester, where he received addresses from divers parts, to restore the secluded presbyterian members of 1648, which was the first step towards the King's restoration. Thus a few giddy politicians at the head of an army, through ambition, envy, lust of power, or because they knew not what to carve out for themselves, threw the whole kingdom back into confusion, and made way for that restoration they were most afraid of, and which, without their own quarrels, and insulting every form of government that had been set up, could not have been accomplished.

When the general came to St. Alban's, he sent a message to desire the parliament to remove the regiments quartered in the city to some distance, which they weakly complied with, and made way for Monk's entrance with his forces in a sort of triumph. Being conducted to the parliament house, the speaker gave him thanks for his great and many services ; and the general having returned the compliment, acquainted the house,—“ That several applications had been made to him in his march from Scotland, for a full and free parliament ; for the admission of the secluded members, without any previous oath or engagement, and that the present parliament would determine their sitting. To all which he had replied, that they were now a free parliament, and had voted to fill up their house in order to their being a full parliament ; but to restore the secluded members without a previous oath to the present government, is what had

never been done in England ; but he took the liberty to add, that he was of opinion, that the fewer oaths the better, provided they took care that neither the cavaliers nor fanatics should have any share in the administration."

The citizens of London being presbyterians fell in with Monk, in hopes of a better establishment, and came to a bold resolution in common-council, to pay no more taxes till the parliament was filled up. Upon this the house to shew their resentments, ordered the general to march into the city ; to seize eleven of the most active common-council-men, and to pull down their gates, chains, and portcullises. This was bidding them defiance, at a time when they ought to have courted their friendship. Monk having arrested the common-council-men, prayed the parliament to suspend the execution of the remaining part, but they insisting upon his compliance, he obeyed. The citizens were enraged at this act of violence ; and Monk's friends told him, that his embroiling himself with the city in this manner would inevitably be his ruin, for without their assistance he could neither support himself nor obtain another parliament ; people being now generally of opinion with Oliver Cromwell, that the rump parliament was designed to be perpetual, and their government as arbitrary as the most despotic King. Monk therefore convinced of his mistake, resolved to reconcile himself to the magistracy of the city, in order to which, he sent his brother Clarges to assure them of his concern for what he had done ; and having summoned a council of officers in the night, he sent a letter to the parliament, insisting upon their issuing out writs to fill up their house, and when filled, to rise at an appointed time, and give way to a full and free parliament. Upon reading this letter the house voted him thanks, and sent to acquaint him, that they were taking measures to satisfy his request ; but the general not willing to trust himself in their hands, broke up from Whitehall, and having been invited by the Lord-mayor of London, and the chief presbyterian ministers, marched his whole army into the city ; and a common-council being called, he excused his late conduct, and acquainted them with the letter he had sent to the house, assuring them, that he would now

stand by them to the utmost of his power. This appeased the angry citizens, and caused them to treat him as their friend, notwithstanding what had happened the day before. When the news of this reconciliation was spread through the town, the parliament were struck with surprise; but there was a perfect triumph among the people, the bells rung, bonfires were made, and numbers of rumps thrown into them, in contempt of the parliament.

The general being now supported by the citizens, proceeded to restore the secluded members who were of the presbyterian party; for this purpose he appointed a conference between them and some of the sitting members, which miscarried, because the sitting members could not undertake that the parliament would stand to their agreement. Upon which Monk resolved to restore them immediately by force, lest the parliament and their army should come to an accommodation, and dislodge him from the city. Accordingly he summoned the secluded members to Whitehall, and having acquainted them with his design, exhorted them to take care of the true interest of the nation.

The house thus enlarged became entirely presbyterian. They ratified their former vote, that the King's concessions at the Isle of Wight were a sufficient ground for peace. They annulled the engagement of 1649. They put the militia into new hands, with this limitation, "that none should be employed in that trust but who would first declare under their hands, that they believed the war raised by both houses of parliament against the King was just and lawful, till such time as force and violence was used upon the parliament in 1648." They repealed the oath of abjuration of Charles Stuart. They appointed a new council of state, and declared for a free commonwealth; for a learned and pious ministry; for the continuance of tithes, and for the augmentation of smaller livings by the tenths and first-fruits. They resolved to encourage the two universities, and all other schools of learning. And to content the independents, they voted that provision should be made for a due liberty of conscience in matters of religion, according to the word of God. Thus presbytery was restored to all the power it

had ever enjoyed; and the ministers of that persuasion were in full possession of all the livings in England. A reform was made in the militia; and the chief places of profit, trust, and honour were put into their hands. The army was in disgrace; the independents deprived of all their influence, and all things managed by the presbyterians, supported by Monk's forces. After this the long parliament passed an act for their own dissolution, and for calling a new parliament, the candidates for which were to declare under their hands, that the war against the late King was just and lawful; and all who had assisted in any war against the parliament since January 1, 1641, they and their sons were made incapable of being elected, unless they had since manifested their good affection to the parliament. They then appointed a new council of state, consisting of thirty-one persons to take care of the government; and dissolved themselves after they had sat, with sundry intermissions, nineteen years, four months, and thirteen days.

We are now come to the dawn of the restoration, of which general Monk has had the reputation of being the chief instrument. This gentleman was son of Sir T. Monk, of Potheridge, in Devonshire, and served the King in the wars for some years, but being taken prisoner he changed sides and acted for the parliament. He afterwards served O. Cromwell, and was by him left commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, from whence he now marched into England to restore the parliament. He had a cloudy head, and in no action of his life discovered a quick, or fine genius. In the latter part of life he was sordidly covetous, and sunk into most of the vices of the times. No man ever went beyond him in dissimulation and falsehood; as appears in this very affair of the King's restoration. He took the abjuration oath once under Oliver; and again this very year, whereby he renounced the title of Charles Stuart, and swore to be true to the commonwealth, without a single person or house of lords. And yet in his first message to the King by Sir J. Grenville, he assures his majesty, that his heart had been ever faithful to him, though he had not been in a condition to serve him till now. When he came with his army to London, he assured

the rump parliament of his chearful obedience to all their commands, and desired them to be very careful that the cavalier party might have no share in the civil or military power. When he restored the secluded members, he promised the parliament to take effectual care that they should do no hurt. When the commonwealth's men expressed their fears, and asked the general whether he would join with them against the King? he replied, "I have often declared my resolution so to do;" and taking Sir Arthur Haslerigge by the hand, he said, "I do here protest to you, in the presence of all these gentlemen, that I will oppose to the utmost, the setting up of Charles Stuart, a single person or a house of peers." He then expostulated with them about their suspicions; "What is it I have done in bringing these members into the house, says he, are they not the same that brought the King to the block, though others cut off his head, and that justly?" And yet this very man, within six months, condemned these persons to the gallows. Nay further, he sent letters to all the regiments, assuring them that the government should continue a commonwealth, that they had no purpose to return to their old bondage, that is monarchy; and if any made disturbances in favour of Charles Stuart, he desired they might be secured. So that if this gentleman was in the secret of restoring the King from his entrance into England, or his first coming to London, I may challenge all history to produce a scene of hypocrisy and dissimulation equal to his conduct.

But before we relate the particulars of the restoration, it will be proper to consider the abject state of the church of England, and the religion of the young King. If Cromwell had lived ten or twelve years longer, episcopacy might have been lost beyond recovery, for by that time the whole bench of bishops would have been dead, and there would have been none to consecrate or ordain for the future, unless they could have obtained a new conveyance from the church of Rome, or admitted the validity of presbyterian ordination. This was the case in view, which induced the ancient bishops to petition the King to fill up the vacant sees with all expedition, in which they were supported by Sir E. Hyde, chancellor of the exchequer,

who prevailed with his majesty to nominate certain clergymen for those high preferments, and sent over a list of their names to Dr. Barwick, to be communicated by him to the Bps. of London, Ely, Sarum, and others who were to be concerned in the consecration. It was necessary to carry on this design with a great deal of secrecy, lest the governing powers should secure the bishops, and by that means put a stop to the work. It was no less difficult to provide persons of learning and character who would accept the charge, when it would expose them to sufferings, as being contrary to the laws in being, and when there was no prospect of restoring the church. But the greatest difficulty of all was, how to do it in a canonical manner when there were no deans and chapters to elect, and consequently no persons to receive a *congé d'elire*, according to ancient custom.

But is not the christian world in a sad condition, if a bishop cannot be chosen or consecrated without a royal mandate, and the suffrage of a dean and chapter, when there were no such officers in the church for three hundred years after the apostles ? and if the validity of all sacerdotal ministrations must depend on a regular uninterrupted succession from St. Peter ? especially as Baronius a popish historian confesses, that in a succession of fifty popes not one pious or virtuous man sat in the chair ; that there had been no popes for some years together ; and at other times two or three at once ; and when the same writer admits, between twenty and thirty schisms, one of which continued fifty years, the popes of Avignon and Rome excommunicating each other, and yet conferring orders upon their several clergy. How impossible is it to trace the right line through so much confusion ?

But with regard to the King, his concern for the regular consecration of protestant bishops was a mere farce ; for if he was not a papist before this time, it is certain he was reconciled to the church of Rome this year, at the Pyrenæan treaty concluded between France and Spain at Fontarabia, whither he had repaired *incognito* to engage them in his interest. Here the King stayed twenty days, in which time his majesty, with the Earl of Bristol and Sir H. Bennet embraced the Roman Catholic

religion. But though the prime ministers of France and Spain were now first witnesses of his majesty's abjuring the protestant religion, there are strong presumptions that he was a papist long before, even before his brother James, if we may credit the testimony of his confessor Father Huddleston. The Dutch protestants suspected the change, but the King denied it in the most public manner. To carry on the disguise, Dr. Morley, afterwards Bp. of Winchester, was employed to write an apologetical letter to Dr. Trigland, the Dutch minister at the Hague, to assert and prove the King's stedfastness to the reformed faith and communion. The letter was written a little before the King's going to the Pyrenæan treaty, to engage the Roman Catholic powers for his restoration ! But to confirm the presbyterians further, and to put an end to all suspicions of his majesty's being turned papist, Sir R. Murray and the Countess of Balcarres were employed to engage the most eminent reformed ministers in France, to write to their presbyterian brethren in England, and assure them of the King's stedfastness in the protestant faith, and to excuse his not joining with the church at Charenton. Accordingly these credulous ministers not being acquainted with the secret easily became the dupes of the royal party.

To return to General Monk in Scotland ; as long as the army governed affairs at Westminster, the General was on their side, and entertained Mr. Collins, an independent minister, for his chaplain ; but upon the quarrel between the army and parliament, and Monk's declaring for the latter, it was apprehended he had changed sides, and would fall in with the presbyterians ; upon which Messrs. Caryl and Barker were sent to Scotland with a letter from Dr. Owen, expressing their fears of the danger of their religious liberties upon a revolution of government. The general received them with all the marks of esteem ; and after a few days wrote a letter directed to Dr. Owen, Mr. Greenhill, and Mr. Hook, to be communicated to the churches, in and about London ; promising for himself and the rest of his officers that their interest, liberty, and encouragement, should be very dear to him ; and assuring them that the great things that had been upon his heart

to secure and provide for, were their liberties and freedom, as the subjects and servants of Jesus Christ. In one of the general's letters to the parliament, he declares strongly for liberty of conscience, and an absolute commonwealth, in language which in another would be called the fumes of fanaticism. He desires them to encourage none but godly ministers and magistrates, that no yoke may be imposed upon conscience but what is agreeable to the word of God, and that they would establish the government in a free state or commonwealth.

Upon the general's coming to London, he was transformed at once into a zealous presbyterian, and thought no more of the independent churches; he received the sacrament at Mr. Calamy's church, and would suffer none to preach before him but whom he approved. He consulted the presbyterian ministers, and asked their advice in all important affairs. It seems these were the gentlemen that beat him out of his commonwealth principles. Afterwards, when some gentlemen of quality, suspecting the King to be at the bottom, were earnest with the General, that if the King must be brought in by the next parliament, it might be upon the terms of his late majesty's concessions at the Isle of Wight; the General at first recoiled, and declared he would adhere to a commonwealth; but at last seeming to be conquered into a compliance, he intimated to them, that this was the utmost line he could or would advance in favour of the King; and yet when this was moved in the convention parliament, the General stood up, and declared against all conditions, and threatened them that should encourage such a motion with all the mischief that might follow. Thus the credulous presbyterians were gradually drawn into the snare, and made to believe, that presbytery was to be the established government of the church of England under Charles II.

The Scots were equally concerned in this affair, and much more zealous for their discipline. The General therefore sent letters to the kirk, with the strongest assurances that he would take care of their discipline. But the Scots not willing to trust him, commissioned Mr. Sharp to be their agent, and gave him instructions to use

his best endeavours, that the kirk of Scotland might without interruption or encroachment, enjoy the freedom and liberty of her established judicatories, and to represent the sinfulness and offensiveness of a toleration in that kingdom. Sharp was to concert measures with Calamy, Ash, Manton, and Cowper; but these gentlemen being not very zealous for the discipline, Sharp informed his principals, that it was feared the King would come in, and with him moderate episcopacy, at least in England, but that the more zealous party were doing what they could to keep on foot the covenant. To which Douglas replied, It is best that the presbyterian government be settled simply, for you know that the judgment of honest men here, is for admitting the King on no other but covenant terms.

The Independents and Anabaptists were in such disgrace, that their leaders had not the honour of being consulted in this weighty affair. Monk and the presbyterians were united, and had force sufficient to support their claims: the tide was with them, and the parliament at their mercy. The Independents offered to stand by their friends in parliament; to raise four new regiments from among themselves, to force the general back into Scotland; and to raise one hundred thousand pounds for the use of the army, provided they would protect them in their religious liberties, which they were apprehensive Monk and the presbyterians designed to subvert. But their officers had lost their credit; their measures were disconcerted and broken; one party was for a treaty, and another for the sword; their old veteran regiments were dislodged from the city, and Monk was in possession. In this confusion their General Fleetwood, who had brought them into this distress, retired and left them a body without a head; after which they became insignificant, and in a few months quite contemptible. Here ended the power of the army, and of the Independents.

Being now to take leave of this people, it may be proper to observe, that the Independents sprang up and mightily increased in the time of the civil wars, and had the reputation of a wise and politic people: they divided from the presbyterians upon the foot of discipline, and

fought in the parliament's quarrel, not so much for hire and reward, as from a real belief that it was the cause of God; this inspired their soldiers with courage, and made them face death with undaunted bravery, in so much that when the army was new modelled, and filled up with men of this principle, they carried all before them. When the war was ended, they boldly seized the person of the King, and treated him with honour, till they found him unsteady to his promises of a toleration of their principles, and then they became his most determined enemies; when they were assured afterwards by the treaty of the Isle of Wight, that they were to be crushed between both parties, and to lose their religious liberty, for which they had been fighting, they tore up the government by the roots, and subverted the whole constitution. This they did, not in consequence of their religious principles, but to secure their own liberty. After the King's death they assumed the chief management of public affairs, and would not part with it on any terms, lest they should be disbanded and called to account by a parliamentary power, and therefore they could never come to a settlement, though they attempted it under several forms: the first was an absolute commonwealth, as most agreeable to their principles, but when the commonwealth began to clip their military wings, they dispossessed them, and set up their own general with the title of Protector, who had skill enough to keep them in awe, though they were continually plotting against his government. After his death they dispossessed his son, and restored the commonwealth. When these again attempted to disband them, they turned them out a second time, and set up themselves under the title of a committee of safety; but after the death of Cromwell, their new General Fleetwood having neither courage nor conduct enough to keep them united, they crumbled into factions, while their wanton sporting with the supreme power, made the nation sick of such distraction, and yield to the return of the old constitution.

The officers were made up chiefly of Independents and Anabaptists, most of them of mean extraction, and far from being as able statesmen as they had been formerly soldiers; they were brave and resolute men, who

had the cause of religion and liberty at heart, but they neglected the old nobility and gentry so much, that when they fell to pieces, there was hardly a gentleman of estate or interest in his country that would stand by them. As to their moral character, they seem to have been men of piety and prayer; they called God into all their councils, but were too much governed by the false notions they had imbibed, and the enthusiastic impulses of their own minds. I do not find that they consulted any number of their clergy, though many of the independent ministers were among the most learned and eminent preachers of the times; and some of whom had no small reputation for politics; but their pulling down so many forms of government, without adhering steadily to any, issued in their ruin. Thus as the army and independents out-witted the presbyterians in 1648, the presbyterians, in conjunction with the Scots, blew up the Independents at this time; and next year the episcopal party, by dextrous management of the credulous presbyterians, undermined and deceived them both.

The new year began with the restoration of Charles II. The long parliament dissolved themselves March 16, and while the people were busy in choosing a new one, General Monk was courted by all parties. The republicans endeavoured to fix him for a commonwealth; the French ambassador offered him the assistance of France, if he would assume the government either as king or protector, which it is said, he would have accepted, if Sir Ashley Cooper had not prevented it, by summoning him before the council, and keeping the doors locked till he had taken away the commissions from some of his most trusty officers, and given them to others of the council's nomination. But be this as it will, it is certain that Monk had not as yet given the king any encouragement to rely upon him, though his majesty had sent him a letter as long ago as July 21, 1659, by an express messenger, with the largest offer of reward.

The presbyterians were now in possession of the whole power of England; the council of state, the chief officers of the army and navy, and the governors of the chief forts and garisons were theirs; their clergy were in pos-

session of both universities, and of the best livings in the kingdom. There was hardly a loyalist, or professed episcopalian, in any post of honour or trust; nor had the King any number of friends capable of promoting his restoration, for there was a disabling clause in the qualification act, that, "all who had been in arms against the long parliament, should be disqualified from serving in the next." The whole government therefore was with the presbyterians, who were shy of the independents as a body of men more distant from the church, and more inclined to a commonwealth. They were no less vigilant to keep out of parliament the republicans of all sorts, some of whom run about every where like men that were giddy or amazed, but their time was past. On the other hand, they secretly courted the episcopalians, who dispersed papers among the people, protesting their resolutions to forget all past injuries, and to bury all animosities under the foundation of his majesty's restoration. Dr. Morley and some of his brethren met privately with the presbyterian ministers, and made large professions of lenity and moderation, but without descending to particulars. The King and Chancellor Hyde carried on the intrigue. The Presbyterian ministers did not want for cautions from the Independents and others, not to be too forward in trusting their new allies, but they would neither hear, see, or believe, till it was too late. They valued themselves upon their superior influence, and from an ambitious desire of grasping all the merit and glory of the restoration to themselves, they would suffer none to act openly with them, but desired the episcopal clergy to lie still for fear of the people, and leave the conducting of this great affair to the hands it was in. Accordingly the presbyterian ministers wrote to their friends in their several counties, to be careful that men of republican principles might not be returned to serve in the next parliament, so that in some counties the elections fell upon men void of all religion. And in other places the people broke through the disabling clause. Dr. Barwick says, they paid no regard to it; and Monk declared, that if the people made use of their natural rights in choosing whom they thought fit, without reserve,

no injury should be done them. So that when the houses met it was evident to all wise men it would be a court parliament.

But the Scots were more steady to the covenant, and sent over Mr. Sharp, with the Earls of Crawford and Lauderdale to Holland, humbly to put his majesty in mind, that the Kirk of Scotland expected protection upon the footing of the presbyterian establishment, without indulgence to sectaries. Their brethren in the north of Ireland joined in an address to the same purpose : and some of the English presbyterians were of the same mind ; ten of whom met the Scots commissioners at London, and made earnest applications to the general, not to restore the King but upon the concessions made by his father in the Isle of Wight. But this was only the resolution of a few, the majority, says Sharp, were for moderate episcopacy, upon the scheme of Abp. Usher, and therefore willing to hearken to an accommodation with the church. Dr. Barwick adds, what the presbyterians aimed at, who were now superior to the Independents, was, that all matters should be settled according to the treaty of the Isle of Wight, which gave the court a fair opportunity of referring all church matters to a conciliatory synod, the divines of each party to be summoned when the King should be settled on his throne. This was the bait that was laid for the presbyterians, and was the ruin of their cause. The Scots kirk stood to their principles, and would have bid defiance to the old clergy, but Calamy, Manton, and Ashe, informed them in the name of the London ministers, that the general stream and current being for the old prelacy, in its pomp and height, it was in vain to hope for establishing presbytery, which made them lay aside the thoughts of it, and fly to Usher's moderate episcopacy. Thus they were beat from their first works.

But if the tide was so strong against them, should they have opened the sluices and let in the enemy at once, without a single article of capitulation ? It is hard to account for this conduct of the presbyterians without impeaching their understandings. Indeed the Episcopal clergy gave them good words, assuring them, that all things should be to their minds when the King was

restored ; and that their relying on the royal word, would be a mark of confidence which his majesty would always remember, and would do honour to the King, who had been so long neglected. But should this have induced them to give up a cause that had cost so much treasure and blood, and become humble petitioners to those who were now almost at their mercy ? For they could not but be sensible, that the old constitution must return with the King, that diocesan episcopacy was the only legal establishment, that all which had been done in favour of presbytery, not having had the royal assent, was void in law, therefore they and their friends who had not episcopal ordination and induction into their livings, must be looked upon as intruders, and not legal ministers of the church of England.

But notwithstanding this infatuation, and vain confidence in the court, and the clergy, Mr. Eachard would set aside all their merit, by saying, whatever the Presbyterians did in this affair, was principally to relieve themselves from the oppression of the Independents, who had wrested the power out of their hands, and not out of any affection to the King and church. Directly contrary to his majesty's declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, which says, "When we were in Holland we were attended with many grave and learned ministers of the presbyterian persuasion, whom to our great satisfaction and comfort, we found to be full of affection to us, of zeal for the peace of the church and state, and neither enemies (as they have been charged) to episcopacy or the liturgy." When the King came to Whitehall he made ten of them his chaplains ; and when he went to the house to quicken the passing the act of indemnity, he said, My lords, if you do not join with me in extinguishing this fear, which keeps the hearts of men awake, you keep me from performing my promise, which if I had not made, neither I nor you had been now here. *I pray let us not deceive those who brought or permitted us to come hither.* Here is a royal declaration, and yet all came to nothing. The reader will judge hereafter who were most to blame, the episcopal party, for breaking through

so many solemn vows and protestations ; or the presbyterians, for bringing in the King without a previous treaty, and trusting a set of men, whom they knew to be their implacable enemies. I can think of no decent excuse for the former ; and the best apology that can be made for the latter is, that most of them lived long enough to see their error and heartily repent it.

In the interval between the dissolution of the long parliament, and the meeting of the convention which brought in the King, General Monk seeing which way the tide ran, fell in with the stream, and ventured to correspond more freely with the King by Sir J. Grenville, who brought the general a letter, and was sent back with an assurance that he would serve his majesty in the best manner he could. He desired the King to remove out of the Spanish dominions, and promised, that if his majesty wrote letters to the parliament, he would deliver them at the opening of the sessions. Burnet says, that he had like to have let the honour slip through his fingers, and that a very small share of it really belonged to him. The King having removed privately to Breda, and addressed letters to both houses ; the general acquainted the speaker, that Sir J. Grenville had brought him a letter from the King, but that he had not presumed to open it ; and that the same gentleman attended at the door with another to the house. Sir John was immediately called in, and having delivered his letter at the bar withdrew, and carried another to the lords. The letter contained an earnest invitation to the commons to return to their duty, as the only way to a settled peace ; his majesty promising an act of oblivion for what was past, and all the security they could desire for their liberties and properties, and the rights of parliament for the future.

Under the same cover was enclosed his majesty's declaration from Breda, granting " A general pardon to all his loving subjects who should lay hold of it within forty days, except such who should be excepted by parliament. Those only excepted, says he, let all our subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a King solemnly given, that no crime committed against us, or our royal father, shall ever be brought into question to the prejudice of

their lives, estates, or reputation. *We do also declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom.* And we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us for the full granting that indulgence." Upon reading these letters, the commons voted, that according to the ancient constitution, the government of this kingdom is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Commons; and a committee was appointed to draw up a dutiful letter, inviting his majesty to return to his dominions: money was voted to defray his expences; a deputation of lords and commons was sent to attend his majesty; and the fleet was ordered to convoy him home. Sir M. Hale moved, that a committee might be appointed to review the propositions of the Isle of Wight, and was seconded in the motion; but Monk, who was prepared for such a motion, stood up and said, "The nation was now quiet, but there were many incendiaries upon the watch trying where they could first raise a flame; that he could not answer for the peace of the kingdom or army, if any delays were put to the sending for the King. What need is there of it, says he, when he is to bring neither arms nor treasure along with him." He then added, that he should lay the blame of all the blood and mischief that might follow, on the heads of those who should insist upon any motion that might retard the present settlement of the nation." Which frightened the house into a compliance. And this was all the service General Monk did towards the King's restoration, for which he was rewarded with a garter, a dukedom, a great estate in land, and with one of the highest posts of honour and profit in the kingdom.

Thus was the King voted home in a hurry, which was owing to the flattering representations made by Lord Clarendon in his letters of the King's good nature, virtue, probity, and application to business. When the Lords and Commons sent over a deputation to the King at Breda, the London ministers moved that a pass might be granted

to some of their number, to wait upon his majesty with an address from their brethren ; accordingly Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Spurstow, Mr. Calamy, Mr. Hall, Mr. Manton, and Mr. Case, were delegated, who went over with three or four attendants, and had an audience, in which the King spoke kindly to them, and acknowledged their services, but told them, he would refer all to the wisdom of the parliament. At another audience, if we may believe Clarendon, they met with very different usage ; for when they intreated his majesty at his first landing not to use the book of common-prayer entire and formally in his chapel, it having been long laid aside, the King replied with some warmth, " That while he gave them liberty he would not have his own taken away." They then besought him with more importunity, that the use of the surplice might be discontinued by his chaplains, because it would give offence ; but the King was as inexorable in that point as the other, and told them, that it was a decent habit, and had been long used in the church ; that it had been still retained by him, and that he would never discountenance that good old practice of the church in which he had been bred. But he never refused them a private audience when they desired it ; and to amuse them further, while they were once waiting in an anti-chamber, his majesty said his prayers with such an audible voice in the room adjoining, that the ministers might hear him ; *he thanked God that he was a covenanted King ; that he hoped the Lord would give him an humble, meek, forgiving spirit ; that he might have forbearance towards his offending subjects, as he expected forbearance from offended heaven.* Upon hearing which old Mr. Case lift up his hands to heaven, and blessed God who had given them a praying King !

Though the bishops held a private correspondence with Chancellor Hyde, and by him were assured of the King's favour, they were not less forward than the presbyterians in their application to his majesty himself ; for while he remained at Breda, Mr. Barwick was sent over with instructions, he was then to give his majesty a distinct account of the present state of the church in all the particulars wherein his majesty desired to be informed ;

and to bring the bishops back his majesty's commands, with regard to all that should be thought proper for them to do, &c. Mr. Barwick was most graciously received by the King and his ministers, and the Sunday after his arrival at Breda, was appointed to preach before his majesty. The court was as yet very much upon their guard with respect to the presbyterians; but the flames began to kindle at home; the episcopal clergy not observing any measures of prudence in their sermons; Dr. Griffith having preached an angry sermon before the general was for a pretence confined to Newgate, but in a few days was released.

The clouds gathering thick over the late managers, every one began to shift for himself. Richard Cromwell resigned his chancellorship of the university of Oxford the very day the King was invited home, and retired beyond sea: thus quitting the stage of public action.—“As he was innocent of all the evil his father had done, says Burnet, so there was no prejudice laid against him. Upon his advancement to the protectorship, the city of London, and almost all the counties of England, sent him addresses of congratulation, but when he found the times too boisterous he readily withdrew, and became a private man; and as he had done no hurt to any body, so no body ever studied to hurt him. A rare instance of the instability of human greatness; and of the security of innocence!” In his younger years he had not all that zeal for religion as was the fashion of the times; but those who knew him well in the latter part of life have assured me, that he was a perfect gentleman in his behaviour, well acquainted with public affairs, of great gravity, and real piety; but so very modest, that he would not be distinguished or known by any name but the feigned one of Mr. Clarke. He died at Theobalds about the year 1712.

The King landed at Dover, May 26, and came the same night to Canterbury, where he rested the next day, and on Tuesday May 29, rode in triumph with his two brothers, through the city of London to Whitehall, amidst the acclamations of an innumerable croud of spectators. As he passed along, old Mr. Jackson, an eminent presbyterian minister, presented his majesty with a rich embossed bible,

which he was pleased to receive, and to declare it his resolution, to make that book the rule of his conduct. Two days after the King's arrival at Whitehall, his majesty went to the house of peers, and after a short congratulatory speech passed an act, turning the present convention into a parliament. After which the houses for themselves, and all the commons of England, laid hold of his majesty's most gracious pardon, and appointed a committee to prepare an act of indemnity for all who had been concerned in the preceding commotions, except the late King's judges, and two or three others.

Had the directions given for the choice of this parliament been observed, no royalists could have sat in the house; however their numbers were inconsiderable; the convention was a presbyterian parliament, and had the courage to avow the justice and lawfulness of taking arms against the late King, for when Lenthall speaker of the long parliament, in order to shew the sincerity of his repentance, had said, that he that first drew his sword against the late King, committed as great an offence as he that cut off his head, he was brought to the bar, and was reprimanded by the speaker. But it was to little purpose to justify the civil war, when they were yielding up all they had been contending for to the court; for though they stopt short of the lengths of the next parliament, they increased his majesty's revenues so much, that if he had been a frugal prince he might have lived without parliaments for the future. The restoring the King after this manner without any treaty, or one single article for these curing men in the enjoyment of their religious and civil liberties, was the foundation of all the misfortunes of the nation under this reign.

But it ought to be remembered, that this was not a legal parliament, for the rump had no power to appoint keepers of the liberties of England; nor had the keepers a right to issue out writs for election of a new parliament; nor could the King's writ, without the subsequent choice of the people make them so. All the laws therefore made by this convention; and all the punishments inflicted upon offenders in pursuance of them, were not strictly legal, which the court were so apprehensive of, that they

prevailed with the next parliament to confirm them. When this convention parliament had sat about eight months, it was dissolved partly because it was not legally chosen, and because it was too much presbyterian; the prime minister, Hyde, having now formed a design in concert with the bishops, to rid the church of all the presbyterians.

The managing presbyterians still buoyed themselves up with hopes of a comprehension within the church, though they had parted with all their weight and influence; and from directors were become humble suppliants to those very men who a few months before lay at their feet. They had now no other refuge than the King's clemency, which was directed by Hyde and the bishops; but to keep them quiet, his majesty condescended to admit ten of their number into the list of his chaplains in ordinary, viz. Messrs, Reynolds, Spurstow, Wallis, Manton, Bates, Calamy, Ashe, Case, Baxter, Woodbridge. None of these divines were called to preach at court, except Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Spurstow, Mr. Calamy, and Mr. Baxter, each of them once. Here again the presbyterians were divided in their politics, some being for going as far as they could with the court, and others for drawing back. Of the former sort were Mr. Calamy, Dr. Reynolds, and Mr. Ashe, who were entirely directed by the Earl of Manchester, and had frequent assemblies at his house; to them were joined Dr. Bates, Dr. Manton, and most of the city ministers; but Dr. Seaman, Mr. Jenkins, and others, were of another party; these were a little estranged from the rest of their brethren, and meddled not with politics, because the court gave them no encouragement, their design being only to divide them; but the former had more confidence in their superiors, and carried on a treaty, till by force and violence they were beaten out of the field.

Upon the King's arrival at Whitehall, the liturgy of the church of England was restored in his majesty's chapel, and in several churches both in city and country; for it was justly observed, that all acts and ordinances of the long parliament which had not the royal assent, were in themselves null, and therefore prelacy was still the legal establishment, and the common-prayer the only legal form

of worship, and that they were punishable by the laws of the land who officiated by any other. The justices of the peace and others insisting, that the laws returned with the King, and that they ought not to be dispensed with in the neglect of them. The old sequestered clergy flocked in great numbers about the court, magnifying their sufferings, and making interest for preferments; every one took possession of the living from which he had been ejected; by which means some hundreds of the presbyterian clergy were dispossessed at once. Upon this the heads of that party waited upon the King, and prayed, that though all who had lost their livings for malignancy, or disaffection to the late powers were restored, yet that those ministers who succeeded such as had been ejected for scandal, might keep their places; but the court paid no regard to their petitions. However where the incumbent was dead, his majesty yielded that the living should be confirmed to the present possessor.

The heads of colleges and fellows who had been ejected in the late times, were no less forward in their applications to be restored; upon which the parliament appointed a committee to receive their petitions. Dr. Goodwin having resigned his presidentship of Magdalen-Coll. Dr. Oliver was restored. And to prevent applications upon this head, the lords passed this general order, "That the chancellors of both universities shall take care, that the several colleges in the said universities shall be governed according to their respective statutes; and that such persons who have been unjustly put out of their headships, fellowships, or other offices relating to the several colleges or universities, may be restored." Pursuant to this order, there followed a very considerable change in both universities, commissioners being appointed by the King to hear and determine all causes relating to this affair, who restored all such as were unmarried to their respective places. And all surviving ejected fellows of colleges were instated without exceptions, and such as had been nominated by the commissioners in 1648, or elected in any other manner than according to the statutes, were ejected and their places declared vacant. The like alterations were made in the university of Cambridge. All the surviving fellows

unmarried were restored, as in the other university, by which means most of the presbyterians were dispossessed, and the education of youth taken out of their hands.

To make way for the filling up these and other vacancies in the church, the honours of the universities were offered to almost any, who would declare their aversion to presbytery, and hearty affection for episcopal government. It was his majesty's pleasure, and the chancellor's, that there should be a creation in all faculties of such as had suffered for the royal cause, and had been ejected from the university. Accordingly between seventy and eighty masters of arts were created this year at Oxford. The creations in the university of Cambridge were more numerous. So that within the compass of little more than six months, the universities conferred one hundred and fifty doctors of divinity degrees, and as many more in the other faculties. Had the parliament visitors in 1648, or O. Cromwell in his Protectorship, made so free with the honours of the universities, they might justly have been supposed to countenance the illiterate, and prostitute the honour of the two great luminaries of this kingdom; but his majesty's promoting such numbers in so short a time by a royal mandamus, without enquiring into their qualifications, or insisting upon their performing any academical exercise, must be covered with a vail, because it was for the service of the church.

The English hierarchy being restored to its former pre-eminence, except the peerage of the bishops, it remained only to consider what was to be done with the malcontents; the independents and anabaptists petitioned the King only for a toleration; and the English papists depending upon their interest at court, offered his majesty one hundred thousand pounds before he left Breda, to take off the penal laws, upon which his majesty ordered the chancellor to insert the following clause in his declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, that "Others also be permitted to meet for religious worship, so be it they do it not to the disturbance of the peace; and that no justice of the peace offer to disturb them." When this was debated in the King's presence after the restoration, the bishops wisely held their peace; but Baxter

who was more zealous than prudent, declared plainly his dislike of a toleration of papists and socinians; which his majesty took so very ill, that he said, the presbyterians were a set of men who were only for setting up themselves. However they still flattered themselves with hopes of a comprehension, while the independents and baptists were in despair.

And here was an end of those distracted times, which our historians have loaded with all the infamy and reproach that the wit of man could invent. The puritan ministers have been decried as ignorant mechanics, canting preachers, enemies to learning, and no better than public robbers. The universities were said to be reduced to a mere Munster; and that if the Goths and Vandals, and even the Turks had over-run the nation, they could not have done more to introduce barbarism and disloyalty; and yet in these times, and by the men who then filled the university chairs, were educated the most learned divines and eloquent preachers of the last age. The religious part of the common people have been stigmatized with the character of hypocrites; their looks, their dress and behaviour, have been represented in the most odious colours; and yet one may venture to challenge these declaimers to produce any period of time since the reformation, wherein there was less open prophaneness and impiety, and more of the spirit as well as appearance of religion. Perhaps there was too much rigour and preciseness in indifferent matters, but the lusts of men were laid under a visible restraint; and though the legal constitution was unhappily broken, and men were governed by false politics, yet better laws were never made against vice, or more vigorously executed. The dress and conversation of people was sober and virtuous, and their manner of living remarkably frugal. There was hardly a single bankruptcy to be heard of in a year; and in such a case the bankrupt had a mark of infamy upon him that he could never wipe off. Drunkenness, fornication, prophane swearing, and every kind of debauchery were justly deemed infamous, and universally discountenanced. The clergy were laborious in preaching and praying, in catechising youth, and visiting their parishes. The

Lord's-day was observed with unusual reverence; and there were a set of as learned and pious youths training up in the university as had ever been known. So that if such a reformation of manners had obtained under a legal administration, they would have deserved the character of the best of times.

But when the legal constitution was restored, there returned with it a torrent of debauchery and wickedness. The times which followed the restoration were the reverse of those that preceded it; for the laws which had been enacted against vice for the last twenty years being declared null, and the magistrates changed, men set no bounds to their licentiousness. A proclamation indeed was published against those loose and riotous cavaliers, whose loyalty consisted in drinking healths, and railing at those who would not revel with them: but in reality the King was at the head of these disorders; being devoted to his pleasures, and having given himself up to an avowed course of lewdness; his bishops and chaplains said, that he even came from his mistresses' apartments to church, even on sacrament days. There were two play-houses erected in the neighbourhood of the court. Women actresses were introduced into the theatres, which had not been known till that time; the most lewd and obscene plays were brought on the stage: and the more obscene, the better was the King pleased, who graced every new play with his royal presence. Nothing was to be seen at court but feasting, hard drinking, revelling, and amorous intrigues, which engendered the most enormous vices.

From court the contagion spread like wildfire among the people, insomuch that men threw off the very profession of virtue and piety, under colour of drinking the King's health; all kinds of old cavalier rioting and debauchery revived; the appearances of religion which remained with some, furnished matter of ridicule to libertines and scoffers. Some who had been concerned in the former changes, thought they could not redeem their credit better than deriding all religion, and telling or making stories to render their former party ridiculous. To appear serious, or make conscience either of words or actions,

was the way to be accounted a schismatic, a fanatic, or a sectarian; though if there was any real religion during the course of this reign, it was chiefly among those people. They who did not applaud the new ceremonies, were marked out for presbyterians, and every presbyterian was a rebel. The old clergy who had been sequestered for scandal, having taken possession of their livings, were intoxicated with their new felicity, and threw off the restraints of their order. Such was the general dissolution of manners which attended the deluge of joy that overflowed the nation upon his majesty's restoration!

CHAP. V.

CHARLES II.

Views of the Court.—Presbyterians' address.—The Bishops' reply.—The King's declaration on Ecclesiastical affairs. Reception of it.—Persecution of Non-conformists.—Cromwell and others taken out of their graves.—Trials of Regicides.—Their execution.—Revival of Popery.—Fifth Monarchy-men.—The King's Marriage.—New Parliament.—Remarkable speech of Lord Clarendon.—Sham plots.—Remarks.

BEFORE we relate the conference between the episcopal and presbyterian divines in order to a comprehension, it will be proper to represent the views of the court, and of the bishops, who had promised to act with temper, and to bury all past offences under the foundation of the restoration. The point in debate was, "Whether concessions should be made, and pains taken to gain the presbyterians?" The King seemed to be for it; but the court bishops, with Lord Clarendon at their head, were absolutely against it. Clarendon was a man of high and arbitrary principles, and gave himself up to the bishops, for the service they had done him in reconciling the King to his daughter's clandestine marriage with the Duke of York. If his Lordship had been a friend to moderate measures, the greatest part of the presbyterions might have been gained; but he would not disoblige the bishops.

The King was devoted to his pleasures, and had no

principles of real religion; his grand design was to lay asleep the former controversies, and to unite both protestant and papist under his government; with this view he submitted to the scheme of the bishops, in hopes of making it subservient to a general toleration; which nothing could render more necessary, than having great bodies of men shut out of the church, and put under severe penal laws, who must then be petitioners for a toleration which the legislature would probably grant; but it was his majesty's resolution, that whatsoever should be granted of that sort should pass in so unlimited a manner, that papists as well as other sectaries should be comprehended within it. The Duke of York and all the Roman catholics were in this scheme.

The presbyterians were all this while striving against the stream, and making interest with men who were now laughing in their sleeves at the abject condition to which their egregious credulity had reduced them. They offered Usher's model of primitive episcopacy as a plan of accommodation; that the surplice, the cross in baptism, and kneeling at the communion, should be left indifferent. They were content to set aside the assembly's confession, and let the articles of the church of England take place with some few amendments. About the middle of June, some of their leading men waited upon the King, to crave his majesty's interposition for reconciling the differences in the church; that the people might not be deprived of their faithful pastors. When honest Mr. Baxter told his majesty, that the interest of the late usurpers with the people arose from the encouragement they had given to religion; and he hoped the King would not undo, but rather go beyond the good which Cromwell, or any other had done. They laid a good deal of stress on their own loyalty, and carefully distinguished between their own behaviour and that of other sectaries, who had been disloyal and factious. The King replied,—That he was glad to hear of their inclinations to an agreement; that he would do his part to bring them together, but this must not be by bringing one party over to another, but by abating somewhat on both sides and meeting in the midway; and that if it was not accomplished it should not be his fault;

may, he said, he was resolved to see it brought to pass. Accordingly his majesty required them to draw up such proposals as they thought meet for an agreement about church government, and to set down the most they could yield; promising them a meeting with some episcopal divines in his majesty's presence, when the proposals were ready. Upon this they summoned the ministers to meet at Sion-college, when after two or three weeks consultation they agreed upon a paper of proposals, which together with Abp. Usher's reduction of episcopacy, they offered to the King.

When they came to court with their proposals, the King received them favourably, and promised to bring both parties together. His majesty expressed a satisfaction in hearing they were disposed to a liturgy, and forms of prayer, and that they were willing to yield to the essence of episcopacy, and therefore doubted not of procuring an accommodation. The ministers expected to have met the bishops with their papers of proposals, but none of them appeared, having been better instructed in a private conference with the Lord-chancellor, who told them it was not their business to offer proposals, because they were in possession of the laws of the land; that the hierarchy and service book being the only legal establishment, ought to be the standard of agreement; and therefore their only concern was to answer the exceptions of the ministers against it. Accordingly, instead of a conference, or paper of proposals, which the ministers expected, the bishops having obtained a copy of the paper of the presbyterians, drew up an answer in writing, which was communicated to their ministers. In this answer, the bishops take notice of the ministers' concessions in their preamble, as that they agree with them in the substantial of doctrine and worship; and infer from thence, that their particular exceptions are of less importance, and ought not to be stifly insisted on to the disturbance of the peace of the church.

The eyes of the presbyterians were now opened, and they began to discern their weakness in expecting an agreement with the bishops, who appeared to be exasper-

rated, and determined to tie them down to the old establishment. The former severities began already to be revived, and the laws were put in execution against some who did not make use of the old liturgy. Many were suspended and turned out of their livings on this account; upon which the leading presbyterians applied to the King, who gave them a civil audience, and told them, he would put what he thought fit to grant them into the form of a declaration, which they should have the liberty of perusing, before it was made public. A copy of this was accordingly delivered by the chancellor to Mr. Baxter, and other presbyterian divines, with liberty to make exceptions, and give notice of what they disliked. These divines petitioned for some further amendments and alterations; upon which the King appointed a day to hear what could be said on both sides, at the chancellor's house. As the chancellor read over the declaration, each party were to alledge their exceptions, and the King to determine. The chief debates were on the high powers of the bishops, and the necessity of re-ordination. Bp. Morley and Dr. Gunning spoke most on one side; and Messrs. Calamy and Baxter on the other. Upon hearing the whole, his majesty delivered his judgment as to what he thought proper should stand in the declaration; and appointed Bps. Morley and Henchmen, Dr. Reynolds and Mr. Calamy to express it in proper words; and if they disagreed, the Earl of Anglesea and Lord Hollis were to decide. At length the declaration, with such amendments as the King would admit, was published, and the greatest numbers of the ministers were content; but because it proceeded upon the plan of diocesan episcopacy, which they had covenanted against, others were extremely uneasy; some ventured upon a second address to the King, in which they renew their requests for Abp. Usher's scheme of primitive episcopacy as most agreeable to scripture, most conducive to good discipline, and as that which would save the nation from the violation of the solemn league and covenant, which whether it were lawfully imposed or no, they conceive now to be binding. They then renew their requests for promoting of piety; of a religious and diligent ministry; of the requisites of church communion; and for the observation

of the sabbath. They complain that parish discipline is not sufficiently granted in his majesty declaration, that inferior synods are passed by, and that the bishop is not *episcopus præses* but *episcopus princeps*, endued with sole power of ordination and jurisdiction. However if the King's declaration, without any amendments, had passed into a law, it would have prevented in a great measure the separation which followed; but neither the court, nor ministry intended it, if they could stand their ground upon the foot of the old establishment. The presbyterians about London were so far pleased with the declaration, that they drew up an address of thanks, in the name of the city ministers, and presented it to the King. To which his majesty returned this answer, "Gentlemen, I will endeavour to give you all satisfaction, and to make you as happy as myself."

Upon the terms of the declaration Dr. Reynolds accepted of the bishopric of Norwich; Mr. Baxter was offered the bishopric of Hereford, but refused upon other reasons; and Mr. Calamy declined the bishopric of Litchfield and Coventry, till the King's declaration should be passed into a law. Dr. Manton having been presented to the living of Covent-Garden, by the Earl of Bedford, accepted it upon the terms of the declaration, and received episcopal institution from Dr. Sheldon, Bp. of London. Having first subscribed the doctrinal articles of the church of England only, and taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and of canonical obedience in all things lawful and honest. The doctor was also content that the common-prayer should be read in his church. Dr. Bates was offered the deanery of Litchfield; Dr. Manton the deanery of Rochester; and Mr. Bowles that of York; but finding how things were going on at court, after some time they refused.

The Lords and Commons, upon reading the King's declaration, agreed to wait upon his majesty in a body, and return him thanks; and the commons ordered a bill into their house to pass it into a law; but when the bill had been read the first time, the question being put for a second reading, it passed in the negative; one of the secre-

taries of state opposing it, which was a sufficient indication says Dr. Bates, of the court's aversion to it. Sir M. Hale who was zealous for the declaration, at that very juncture was taken out of the house of commons, and made Lord chief baron of the Exchequer, that he might not oppose the resolutions of the ministry. Strange! that an house of commons, which on the 9th of November had given the King unanimous thanks for his declaration by their speaker, should on the 28th of the same month reject it before a second reading. This blasted all the expectations of the presbyterian clergy at once. It was now apparent that the court did not design the declaration should be carried into execution, but only serve as a temporary expedient to keep them quiet, till the church should be in circumstances to bid them defiance.

The court and bishops were at ease, and went on briskly with restoring all things to the old standard; the doctrines of *passive obedience* and *non-resistance* were revived; men of the highest principles, and most inveterate resentments, were preferred to bishoprics, by which they were more than compensated for their sufferings, by the large sums of money they raised on the renewal of leases, which after so long an interval were almost expired; but what a sad use they made of their riches, I choose rather to relate in the words of Bp. Burnet than my own.—“What the bishops did with their great fines was a pattern to all their lower dignitaries, who generally took more care of themselves than of the church; the men of service were loaded with many livings, and many dignities. With this accession of wealth, there broke in upon the church a great deal of luxury and high living, on pretence of hospitality; and with this overset of wealth, and pomp that came upon men in the decline of their age, they who were now growing into old age, became lazy and negligent in all the true concerns of the church.”

From this time, says Bp. Kennet, the presbyterians began to prepare for the cry of persecution, and not without reason, for Feb. 14, Mr. Z. Crofton, minister of Aldgate, was sent to the Tower, for writing in favour of the covenant; where he lay a considerable time at great expence, and was at last turned out of his parish without

any consideration, though he had a wife and seven children, and had been very zealous for the King's restoration. Mr. A. Parsons, rector of Wem, a noted loyalist, was fetched from his house by six soldiers, for seditious preaching, and non-conformity to the ceremonies; for which he was fined two hundred pounds, and to continue in prison till it was paid.

Spies were sent into all the congregations of presbyterians throughout England, to observe and report their behaviour to the bishops; and if a minister lamented the degeneracy of the times, or expressed his concern for the *Ark of God*, if he preached against perfidiousness, or glanced at the vices of the court, he was marked for an enemy to the King and government. Many eminent and loyal presbyterians were sent to prison upon such informations; among whom was the learned and prudent Mr. John Howe, and when they came to their trials, the court was guarded with soldiers, and their friends not suffered to attend them. Many were sequestered from their livings, and cited into the ecclesiastical courts, for not using the surplice and other ceremonies, while the discipline of the church was under a kind of suspension. So eager were the spiritual courts to renew the exercise of the sword; and so fiercely was it brandished against the falling presbyterians!

The convention parliament passed sundry acts with relation to the late times, of which these following deserve to be remembered. An act for the confirming and restoring of ministers; by which act some hundreds of non-conformist ministers were dispossessed of their livings, before the act of uniformity was penned. There was no distinction between good or bad; but if the parson had been episcopally ordained, and in possession, he must be restored, though he had been ejected upon the strongest evidence of immorality or scandal.

They also passed an act for the attainder of several persons guilty of the horrid murder of his late sacred majesty King Charles I. and for the perpetual observation of the 30th of January. This act attaints the King's judges, dead or alive, except Cols. Ingoldsby and Thomp-

son, who for their late good services were pardoned, but in their room were included Colonel Lambert, Sir Harry Vane, and Hugh Peters, who were not of the judges. On the 30th of January this year, the bodies of Oliver Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton, were taken out of their graves, and drawn upon hurdles to Tyburn, where they were hung up from ten in the morning till sun-set of the next day, after which their heads were cut off, and their trunks buried all together in one hole under the gollows. Col. Lambert was sent to the Isle of Jersey, where he continued shut up a patient prisoner almost thirty years, nineteen made their escape beyond sea ; seven were made objects of the King's clemency ; nineteen others, who surrendered on the King's proclamation of June 6, had their lives saved after trial ; but underwent other penalties, as imprisonment, banishment, and forfeiture of estates ; so that ten only were executed in the month of October, after the new sheriffs were entered upon their office, viz. Col. Harrison, Messrs. Carew, Cook, Peters, Scot, Clement, Scroop, Jones, Hacker, and Axtel.

The prisoners were rudely treated in court ; the spectators with their noise and clamour endeavouring to put them out of countenance. None of them denied the fact, but all pleaded *not guilty to the treason*, because as they said, they acted by authority of parliament ; not considering, that the house of commons is no court of judicature ; or if it was, that it was packed and purged before the King was brought to his trial. Those who guarded the scaffold, pleaded that they acted by command of their superior officers, who would have cashiered or put them to death, if they had not obeyed. They were not permitted to enter into the merits of the cause between the King and parliament ; but were condemned upon the statute of the 25th of Edward III. for compassing and imagining the King's death.

The behaviour of the regicides at their execution was bold and resolute : Col. Harrison declared at the gibbet, that he was fully persuaded that " what he had done was the cause and work of God, which he was confident God would own and raise up again, how much soever it suffered at that time." He went through all the indignities of his

sufferings, with a cheerfulness, that astonished the spectators. When Mr. Solicitor Cooke and H. Peters went into the sledge, the head of Major-General Harrison was put upon it, with the face bare towards them ; but notwithstanding this, Mr. Cooke went out of the world with surprising resolution, blessing God that he had a clear conscience. Peters was more timid ; but after he had seen the execution and quartering of Mr. Cooke, he resumed his courage at length, and said to the sheriff, " Sir, you have here slain one of the servants of the Lord, and made me behold it, on purpose to terrify and discourage me ; but God has made it an ordinance for my strengthening and encouragement." Mr. Scot was not allowed to speak to the people, but said in his prayer, that he had been engaged in a cause not to be repented of ; I say in a cause not to be repented of." Carew appeared very cheerful, but said little of the cause for which he suffered. Col. Scroop was drawn in the same sledge, whose grave and venerable countenance, accompanied with courage and cheerfulness, raised great compassion in some of the spectators, though the insults and rudeness of others, was cruel and barbarous : he said he " was born and bred a gentleman ; and appealed to those who had known him for his behaviour ; he forgave the instruments of his sufferings, and died for that which he judged to be the cause of Christ." Cols. Axtel and Hacker suffered last ; the former behaved with great resolution, and holding the bible in his hand said,—“ The very cause in which I was engaged is contained in this book of God ; and having been fully convinced in my conscience of the justness of the war, I freely engaged in the parliament’s service, which as I do believe was the cause of the Lord, I ventured my life freely for it, and now die for it.” Hacker read a paper to the same purpose ; and after having expressed his charity towards his judges, jury and witnesses, he said, “ I have nothing lies upon my conscience as guilt whereof I am now condemned, and do not doubt but to have the sentence reversed.” Few, if any of these criminals, were friends of the Protector Cromwell, but gave him all possible disturbance in favour of a Commonwealth.

The Regicides certainly confounded the cause of the parliament, or the necessity of entering into a war to bring delinquents to justice, with the King's execution; whereas they fall under a very distinct consideration; the former might be necessary, when the latter had neither law nor equity to support it; for admitting, with them, that the King is accountable to his parliament; the house of commons alone is not the parliament; and if it was, it could not be so, after it was under restraint, and one half of the members forcibly kept from their places by the military power. How criminal soever his majesty might be in their apprehensions, they had no warrant to sit as his judges, and therefore could have no right by their verdict or sentence to put him to death.

There was another act passed this sessions, for a perpetual anniversary thanksgiving on the 29th of May, for his majesty's happy restoration. In the first form, which is since altered, there are these unwarrantable expressions, which I mention only to shew the spirit of the times. "We beseech thee to give us grace, to remember, and provide for our latter end, by a careful and studious imitation of this thy blessed saint and martyr, and all other thy saints and martyrs that have gone before us; that we may be made worthy to receive the benefit by their prayers, which they, in communion with thy church catholic, offer up unto thee for that part of it here militant, and yet in fight with, and danger from the flesh.——"

The books of the great Milton, and Mr. John Goodwin, published in defence of the sentence of death, passed upon his late majesty, were called in by proclamation. Milton's *defensio pro populo anglicano contra Salmasium*; and his answer to a book entitled, "The portraiture of his sacred majesty in his solitude and sufferings," were burnt by the hands of the common hangman; together with Goodwin's book, entitled, "The obstructors of justice;" but the authors absconded till the storm was over. It was a surprize to all, that they escaped prosecution; but Goodwin's being a strenuous arminian procured him friends. Milton had appeared so boldly, though with much wit, and so great purity and elegance of style, upon

the argument of the King's death, that it was thought a strange omission not to except him out of the act of indemnity ; but he lived many years after, though blind, to acquire immortal renown by his celebrated poem of " Paradise Lost."

The joy of the nation at the restoration of the King, brought with it the return of popery, which had been at a very low ebb during the late commotions : great numbers of that religion came over with his majesty, and crowded about the court, magnifying their sufferings for the late King. The Queen Mother came from France, and resided at Somerset-House with her catholic attendants. Several Romish priests who had been imprisoned, were by order of council set at liberty. Many popish priests came over as missionaries for propagating that religion ; and their clergy appeared openly in defiance of the laws ; they were busy in dispersing popish books of devotion ; and the King gave open countenance and protection to such as had been serviceable to him abroad. Upon the whole, more Roman catholics appeared openly this year, than in all the twelve years of the inter-regnum.

In Ireland the papists took possession of their estates, forfeited by the rebellion, and turned out the purchasers ; which occasioned such commotions, that the King was obliged to issue out a proclamation, commanding them to wait the determinations of parliament. The body of their clergy ventured to depute a person of their own communion, to congratulate his majesty's restoration, and to present their humble supplications for the free exercise of their religion, pursuant to the articles of 1648, whom the King received very favourably, and encouraged to hope for an accomplishment of their requests in due time. Such amazing changes happened within nine months after the King's arrival at Whitehall.

The only persons who under pretence of religion attempted any thing against the government, were a small number of enthusiasts, who said they were for King Jesus : their leader was Thomas Venner a wine-cooper, who in his little conventicle in Coleman-street, warmed his admirers with passionate expectations of a fifth universal monarchy, under the personal reign of King Jesus upon

earth, and that the saints were to take the kingdom themselves. To introduce this imaginary kingdom, they marched out of their meeting-house towards St. Paul's church-yard, on Sunday January 6, to the number of about fifty men well armed, and with a resolution to subvert the present government or die in the attempt. They published a declaration of the design of their rising, and placed centinals at proper places. The Lord-mayor sent the trained bands to disperse them, whom they quickly routed, but in the evening they retired to Cane Wood, between Highgate and Hampstead. On Wednesday morning they returned and dispersed a party of the King's soldiers in Threadneedle-street. In Wood-street they repelled the trained bands, and some of the horse-guards; but Venner himself was knocked down, and some of his company slain; from hence the remainder retreated to Cripplegate, and took possession of an house, which they threatened to defend with a desperate resolution, but no-body appearing to countenance their frenzy, they surrendered after they had lost about half their number; Venner and one of his officers, were hanged before their meeting-house door, in Coleman-street, and a few days after, nine more were executed in divers parts of the city.

This mad insurrection gave the court a handle for breaking through the late declaration of indulgence, for January 2, there was an order of council against the meetings of sectaries in great numbers, and at unusual times; and on the 10th of January a proclamation was published, whereby his majesty forbids the anabaptists, quakers, and fifth-monarchy-men, to assemble or meet together under pretence of worshipping God, except it be in some parochial church, or chapel, or in private houses by the persons there inhabiting. All meetings in any other places are declared to be unlawful and riotous. And his majesty commands all mayors, and other peace-officers, to search for such conventicles, and cause the persons therein to be bound over to the next sessions. Upon this the independents, baptists, and quakers, who dissented from the establishment, thought fit publicly to disown and renounce the late insurrection.

The Independents, though not named in the proclamation, were obnoxious to the government, and suspected to concur in all designs that might change the constitution into a commonwealth: to wipe off this odium, there was published, "A renunciation and declaration of the congregational churches, and public preachers of the same judgment, living in and about the city of London, against the late horrid insurrection and rebellion acted in the said city." In this declaration they disown the principles of a fifth-monarchy, or the personal reign of King Jesus on earth, as dishonourable to him, and prejudicial to his church; and abhor the propagating this or any other opinion by force or blood. They refer to their late meeting of messengers from one hundred and twenty churches of their way at the Savoy, in which they declare, (Chap. XXIV. Of their confession) That civil magistrates are of divine appointment, and that it is the duty of all subjects to pray for them, to honour their persons, to pay them tribute, to obey their lawful commands, and to be subject to their authority; and that infidelity, or difference in religion, does not make void the magistrates' just and legal authority, nor free the people from their obedience. Accordingly they cease not to pray for all sorts of blessings, spiritual and temporal, upon the person and government of his majesty, and by the grace of God will continue to do so themselves, and persuade others thereunto.

The Baptists published an apology in behalf of themselves, and their brethren of the same judgment, with a "Protestation against the late wicked and most horrid treason and rebellion;" in which they avow their loyalty to the King, and promise that their practice shall be conformable. They also addressed the King, that the innocent might not suffer with the guilty; protesting in the most solemn manner, that they had not the least knowledge of the late insurrection, nor did directly or indirectly, contrive, promote, assist, or approve of it. They offered to give security for their peaceable behaviour, and for their supporting his majesty's person and government. But notwithstanding this, their religious assemblies were disturbed in all places, and their ministers

imprisoned ; great numbers were crouded into Newgate, and other prisons, where they remained under close confinement till the King's coronation, when the general pardon published on that occasion set them at liberty.

The Quakers also addressed the King upon this occasion in the following words :—O, King Charles ! our desire is, that thou mayest live for ever in the fear of God, and thy council. We beseech thee, and thy council, to read these following lines, in tender bowels, and compassion for our souls, and for your good.—And this consider, we are about four hundred imprisoned in and about this city, of men and women from their families ; besides, in the country gaols above ten hundred. We desire, that our meetings may not be broken up, but that all may come to a fair trial ; that our innocency may be cleared up.”

They soon afterwards published the declaration referred to in their address, entitled, “ A declaration from the harmless and innocent people of God called Quakers, against all sedition, plotters and fighters in the world, for removing the ground of jealousy and suspicion from both magistrates and people in the kingdom, concerning wars and fighters.” Upon which his majesty promised them, on the word of a King, that they should not suffer for their opinions as long as they lived peaceably ; but his promises were little regarded.

The presbyterian clergy were in some degree affected with these commotions, though envy itself could not charge them with guilt ; but it was the wish and desire of the prelatical party, that they might discover their uneasinesses in such a manner as might expose them to trouble ; for their ruin was already determined, only some pretexts were wanting to cover the design, particularly such as affected the peace of the kingdom, and might not reflect on his majesty's declaration from Breda, which promised, that no person should be molested purely for religion. But they were insulted by the mob in the streets ; when their families were singing psalms in their houses, they were frequently interrupted by blowing of horns, or throwing stones at the windows. The presbyterian ministers made the best retreat they could, after they had

unadvisedly delivered themselves up into the hands of their enemies ; for while they were careful to maintain an inviolable loyalty to his majesty's person and government, they contended for their religious principles in the press ; several new pamphlets were published, and a great many old ones re-printed.

But the most remarkable treatise that appeared about this time, and which if it had taken place, must have prevented the mischiefs that followed, was that of Dr. Stillingfleet, rector of Sutton in Bedfordshire, and afterwards Bp. of Worcester, who first made himself known to the world at this time by his *Irenicum* ; or, "A weapon salve for the church's wounds ;" in which he attempts to prove, that no form of church-government is of divine right, and that the church had no power to impose things indifferent. If the doctor had steadily adhered to these principles he could hardly have subscribed the act of uniformity next year, much less have wrote so warmly against the dissenters, as he did twenty years afterwards. But all he could say or do at present availed nothing, the presbyterians were in disgrace, and nothing could stem the torrent of popular fury that was now coming upon them.

The Earl of Clarendon was prime minister, and at the head of the King's councils. The year began with new scenes of pleasure and diversion, occasioned by the King's marriage with the Infanta of Portugal. The match was promoted by General Monk and Lord Clarendon, if, according to the Oxford historian, the latter was not the first mover of it. And it was reckoned very strange, that a protestant chancellor should advise the King to a popish princess, when a catholic King proposed at the same time a protestant consort. But his lordship had further views, for it was generally talked among the merchants, that the Infanta could have no children, in which case the chancellor's daughter, who had been privately married to the King's brother, must succeed, and her issue by the Duke of York become heirs to the throne ; which happened accordingly in the persons of Queen Mary II. and Queen Anne. Such were the aspiring views of this great man, which, together with his haughty behaviour, in the end proved his ruin.

The convention parliament being dissolved, a new one was elected, and summoned to meet May 8. The house of commons by the interest of the court party, had a considerable majority of such as were zealous enemies of the presbyterians, and abettors of the principles of Laud; many of whom having impaired their fortunes in the late wars, became tools of the ministry in all their arbitrary and violent measures. The court kept above one hundred of them in constant pay, who went by the name of the club of voters, and received large sums of money out of the Exchequer, till they had almost subverted the constitution; and then, because they would not put the finishing hand to what they had unadvisedly begun, they were disbanded.

The King acquainted the houses at the opening of the sessions, that he valued himself much upon keeping his word, and upon making good whatsoever he had promised to his subjects. But the chancellor who commented upon the King's speech, spoke a different language, and told the house,—“That there were a sort of patients in the kingdom that deserved their utmost severity, and none of their lenity; these were the seditious preachers, and if you do not provide for the thorough quenching these firebrands; King, Lords, and Commons shall be the meaner subjects, and the whole kingdom will be kindled into a general flame.” This was a home thrust at the presbyterians; the chancellor did not explain himself, his design being not to accuse particular persons, but to obtain a general order which might suppress all preachers who were not of the church of England; and the parliament was prepared to run blindfold into all the court measures; for in this session the militia was given absolutely to the King; the solemn league and covenant was declared void, and illegal; the act for disabling persons in holy orders to exercise temporal jurisdiction was repealed; the bishops were restored to their seats in parliament; the old ecclesiastical jurisdiction was revived by the repeal of the 17th of Charles I. except the oath *ex officio*; and it was made a præmunire to call the King a papist.

The storm was all this while gathering very black over the presbyterians; for when the parliament met a second

time, the King complimented the bishops, who appeared now again in their places among the peers, and observed in his speech, that it was a felicity he had much desired to see, as the only thing wanting to restore the old constitution. He then spoke the language of the chancellor, and told the commons,—“ That there were many wicked instruments who laboured night and day to disturb the public peace; that it was worthy of their care to provide proper remedies for the diseases of that kind; that if they found new diseases they must find new remedies; that the difficulties which concerned religion were too hard for him, and therefore he recommended them to their care and deliberation who could best provide for them.—” The tendency of this speech was to make way for breaking through the Breda declaration, and to furnish the parliament with a pretence for treating the non-conformists with rigour, to which they were themselves too well inclined.

Great pains were taken to fasten some treasonable designs on the presbyterians; letters were sent from unknown hands to the chiefs of the party in several parts of the kingdom, intimating the project of a general insurrection, in which their friends were concerned, and desiring them to communicate it to certain persons in their neighbourhood, whom they named in their letters, that they may be ready at time and place. A letter of this kind was directed to Mr. Sparry in Worcestershire, desiring him and Captain Yarrington to be ready with money; and to acquaint Mr. Oatland and Mr. Baxter with the design. This, with a packet of the same kind, was said to be left under a hedge by a Scots pedlar; as soon as they were found, they were carried to Sir J. Packington, who immediately committed Sparry, Oatland, and Yarrington to prison. The militia of the county was raised, and the city of Worcester put into a posture of defence; but the sham was so notorious, that the Earl of Bristol, though a papist, was ashamed of it; and after some time the prisoners, for want of evidence, were released. The members for Oxfordshire, Herefordshire, and Staffordshire, informed the commons, that they had rumours of the like conspiracies in their counties. Mr. Locke says, that the

reports of a general insurrection were spread over the whole nation, by the very persons who invented them; and though Clarendon could not but be acquainted with the farce, he kept it on foot, to facilitate passing the severe laws that were now coming upon the carpet. The government could not with decency attack the non-conformists purely on account of their religion; the declaration from Breda was too express on that article; they were therefore to be charged with raising disturbances in the state. But supposing the fact to be true, that some few malcontents had been seditiously disposed, which yet was never made out, what reason can be assigned why it should be charged upon the principles of a whole body of men, who were unquestionably willing to be quiet?

It was nevertheless on this base and dishonourable suggestion, that the first penal law which passed against the non-conformists this session was founded, entitled, An act for the well-governing and regulating corporations; which enacts that within the several cities, corporations, and boroughs, all persons, bearing any office, or offices of magistracy, or places, or trusts, or other employment, relating to the government of the said respective cities, &c. shall take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and “ I, A. B. do declare and believe, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the King; and that I do abhor that traiterous position, of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him.”—They were also obliged to subscribe the following declaration,—“ I, A. B. do declare, that there lies no obligation upon me from the solemn league and covenant, and that the same was an unlawful oath imposed on the subject, against the laws and liberties of the kingdom. “ Provided also, says this law, and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person shall hereafter be elected, or chosen into any of the offices or places aforesaid, that shall not have within one year next before such election or choice, taken the sacrament of the Lord’s supper, according to the rights of the church of England; and that every person so elected shall take the aforesaid oaths, and subscribe the

said declaration at the same time when the oath for the due execution of the said places and offices shall be respectively administered."

Thus all non-conformists were turned out of all the branches of the magistracy at once, and rendered incapable of serving their country in the offices of a common-council-man, or a burgess or bailiff of the smallest corporation. The oath imposed in this act robbed them of their right as subjects; Eachard confesses that it seems at once to give up the whole constitution; and no wonder, says he, if many of the clergy as well as laity, on the account of this act, espoused a doctrine which if rigidly taken, was hard to be reconciled to the great deliverance afterwards. Rapin adds, that to say that it is not lawful on any pretence whatsoever to resist the King, is properly speaking to deliver up the liberties of the nation into his hands. The high churchmen had then elevated ideas of the royal authority, but even this parliament did not think fit afterwards to admit the dangerous consequences of their own maxims.

Commissioners were appointed, and employed during this and the following year, to visit the several corporations in England, and to turn out of office such as were in the least suspected; who executed their commissions with so much rigour, that the corporations had not one member left, who was not entirely devoted to the King and the church.

CHAP. VI.

CHARLES II.

Conference at the Savoy.—Hardships of the Presbyterians.—A disputation.—Remarks.—Censures of the Conference.—A Convocation.—Episcopacy restored in Scotland.—Execution of Mr. Guthrie.—Episcopacy restored in Ireland.—Conduct of the French Protestants.—The King's zeal for the Hierarchy.—Graves of the Dead violated.—The Quakers.—State of Religion.—Sale of Dunkirk.—Judges executed.—Execution of Sir H. Vane.—Act of Uniformity.—Remarks.—Two thousand Ministers ejected.—Their sufferings.—Death of Mr. Ley, &c.

ACCORDING to his majesty's declaration of Oct. 25, 1660, concerning ecclesiastical affairs, twelve bishops and nine assistants were appointed on the part of the episcopal church of England, and as many ministers on the side of the presbyterians, to assemble at the Bp. of London's lodgings at the Savoy, "To review the book of common-prayer, comparing it with the most ancient and purest liturgies; and to take into their serious and grave considerations the several directions and rules, forms of prayer, and things in the said book of common-prayer contained, and to advise and consult upon the same, and the several objections and exceptions which shall now be raised against the same; and if occasion be, to make such reasonable and necessary alterations, corrections and amendments, as shall be agreed upon to be needful and

expedient, for giving satisfaction to tender consciences; and the restoring and continuance of peace and unity in the churches under his majesty's government and direction." They were to continue four months from the 25th of March, 1661, and then present the result of their conferences to his majesty under their several hands.

When the commissioners were assembled the first time the Abp. of York stood up and said, he knew little of the business they were met about, and therefore referred it to Dr. Sheldon, Bp. of London, who gave it as his opinion, that the presbyterians having desired this conference, they (the bishops) should neither say nor do any thing till the others had brought in all their exceptions and complaints against the liturgy in writing, with their additional forms and amendments. The presbyterians humbly moved for a conference according to the words of the commission, but the Bp. of London insisting peremptorily upon his own method, the others consented to bring in their exceptions at one time, and their additions at another. For this purpose Bp. Reynolds, Dr. Wallis, and the rest of the presbyterian party, met from day to day to collect their exceptions; but the additions, or drawing up a new form, was intrusted with Mr. Baxter alone. "Bp. Sheldon saw well enough, (says Burnet) what the effect would be of obliging them to make all their demands at once, that the number would raise a mighty outcry against them, as a people that could never be satisfied. On the other hand the presbyterians were divided in their sentiments; some were for insisting only on a few important things, reckoning that if they were gained, and an union followed, it might be easier to obtain others afterwards. But the majority, by the influence of Mr. Baxter, were for extending their desires to the utmost, and thought themselves bound by the words of the commission, to offer every thing they thought might conduce to the peace of the church, without considering what an aspect this would have with the world, or what influence their numerous demands might have upon the minds of those, who were now their superiors in numbers and strength; but when they were put in mind that the King's commission gave them no power to

alter the government of the church, nor to insist upon Usher's model, nor so much as to claim the concession of his majesty's late declaration, they were quiet heartless; for they were now convinced that all they were to expect was a few amendments in the liturgy and common-prayer book. This was concluded on before-hand at court, and nothing more intended than to drop the presbyterians with the show of decency.

The ministers were under this further hardship, that they were to transact for a body of men from whom they had no power, and therefore could not oblige to abide by their decisions; they told the King and the Prime minister, that they should be glad to consult their absent brethren, and receive from them a commission in form, but this was denied, and they were required to give in their own sense of things, to which they consented, provided the bishops at the same time would bring in their concessions; but these being content to abide by the liturgy as it then stood, had nothing to offer, nor would they admit of any alterations but what the presbyterians should make appear to be necessary. With this dark and melancholy prospect the conference was opened.* It would interrupt the course of this history too much, to insert all the exceptions of the presbyterians to the present liturgy, and the papers which passed between the commissioners, with the letter of the presbyterian ministers to the archbishop and bishops, and the report they made of the whole to the King. I shall only take notice in this place, that instead of drawing up a few supplemental forms, and making some amendments to the old liturgy, Mr. Baxter composed an entire new one in the language of scripture, which he called the Reformed liturgy; not with a design entirely to set aside the old one, but to give men liberty to use either as they approved. It was drawn up in a short compass of time, and after it had been examined, and approved by his brethren, was presented to the bishops in the conference, together with their exceptions to the Old liturgy. This gave great offence, as presuming that a liturgy drawn up by a single

* All the papers relating to the conference at the Savoy are collected in a book, entitled the HISTORY OF NON-CONFORMITY, as it was argued and stated by commissioners on both sides appointed by Charles II, 1661.

hand in fourteen days, was to be preferred, or stand in competition with one, which had been received in the church for a whole century. Besides, it was inconsistent with the commission, and the bishops' declaration of varying no further from the Old standard than should appear to be necessary, and therefore the Reformed liturgy, as it was called, was rejected at once without being examined.

When the presbyterians brought in their exceptions to the liturgy, they presented at the same time a petition for peace, beseeching the bishops to yield to their amendments; to free them from the subscriptions and oaths in his majesty's late declaration, and not to insist upon the re-ordination of those who had been ordained without a diocesan bishop, nor upon the surplice, the cross in baptism, and other indifferent ceremonies; for this purpose they make use of various motives and arguments, sufficient in my judgment, to influence all who had any concern for the honour of God, and the salvation of souls. The bishops gave a particular answer to these exceptions; to which the presbyterians made such a reply, as in the opinion of their adversaries, shewed them to be men of learning, and well versed in the practice of the ancient church; however, the bishops would indulge nothing to their prejudices; upon which they sent them a large expostulatory letter, wherein, after having repeated their objections, they lay the wounds of the church at their door.

The term for the treaty being almost spun out in a paper controversy, about ten days before the commission expired, a disputation was agreed on, to argue the necessity of alterations in the present liturgy. Three of each party were chosen to manage the argument; Drs. Pearson, Gunning, and Sparrow, on one side; and Drs. Bates, Jacomb, and Mr. Baxter, on the other. The rest were at liberty to withdraw if they pleased. Mr. Baxter was opponent, and began to prove the sinfulness of impositions; but through want of order, frequent interruptions, and personal reflections, the dispute issued in nothing; a number of young divines interrupting the presbyterian

ministers and laughing them to scorn. At length Bp. Cosins produced a paper, containing an expedient to shorten the debate, which was, to put the ministers on distinguishing between those things which they charged as sinful, and those which were only inexpedient. The three disputants on the ministers' side were desired to draw up an answer to this paper, which they did, and charged the rubric and injunctions of the church with eight things flatly sinful, and contrary to the word of God.—1. That no minister be admitted to baptize without using the sign of the cross. 2. That no minister be admitted to officiate without wearing a surplice. 3. That none be admitted to the Lord's-supper without he receive it kneeling. 4. That ministers be obliged to pronounce all baptized persons regenerated by the Holy Ghost, whether they be the children of christians or not. 5. That ministers be obliged to deliver the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ to the unfit both in health and sickness, and that, by personal application, putting it into their hands, even those who are forced to receive it against their wills, through consciousness of their impenitency. 6. That ministers are obliged to absolve the unfit, and that in absolute expressions. 7. That ministers are forced to give thanks for all whom they bury, as Brethren whom God has taken to himself. 8. That none may be preachers who do not subscribe, that there is nothing in the common-prayer book, book of ordination, and the thirty-nine articles, contrary to the word of God.

After a great deal of loose discourse, it was agreed to debate the third article, of denying the communion to such as could not kneel. The ministers proved their assertion thus, that it was denying the sacrament to such whom the Holy Ghost commanded us to receive; Rom. xvi. 1, 2, 3. "Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations: one believes he may eat all things; another that is weak, eateth herbs: let not him that eateth, despise him that eateth not; and let not him that eateth not, judge him that eateth, for God has received him." The episcopal divines would not understand this of the communion. They also distinguished between things lawful in themselves, and things both

lawful in themselves and required by lawful authority. In the former case they admit a liberty, but the latter being enjoined by authority, became necessary. The ministers replied, that things about which there is to be a forbearance ought not to be enjoined by authority, and made necessary ; and for governors to reject men by this rule is to defeat the apostle's reasoning, and so contradict the law of God. But when Dr. Gunning had read certain citations and authorities for the other side of the question, Bp. Cosins, the moderator, called out to the rest of the bishops and doctors, and put the question, "all you that think Dr. Gunning has proved that Romans xiv. speaketh not of receiving the sacrament, say *ay*." Upon which there was a general cry among the hearers, *ay, ay* ; the episcopal divines having great numbers of their party in the hall ; whereas the ministers had not above two or three gentlemen and scholars who had the courage to appear with them. Nevertheless they maintained their point, and, as Burnet observes, insisted upon it, "that a law which excludes all from the sacrament who dare not kneel, was unlawful, as it was a limitation in point of communion put upon the laws of Christ, which ought to be the only condition of those that have a right to it."

At length the episcopal divines became opponents upon the same question, and argued thus ; that command which enjoins only an act in itself lawful is not sinful. Which Mr. Baxter denied. They then added, that that command which enjoins only an act in itself lawful, and no other act or circumstance unlawful, is not sinful. This also Mr. Baxter denied. They then advanced further, that command which enjoins only an act in itself lawful, and no other act whereby an unjust penalty is enjoined, or any circumstance, whence directly or *per accidens* any sin is consequent which the commander ought to provide against, hath in it all things requisite to the lawfulness of a command, and particularly cannot be charged with enjoining an act *per accidens* unlawful, nor of commanding an act under an unjust penalty. This also was denied, because though it does not command that which is sinful, it may restrain from that which is lawful, and it may be

applied to undue subjects. Other reasons were assigned ; but the dispute broke off with noise and confusion, and high reflections upon Mr. Baxter ; and Bp. Saunderson being in the chair pronounced, that Dr. Gunning had the better of the argument.

From arguments the ministers descended to entreaties, and prayed the bishops to have compassion on scrupulous minds, and not despise their weaker brethren. If the non-conformists should be ejected, they urged, that there would not be clergymen enough to fill the vacant pulpits ; they put them in mind of their peaceable behaviour in the late times ; what they had suffered for the royal cause, and the great share they had in restoring the King ; they pleaded his majesty's late declaration, and the design of the present conference. To all which the bishops replied, that they were only commissioned to make such alterations in the liturgy as should be necessary, and such as should be agreed upon. The ministers replied, that the word necessary must refer to the satisfying tender consciences ; but the bishops insisted, that they saw no alterations necessary, and therefore were not obliged to make any, till they could prove them so. The ministers prayed them to consider the ill consequence that might follow upon a separation. But all was to no purpose, their lordships were in the saddle, and would not abate the smallest ceremony, nor correct the grossest error, for the peace of the church. Thus the King's commission expired, and the conferences ended without any prospect of accommodation.

It was agreed at the conclusion, that each party might represent to his majesty, that they were all agreed upon the ends of the conference, which were the church's welfare, unity, and peace, but still disagreed as to the means of procuring them. The bishops thought they had no occasion to represent their case in writing ; but the presbyterian commissioners met by themselves, and drew up and presented an account of their proceedings, with a petition for that relief which they could not obtain from the bishops.

Various censures were passed within doors upon the Savoy conference ; the independents were disgusted,

because none of them were consulted, though it does not appear to me what concern they could have in it, their views being only to a toleration, not a comprehension. Some blamed their brethren for yielding too much, and others thought they might have yielded more ; but when they saw the fruitless end of the treaty, and the papers which were published, most of them were satisfied. Mr. Robinson says, " It was notorious that the business of the episcopal party was not to consult the interest of religion, but to cover a political design, which was too bad to appear at first ; nor did they mean to heal the church's wounds, so much as to revenge their own. When they knew what the presbyterians scrupled, they said, now they knew their minds they would have matters so fixed, that not one of that sort should be able to keep his living. They did not desire, but rather fear their compliance." Nay, so unacceptable was the publishing the papers relating to the conference, that Bp. Saunderson and some of his brethren cautioned their clergy against reading them. From this time the presbyterians were out of the question, and the settlement of the church referred entirely to the convocation and parliament.

It had been debated in council, whether there should be a convocation summoned while the conference at the Savoy was depending ; but at the intercession of Dr. Heylin and others, the court was prevailed with to consent that there should ; and such care was taken in the choice of members, that every thing went among them as was directed by Bps. Sheldon and Morley. If a convocation had been held with the convention parliament, the majority would have been against the hierarchy ; but it is not to be wondered they were otherwise now, when some hundreds of the presbyterian clergy, who were in possession of sequestered livings, had been dispossessed ; and the necessity of ordination by a bishop, being urged upon those who had been ordained by presbyters only, great numbers were denied their votes in elections. Nevertheless the presbyterian interest carried it in London for Baxter and Calamy by three voices : but the Bp. of London having a power of choosing two out of four, or four out of six within a certain circuit, left them both

out ; by which means the city of London had no clerks in the convocation.

The Savoy conference having ended without success, the King sent a letter to the convocation, commanding them to review the book of common-prayer, and make such additions and amendments as they thought necessary. This review engaged the convocation a whole month : when it was signed, and approved by all the members of both houses. Dr. Tenison, afterwards Abp. of Canterbury, says, they made about six hundred small alterations or additions ; but then adds, if there was reason for these changes, there was equal, if not greater reason for some further improvements. If they had foreseen what is since come to pass, I charitably believe they would not have done all they did, and just so much and no more ; and yet I also believe, if they had offered to move much further, a stone would have been laid under their wheel, by a secret but powerful hand ; for the mystery of popery did even then work.

The common-prayer book as it was altered and amended, was sent up to the King and council, and from thence transmitted to the house of peers, with this message,—“ That his majesty had duly considered of the alterations, and does with the advice of his council fully approve and allow the same ; which in and by the intended act of uniformity, shall be appointed to be used by all that officiate in all cathedral and collegiate churches and chapels, &c. under such sanctions or penalties as the parliament shall think fit.” When the lords had gone through the book, the lord chancellor, by order of the house, gave the bishops thanks for their care in this business ; and desired their lordships to give the like thanks to the lower house of convocation, and acquaint them, that their amendments were well received and approved, though some of them met with a considerable opposition. From the lords they were sent down to the commons, and inserted in the act of uniformity, as will be seen under the next year.

But before this famous act had passed either house, the presbyterians were reduced to the utmost distress. In the month of March, the grand jury at Exeter found

above forty bills of indictment against some eminent non-conformist ministers, for not reading common-prayer according to law. They likewise presented the travelling about of divers itinerant preachers, ejected out of sequestered livings, as dangerous to the peace of the nation. They complained of their teaching sedition and rebellion in private houses, and other congregations, tending to foment a new war. They also presented such as neglected their own parish-churches, and run abroad to hear factious ministers; and such as walked in the church-yards, or other places, while divine service was reading; all which were the certain forerunners of a general persecution.

In Scotland the court carried their measures with a high hand, for having got a parliament to their mind, the Earl of Middleton, a most notorious debauchee, opened it, with presenting a letter of his majesty to the house; after which they passed an act, declaring all leagues not made with the King's authority illegal. They passed another act rescinding all acts made since the late troubles, and another impowering the King to settle the government of the church as he should please. It was a mad, roaring time, says Burnet, and no wonder it was so, when the men at the head of affairs were almost perpetually drunk. The King hereupon directed that the church should be governed by synods, presbyters, and kirk sessions, till he should appoint another government, which he did by a letter to his council in Scotland, in which he recites the inconveniences which had attended the presbyterian government for the last twenty-three years, and its inconsistency with monarchy. Therefore, says he, from our respect to the glory of God, the good and interest of the protestant religion, and the better harmony with the government of the church of England, we declare our firm resolution to interpose our royal authority, for restoring the church of Scotland to its right government by bishops, as it was before the late troubles. And our will and pleasure is, that you take effectual care to restore the rents belonging to the several bishoprics; that you prohibit the assembling of ministers in their synodical meetings till our further pleasure; and that you keep a

watchful eye over those, who by discourse or preaching endeavour to alienate the affections of our people from us or our government. Pursuant to these directions, the lords of the council ordered the heralds to make public proclamation at the market cross in Edinburgh, of this his majesty's royal will and pleasure. In December, a commission was issued out to the bishops of London and Worcester, to ordain and consecrate according to the rites and ceremonies of the church of England, Mr. James Sharp, Abp. of St. Andrews, Mr. Andrew Fairfoul, Abp. of Glasgow, Mr. Robert Leighton, Bp. of Dunblain, and Mr. James Hamilton, Bp. of Galloway. Sharp was one of the falsest and vilest dissemblers in the world. Fairfoul was next akin to a natural. Leighton was an excellent prelate ; but Hamilton's life was scarce free from scandal : he had sworn to the covenant, and when one objected to him, that it went against his conscience, he said, such medicines as could not be chewed must be swallowed whole.

Bp. Burnet remarks, that though the King had a natural hatred to presbytery, he went very coldly into this design ; nay that he had a visible reluctance against it, because of the temper of the Scots nation, and his unwillingness to involve his government in new troubles ; but the Earl of Clarendon pushed it forward with great zeal ; and the Duke of Ormond said, that episcopacy could not be established in Ireland, if presbytery continued in Scotland. The Earls of Lauderdale and Crawford indeed opposed it, but the council of Scotland not protesting, it was determined ; but it was a large strain of the prerogative, for a King by a royal proclamation, to alter the government of a church established by law, without consent of parliament, convocation, or synod of any kind whatsoever ; for it was not till May the next year, that this affair was decided in parliament.

Some of the Scots ministers preached boldly against this change of government ; and among others, Mr. Guthrie, minister of Stirling, for which, and some other things, he was convicted of sedition and treason. Burnet, who saw him suffer, says, that he expressed a contempt of death ; that he spoke an hour upon the ladder with the

composure of a man who was delivering a sermon rather than his last words; that he justified all he had done, exhorting all people to adhere to the covenant, which he magnified highly. He concluded with these words, "I take God to record upon my soul, that I would not exchange this scaffold with the palace or mitre of the greatest prelate in Britain. Blessed be God, who hath shewed mercy to such a wretch, and has revealed his Son in me, and made me a minister of the everlasting gospel; and that he has deigned, in the midst of much contradiction from Satan and the world, to seal my ministry upon the hearts of not a few of this people, and especially in the congregation and presbytery of Stirling." There died with him on the same scaffold, young Captain Govan, whose last words were these, "I bear witness with my blood to the persecuted government of this church, by synods and presbyteries. I bear witness to the solemn league and covenant, and seal it with my blood. I likewise testify against all popery, prelacy, idolatry, superstition, and the service-book, which is no better than a relic of the Romish idolatry."—Soon after this, the rights of patronages were restored, and all the presbyterian ministers silenced, though the court had not a supply of men of any sort to fill up their vacancies.

The bishops and clergy who succeeded the presbyterians were most of them very mean divines, vicious in their morals, idle and negligent of their cures; by which means they became obnoxious to the whole nation, and were hardly capable of supporting their authority, even with the assistance of the civil power; and the few who were above contempt or scandal were men of such violent tempers, that they were as much hated as the others were despised.—In Ireland the hierarchy was restored after the same manner as in Scotland.

The French ministers, who had been tools to persuade the English presbyterians to restore the King without a treaty, went along with the torrent, and complimented the church of England upon her re-establishment; they commended the liturgy, which they formerly treated with contemptuous language. Some few of them pretended to bemoan the want of episcopacy among themselves,

and to wonder that any of the English presbyterians should scruple conformity. The French church at the Savoy, submitted to the rites and ceremonies of the English hierarchy; and Mr. Du Bosc, minister of Caen, writes to the minister of the Savoy, that he was as dear to him under the surplice of England, as under the robe of France. So complaisant were these mercenary divines, towards those who disallowed their orders, disowned their churches, and the validity of all their administrations.

Clarendon and the bishops having got over the Savoy conference, and carried the service-book with the amendments through the convocation, were now improving the present temper of the parliament to procure it the sanction of the legislature; for this purpose the King, though a papist, is made to speak the language of a zealous churchman. In his speech to the parliament, he says, "I am as zealous for the church of England as any of you can be, and am enough acquainted with the enemies of it on all sides. I am as much in love with the book of common-prayer as you can wish; and have prejudices enough against those who do not love it. And you may be confident, I do as much desire to see an uniformity settled as any among you; and pray trust me in that affair, I promise you to hasten the dispatch of it with all convenient speed. I have transmitted the book of common-prayer with the amendments, to the house of lords;—but when we have done all we can, the well settling that affair will require great prudence and discretion, and the absence of all passion and precipitation." The reason of the King's requiring discretion in the parliament, and the absence of passion, was not in favour of the presbyterians, but the papists, who went all the lengths of the prerogative. It was given out, that they were to have forty chapels in and about the city of London, and much more was understood by them, says Abp. Tenison; who have penetrated into the designs of a certain paper, commonly called the declaration of Somerset-House; but the design miscarried, partly by their divisions among themselves, and partly by the resoluteness of the prime minister, who charged them with principles inconsistent with the peace of the kingdom. However,

by the favour of the Queen-mother, swarms of papists came over into England, and settled about the court, they set up private seminaries for the education of youth; and though they could not obtain an open toleration, they multiplied exceedingly, and laid the foundation of all the dangers which threatened the constitution and protestant religion, in the latter part of this and in the next reign.

Towards the latter end of this year, the court and bishops not content with their triumphs over the living presbyterians, descended into the grave, and dug up the bodies of those who had been deposited in Westminster-Abbey in the late times, lest their dust should one time or other mix with the loyalists; for besides the bodies of Cromwell, and others already mentioned, his majesty's warrant to the dean and chapter of Westminster was now obtained, to take up the bodies of such persons who had been unwarrantably buried in the chapel of Henry VII. and in other chapels and places within the collegiate church of Westminster, and to inter them in the church-yard adjacent; by which warrant they might have taken up all the bodies that had been buried there for twenty years past. Pursuant to these orders, they went to work, and took up about twenty, of considerable rank, who with some others of lesser note, both men and women, were thrown together into one pit in St. Margaret's church-yard. But the work was so indecent, and drew such a general odium on the government, that a stop was put to any further proceedings.

Among others who were obnoxious to the ministry, were Quakers, who having declared openly against the the lawfulness of making use of carnal weapons, even in self-defence, had the courage to petition the house of lords for a toleration of their religion, and for a dispensation from taking the oaths, which they held unlawful, not from any disaffectation to the government, or a belief that they were less obliged by an affirmation, but from a persuasion that all oaths were unlawful; and that swearing upon the most solemn occasions, was forbidden in the new testament. The lords in a committee rejected their petition, and instead of granting them relief, passed an act,

that if any such persons shall refuse to take an oath when lawfully tendered, or persuade others to do it, or maintain in writing or otherwise, the unlawfulness of taking an oath; or if they shall assemble for religious worship to the number of five or more, of the age of fifteen, they shall for the first offence forfeit five pounds; for the second ten pounds; and for the third shall abjure the realm, or be transported to the plantations. And the justices of peace at their open sessions, may hear and finally determine in the affair. This act had a dreadful influence upon that people, though it was notorious they were far from sedition or disaffection to the government. G. Fox in his address to the King, acquaints his majesty, that three thousand and sixty-eight of their friends had been imprisoned since his majesty's restoration; that their meetings were daily broken up by men with clubs and arms, and their friends thrown into the water, and trampled under foot, which gave rise to their meeting in the open streets. Another narrative was printed, which says, that more than four thousand two hundred quakers were imprisoned; and of them five hundred were in and about London, and the suburbs; several of whom were dead in the gaols. But these were only the beginning of sorrows.

Religion which had been in vogue in the late times, was now universally discountenanced; the name of it was hardly mentioned but with contempt. Those who observed the sabbath, and scrupled prophane swearing, were exposed under opprobrious names. The presbyterian ministers were every where suspended or deprived, for some unguarded expressions in their sermons or prayers. Lord Clarendon was at the head of all this madness, and declared in parliament, that the King could distinguish between tenderness of conscience and pride of conscience; that he was a prince of so excellent a nature, and of so tender a conscience himself, that he had the highest compassion for all errors of that kind, and would never suffer the weak to undergo the punishment ordained for the wicked. Such was the deep penetration of the chancellor; and such the reward the presbyterians received for their past services.

The profligate manners of the court, at the same time,

spread over the whole land, and occasioned such a general licentiousness, that the King took notice of it in his speech at the end of this session of parliament.—“ I cannot but observe, says his majesty, that the whole nation seems to be a *little* corrupted in their excess of living; sure all men spend much more in their clothes, in their diet, and all other expences, than they have been used to do; I hope it has been only the excess of joy after so long suffering, that has transported us to these excesses, but let us take heed that the continuance of them does not indeed corrupt our natures. I do believe I have been faulty myself; I promise you I will reform, and if you will join with me in your several capacities, we shall by our examples do more good both in city and country than any new laws would do.”—This was a frank acknowledgment, and a good resolution, but it was not in the King’s nature to retrench his expences, or controul his vices for the public good.

Though the revenues of the crown were augmented above double what they had been at any time since the reformation; and though the King had a vast dowry with his Queen, whom he married this spring, yet all was not sufficient to defray the extravagance of the court; for besides the King’s own expences, the Queen-mother maintained a splendid court of Roman catholics at Somerset-House, and might have done so as long as she had lived, if she could have kept within moderate bounds; but her conduct was so imprudent and profuse, that she was obliged to return to France after three or four years, where she died, in 1669. She was a lady of such bigotry in religion, and intrigue in politics, that her alliance to this nation was little less than a judgment from heaven.

To procure more ready money for these extravagances, it was resolved to sell the town of Dunkirk to the French, for five hundred thousand pounds; and Clarendon was the projector of this vile bargain. Several mercenary pamphlets were dispersed to justify this sale; but the war with France in the reigns of William and Anne, have sufficiently convinced us, that it was a fatal stab to our trade and commerce; insomuch that even the Queen’s last

ministry durst not venture to make a peace with France, till the fortifications of it were demolished. But to divert the people's eyes to other objects, it was resolved to go on with the prosecution of state criminals, and with humbling and crushing the non-conformists. Three of the late King's judges being apprehended in Holland, by the forward zeal of Sir G. Downing, viz. Cols. Okey, Corbet, and Berkstead, were brought over to England by permission of the states, and executed on the act of attainder. They died with the same resolution and courage as the former had done, declaring they had no malice against the late King, but apprehended the authority of parliament sufficient to justify their conduct.

Before the parliament rose, the house addressed the King to bring Col. Lambert and Sir H. Vane, prisoners in the Tower, to their trial; and accordingly they were arraigned at the King's-Bench bar; the former for levying war against the King; and the latter for compassing his death. Lambert was convicted, but for his submissive behaviour pardoned as to life, and confined in the isle of Guernsey, where he remained a patient prisoner till his death, which happened about thirty years after. Sir H. Vane had such an interest in the convention parliament, that both lords and commons petitioned for his life, which his majesty promised; and yet afterwards, at the instigation of the present house of commons, he was tried and executed. Sir H. made a brave defence, but it was determined to sacrifice him to the ghost of the Earl of Strafford; and when his friends would have had him petition for his life, he refused, saying, "If the King had not a greater regard for his word and honour than he had for his life, he might take it." He was beheaded on Tower Hill, where a new and very indecent practice was begun. It was observed that the dying speeches of the regicides, had left impressions on the hearers that were not at all to the advantage of the government; and strains of a peculiar nature being expected from him, drummers were placed under the scaffold, who, as soon as he began to speak of the public, upon a sign given, struck up with their drums. But this put him into no disorder; he desired they might be stopt, for he knew what was meant by it. Then he

went to his devotion ; and as he was taking leave of those about him, he happened to say something again with relation to the times, when the drums struck up a second time ; so he gave over, saying, " It was a sorry cause that would not bear the words of a dying man ;" and died with so much composedness, that it was generally thought the government lost more than it gained by his death.

But the grand affair that employed the parliament this spring, was the famous act of Uniformity. The review of the common-prayer had been in convocation three or four months, and was brought into parliament, with their alterations and amendments, before Christmas ; the bill was read the first time in the house of commons Jan. 14, and passed after sundry debates but by six voices. But it met with greater obstacles among the lords, who offered several amendments, which occasioned conferences between the two houses. The lords would have exempted school-masters, tutors, and those who had the education of youth ; and in the disabling clause would have included only livings with cure. But the commons being supported by the court would abate nothing, nor consent to any provision for such as should be ejected. They would indulge no latitude in the surplice, or cross in baptism, for fear of establishing a schism, and weakening the authority of the church, as to her right of imposing indifferent rites and ceremonies. And the court were willing to shut out as many as they could from the establishment, to make a general toleration more necessary. When the lords urged the King's declaration from Breda, the commons replied, that it would be strange to call a schismatical conscience a tender one ; but suppose this had been meant, say they, his majesty can be guilty of no breach of promise, because the declaration had these two limitations, a reference to parliament ;—and so far as was consistent with the peace of the kingdom. The result of the conference with the house of commons being reported to the lords, the house laid aside their objections, and concurred with the commons, and the bill passed ; but with no great majority ; and received the royal assent, and was to take place from the 24th of August following.

It was certainly unreasonable in the legislature to limit the time of subscription to so short a period, it being next to impossible that the clergy in all parts of the kingdom should read and examine the alterations within that time. The dean and prebendaries of Peterborough declared, that they could not obtain copies before Aug. 17, the Sunday immediately preceding the feast of St. Bartholomew: so that all the members of that cathedral did not and could not read the service in manner and form as the act directs, and therefore they were obliged to have recourse to the favour of their ordinary to dispense with their default; however, their preferments were then legally forfeited, as appears by the act entitled, "an act for the relief of such as by sickness, or other impediments, were diabled from subscribing the declaration of the act of uniformity;" which says, that those who did not subscribe within the time limited were utterly disabled, and *ipso facto* deprived, and their benefices void, as if they were naturally dead. And if this was the case at Peterborough, what must be the condition of the clergy in the more northern counties? In fact, there was not one divine in ten that lived at any considerable distance from London, who did peruse it within that time; but the matter was driven on with so much precipitancy, says Burnet, that it seems implied, that the clergy should subscribe implicitly to a book they had never seen, and this was done by too many as the bishops themselves confessed.

The terms of conformity now were,—1. Re-ordination, if they had not been episcopally ordained before.—2. A declaration of their unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing prescribed and contained in the book of common-prayer, and administration of sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church of England, together with the psalter, and the form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of bishops, priests, and deacons,—3. To take the oath of canonical obedience.—4. To abjure the solemn league and covenant, which many conscientious ministers could not disentangle themselves from.—5. To abjure the lawfulness of taking arms against the King, or any commissioned by him, on any pretence whatsoever.

It appears from hence, that the terms of conformity were higher than before the civil wars, and the common-prayer book more exceptionable ; for instead of striking out the apocryphal lessons, more were inserted, as the story of Bell and the dragon ; and some new holy days were added, as St. Barnabas, and the conversion of St. Paul ; a few alterations, and new collects were made by the bishops themselves, but care was taken, says Burnet, that nothing should be altered, as was moved by the presbyterians. The validity of presbyterian ordination was renounced, by which the ministrations of the foreign churches were disowned ; lecturers and schoolmasters were put upon the same foot with incumbents, as to oaths and subscriptions ; a new declaration was invented, which none who understood the constitution of England could safely subscribe, and to terrify the clergy into a compliance, no settled provision was made for those who should be deprived of their livings, but all were referred to the royal clemency. A severity, which Burnet says was neither practised by Queen Elizabeth in enacting the liturgy, nor by Cromwell in ejecting the royalists ; in both which a fifth of the benefice was reserved for their subsistence.

Bp. Kennet says,—“ The world has reason to admire not only the wisdom of this act, but even the moderation of it, as being effectually made for ministerial conformity alone, and leaving the people unable to complain of any imposition. And it would certainly have had the desired, and most happy effect, of unity and peace, if the government had been in earnest in the execution of it.”—What then must the blessings of unity and peace be built on the foundation of persecution, plunder, perfidy, and the wastes of conscience ? If his majesty’s declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs breathed the spirit of true wisdom and charity, and ought to stand for a pattern to posterity, whenever they are disposed to heal the breaches of the church, as the bishop has elsewhere declared, where could be the wisdom and moderation of this act, which turned out **TWO THOUSAND MINISTERS** into the world to beg their bread ! And whereas the

bishop says, the people had no reason to complain of imposition, was it no hardship to be obliged to go to church, and join in a form of worship that went against their consciences? Does not the act revive and confirm all the penal laws of Queen Elizabeth and King James. Surely this must affect the people! It is more to be admired in my opinion, that the clergy of England, and all officers both civil and military, could subscribe a declaration which gave up the whole constitution into the hands of an arbitrary prince; for if the King had abolished the use of parliaments, and commanded his subjects to embrace the popish religion, which way could they have relieved themselves, when they had sworn, "that it was not lawful to take up arms against the King, or any commissioned by him, on any pretence whatsoever, on pain of high treason?" It is hard, it is impossible to reconcile this doctrine with the revolution of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY. I shall only add, that many of the most learned and judicious divines of the church have wished, for their own sakes, that the act might be amended and altered.

The presbyterian ministers had only three months to consider what to do with themselves and their families. There were several consultations both in city and country to know each others sentiments; and it happened here, as it did afterwards about taking the oaths to King William and Queen Mary; some who persuaded their brethren to dissent, complied themselves and got the others livings. It is not to be supposed they had all the same scruples. Bp. Kennet says, that *renouncing the covenant* was the greatest obstacle of conformity with the presbyterians. But his lordship is mistaken; for if abjuring the covenant had been omitted, they could not have taken the *corporation oath*. Some could not in conscience comply with the very form of the hierarchy. Great numbers scrupled reordination, which implied a renouncing the validity of their former ministrations. But that which the dissenters of all denominations refused, was giving THEIR ASSENT AND CONSENT TO ALL AND EVERY THING CONTAINED IN THE BOOK OF COMMON-PRAYER. This they apprehended to be more than was due to any human composure.

Some of the non-conformists quitted their stations in the church before the 24th of August, as Baxter and others, with an intent to let all the ministers in England know their resolution beforehand. Others about London preached their farewell sermons the Sunday before Bartholomew-day ; several of which were afterwards collected into a volume, and printed, as Drs. Manton, Bates, Jacomb, Calamy, Mead, and others. The like was done in several counties of England ; and such a passionate zeal for the welfare of their people ran through their sermons, as dissolved their audiences into tears.

At length the fatal St. Bartholomew came, when about two thousand relinquished their preferments in the church, or refused to accept of any upon the terms of the act of uniformity : an example hardly to be paralleled in the christian world ! It raised a grievous cry over the nation, for there were many men much valued, says Burnet, and distinguished by their abilities and zeal, now cast out ignominiously, reduced to great poverty, provoked by much spiteful usage, and cast upon those popular practices, which both their principles and their circumstances seemed to justify, of forming separate congregations, and of diverting men from the public worship. This begot esteem, and raised compassion, as having a fair appearance of suffering persecution for conscience. Mr. Locke calls them worthy, learned, pious, orthodox divines, who did not throw themselves out of service, but were forcibly ejected. Nor were they cast out because there was a supply of ministers to carry on the work of religion, for there was room for the employment of more hands, if they were to be found.

At the reformation from popery by Queen Elizabeth, there were not above two hundred deprived of their livings ; besides they were treated with great mildness, and had some allowances out of their livings ; whereas these were treated with the utmost severity, and cast entirely upon providence for a supply. They were driven from their houses, from the society of their friends ; and what was yet more affecting, from all their usefulness, though they had merited much of the King, and laboured indefatigably for his restoration. The former were mer-

of another faith, and owned a foreign head of the church ; whereas these were of the same faith with the established church, and differed only about rites and ceremonies. It has been said, that greater numbers were ejected in the late times upon the foot of the covenant ; but if this were true, it was in a time of war, when the civil and religious differences between the King and parliament were so intermixed, that it was impossible to separate one from the other ; the whole nation was in confusion, and those who suffered by the covenant, suffered more for their loyalty, than their religion ; for when the war was ended, the covenant was relaxed, and such as would live peaceably returned to their vacant cures, or were admitted to others.

Besides the ingratitude of the high church-men upon this occasion ought to be taken notice of. A divine of the church of England writes,—“ I must own, that in my judgment, however both sides have been excessively to blame, yet that the severities used by the church to the dissenters are less excusable than those used by the dissenters to the church. My reason is, that the former were used in time of peace, and a settled government, whereas the latter were inflicted in times of tumult and confusion ; so that the plunderings and ravagings endured by the church ministers, were owing, many of them at least, to the rudeness of the soldiers, and the chances of war ; they were plundered not because they were conformists, but cavaliers, and of the King's party. The allowing of the sequestered ministers a fifth part of their livings was a christian act, and what, I confess, I should have been glad to have seen imitated at the restoration. But no mercy was to be shewn to these unhappy sufferers, though it was impossible on a sudden to fill up the gap that was made by their removal.”

Bp. Burnet says, the old clergy, now much enriched, were despised, but the young clergy who came from the university did good service. But though all the striplings in both universities were employed, a great many poor livings in the country had no incumbents for a considerable time. The author of “ The five groans of the church,” a very strict conformist, complains with great

warmth, of above three thousand ministers admitted into the church, who were unfit to teach because of their youth; of fifteen hundred debauched men ordained; of the ordination of many illiterate men; of one thousand three hundred and forty-two factious ministers a little before ordained; and that of twelve thousand church livings, or thereabouts, three thousand or more being inappropriate, and four thousand one hundred and sixty-five *sine cures*, there was but a poor remainder left for a painful and honest ministry. Such were the spoils of uniformity! And though Eachard says, there was more sense and sound doctrine preached in one twelvemonth after the presbyterian ministers were turned out, than in twenty years before: yet, in opposition to such assertions, it is only necessary to mention the names of some of those ministers, whose learning and piety were universally acknowledged, and who were capable of preaching and writing as good sense, and to as good purpose, as most of their successors; as Messrs. Gilpin, Bates, Manton, Jacomb, Owen, Goodwin, Baxter, Newcomen, Calamy, Jackson, Pool, Caryl, Charnock, Gouge, Jenkins, Gale, Mead, Howe, Greenhill, Clark, Flavel, P. Henry, and others of like character,—“whom I have heard vilified, and represented according to the fancies, passions, or interests of men, says a learned conformist, but I dare not but be just to them, as to eminent professors of the christian faith, and think that common christianity has suffered much by their silencing and disparagement. A great part of the world is made to believe, that the non-conformists are not fit to be employed in the church, nor trusted by the state; but what they are God knows, and the world may know, if they please to consult their writings. They are not to them that know them, what they are reported by them that know them not. I know them sufficiently to make me bewail their condition, and the vast damage to thousands of souls by their exclusion, not only in the out-skirts, but in the very heart of England, who are committed in many parts, to them that neither can nor will promote their everlasting interests.” Upon the whole, though I do not pretend that all the ejected ministers were equally learned, pious and deserv-

ing, yet upon a calm and sedate view of things I cannot help concluding, that in the main they were a body of as eminent confessors for truth and liberty, as this or any other nation ever produced.

Many complied with the terms of conformity, not because they approved them, but for the sake of their families, or because they were unwilling to be buried in silence, as Bps. Reynolds, Wilkins, Hopkins, Fowler, &c. But sad were the calamities of far the greater part of these unhappy sufferers, who with their families must have perished, if private collections in London, and divers places of the country, had not been made for their subsistence. Burnet says, they cast themselves on the providence of God, and the charity of friends. The pious Mr. Gouge, late of St. Sepulchres, was their advocate, who with two or three of his brethren, made frequent application to several worthy citizens, of whom they received considerable sums of money for some years, till that charity was diverted into another channel ; but nevertheless, "many hundreds of them, according to Baxter, with their wives and children had neither house nor bread ; the people they left were not able to relieve them, nor durst they if they had been able, because it would have been called a maintenance of schism or faction. Many of the ministers being afraid to lay down their ministry after they had been ordained to it, preached to such as would hear them, in fields and private houses, till they were apprehended and cast into gaols, where many of them perished. The people were no less divided, some conformed, and others were driven to a greater distance from the church, and resolved to abide by their faithful pastors at all events : they murmured at the government, and called the bishops and conforming clergy cruel persecutors ; for which, and for their frequenting the private assemblies of their ministers, they were fined and imprisoned, till many families left their native country, and settled in the plantations."

The presbyterian ministers, though men of gravity, and far advanced in years, were rallied in the pulpits under the opprobrious names of schismatics, and fanatics ; they were exposed in the play-house, and insulted

by the mob, insomuch that they were obliged to lay aside their habits, and walk in disguise. Such magistrates were put into commission as executed the penal laws with severity. Informers were encouraged and rewarded. It is impossible, says the conformist plea for the non-conformist, to relate the number of sufferings both of ministers and people ; the great trials, with hardships upon their persons, estates, and families, by uncomfortable separations, dispersions, unsettlements, and removes ; disgraces, reproaches, imprisonments, chargeable journies, expences in law, tedious sicknesses, and incurable diseases ending in death ; great disquietments and frights to the wives and families, and their doleful effects upon them.—Their congregations had enough to do, besides a small maintenance, to help them out of prisons, or maintain them there. Though they were as frugal as possible, they could hardly live ; some lived on little more than brown bread and water ; many had but eight or ten pounds a year to maintain a family, so that a piece of flesh has not come to one of their tables in six weeks time ; their allowance could scarce afford them bread and cheese. One went to plow six days and preached on the Lord's day ; another was forced to cut tobacco for a livelihood. The zealous justices of peace knew the calamities of the ministers, when they issued out warrants upon some of the hearers, because of the poverty of the preachers. But out of respect to the worth and modesty of some of them, I forbear their names. Upon these foundations, and with these triumphs, was the present constitution of the church of England restored.

CHAP. VII.

CHARLES II.

View of Parties.—The Court.—The Clergy.—The Bishops.—Petition for Indulgence.—The King's Declaration.—Dispensing Power.—Address of the Commons.—Remarks.—Occasional Conformity.—Sham Plot.—Conventicle Act.—Dutch War.—The Plague.—Five Mile Act.—Fire of London.—Fall of Clarendon.—His Character.

AT this time, according to Burnet, the name of puritans was changed into that of protestant non-conformists, who were subdivided into presbyterians, independents, anabaptists, and quakers ; these being shut out of the establishment, had nothing now in view but a toleration, which the credulous presbyterians said they had strong assurances of, before the act of uniformity passed into a law ; but in this they were disappointed, as well as in every thing else ; for which the independents told them they might thank themselves, because their managers had protested against including the papists ; whereas the legislature and the bishops were concerned to prevent any mischief from that quarter, and to their care the presbyterians should have left it. Some observing how much the court and parliament were set against them, were for removing with their ministers to Holland ; and others proposed New England ; but the papists, at a meeting at the Earl of Bristol's house, agreed to do whatever they could to keep the non-conformists in England, and buoy them up with hopes of a toleration.

The King was a concealed Roman Catholic, and had swarms of that persuasion about his person and court, who had fought for his father in the wars, or been civil to him in his exile; their design was to introduce a toleration of their religion, by the royal indulgence, in common with other dissenters from the establishment; and the King was so far in their measures, that he declared openly, *he would give liberty to all or none.* The court was therefore content that the act of uniformity should pass in the severest terms, on purpose to make the number of dissenters more considerable; and when this was objected, it was replied, the more dissenters the better, because it will make a toleration more needful, in which the papists will be included. The papists had two maxims from which they never departed; one was, to keep themselves united, and promote a general toleration, or a general persecution. The other, to divide the protestants as much as possible among themselves. For this reason the sword was put into the hands of such magistrates as would inflame the differences, and exasperate their spirits one against the other. Nor were there wanting some hot-headed young clergymen, who run greedily into the snare, and became the tools of popery and arbitrary power, till the protestant religion was expiring, and must inevitably have been lost, had it not been revived almost by a miracle. With a like view the laws against prophaneness and immorality were relaxed; men's morals were neglected; interludes, masquerades, promiscuous dancing, prophane swearing, drunkenness, and an universal dissolution of manners, were connived at; and the very name of godliness became a reproach.

The parliament being made up of a set of pensioners and mercenaries, went into all the court measures, and enacted more penal laws for religion, than all the parliaments put together since the reformation. They pressed the act of uniformity with inflexible rigour, and enforced it with so many other penal laws, that under their wing popery grew to such a height, as to threaten the extirpation of the *Northern heresy.* At length many of the members being dead, and others grown fat with the spoils of the public, they would have retrieved their errors, and

distinguished between protestant non-conformists and popish recusants, but it was too late; and the King having found ways and means to subsist without parliaments, resolved to adhere to his standing maxim, to give ease to all dissenters or to none.

It is impossible to excuse the clergy from their share in the troubles of this reign. If the convocation in their review of the liturgy, had made any amendments for the satisfaction of the presbyterians, they would undoubtedly have passed both houses of parliament, and healed in some measure the divisions of the church; but they were actuated by a spirit of revenge, and not only promoted such laws as might deprive the presbyterians of the power of hurting them for the future; but assisted in putting them in execution. None had a greater share in inflaming the minds of the people, and in sounding the trumpet of persecution. But here the reader must distinguish between those zealots, who from resentment, bigotry, or sinister views, set themselves to encourage and promote all the methods of oppression and tyranny; and those, who though they complied with the terms of conformity themselves, were disposed to an accommodation with the protestant non-conformists upon moderate terms.

The bishops were generally of the former sort; they were old and exasperated, fond of their persecuting principles, and fearful of every thing that tended to relieve the presbyterians. They went with zeal into all the slavish doctrines of the prerogative, and voted with the court in every thing they required. But even some of these bishops, who at first were very zealous to throw the presbyterians out of the church, afterwards grew more temperate. Remarkable is the passage in the last will and testament of Dr. Cosins, Bp. of Durham, a zealous enemy of the presbyterians, and who had met with ill usage in the late times. "I take it to be my duty, says he, and that of all the bishops and ministers of the church, to do our utmost endeavour, that at last an end may be put to the differences of religion, or at least that they may be lessened." Such was the different temper of this learned prelate in the vigour of life, and when he came to review things calmly on his dying bed.

The like may be observed of the inferior clergy, who were divided a few years after, into those of the *court* and the *country*; the former were of an angry superstitious spirit, and far more strenuous for a few indifferent ceremonies, than for the peace of the church, or its more important articles; their sermons were filled with the reverence due to their *Holy mother*, with the sacred dignity of their own indelible characters, with the slavish doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, and with the most bitter raillery and invectives against the routed presbyterians; they encouraged the enacting severe laws, and carried them into execution as long as their superiors would permit, without any regard to mercy or merit, but took comparatively little or no care, by their doctrine or example, of the morals of the people, which were shamefully neglected throughout the nation. The clergy of this character were by far the more numerous for twenty years after the restoration; the tide of the church preferments running in this channel, and their doctrines being the most fashionable.

The country clergy were of a quite different spirit; they were determined protestants and true churchmen, but more disposed to a coalition with protestant dissenters than with papists. Among these may be reckoned the Tillotsons, Stillingfleets, Whichcots, Wilkins, Cudworths, &c. men of the first rank for learning, sobriety, and virtue: they were the most eminent preachers of the age, whose sermons and writings did honour to the church of England, and supported its character in the worst of times. They lamented the corruptions and vices of the people, and stood in the gap against an inundation of popery and tyranny; but their numbers were small, because the road to preferment lay another way: And when the high church clergy had betrayed the liberties of their country, and the cause of the protestant religion into the hands of the papists, these appeared boldly in their defence, disarmed their adversaries and saved the nation.

Three days after the act of uniformity took place, the silenced ministers presented a petition to his majesty for a toleration, by the hands of Dr. Manton, Dr. Bates, and Mr. Calamy. The matter being debated next day in

council, his majesty gave his opinion for an indulgence, if it was feasible. Others were for conniving at the more eminent divines, and putting curates into their churches to read the service, till they should die off. This was the opinion of the Earl of Manchester, who urged it with a great deal of earnestness; but Clarendon was for the strict execution of the law; and the council was prevailed with to let the law take place for the present. Nevertheless about four months after, his majesty published a declaration, concerning indulgence, which was thought to be framed at Somerset-House, where the Queen-mother kept her court, without the knowledge of Lord Clarendon or Bp. Sheldon; and according to Burnet, was the result of a council of papists at the Earl of Bristol's, who were under an oath of secrecy, and of the King himself. It is modestly expressed; and though it carries in it a claim of the *dispensing power*, and of good will to popery, yet it refers all to the parliament. And in his speech at the opening the next sessions, he supported his declaration, and said, "I will not yield to any, no not to the bishops themselves, in my zeal for the protestant religion, and my liking the act of uniformity; and yet if the dissenters will behave themselves peaceably and modestly under the government, I could heartily wish I had such a power of indulgence to use upon all occasions, as might not needlessly force them out of the kingdom, or staying here, give them cause to conspire against the peace of it."—This was the first open claim of a *dispensing power*, which the reader will observe did not propose a law for liberty of conscience, but that his majesty might have a legal power of indulgence vested in himself, which he might use or recal as he thought fit. This alarmed the house of commons, who voted the thanks of the house for his majesty's resolution to maintain the act of uniformity; but that it was the opinion of the house, that no indulgence be granted to dissenters from it; and an address was appointed to be drawn up, and presented to his majesty, with the following reasons.—1. That it will establish schism by a law, and make the censures of the church of no consideration.—2. That it is unbecoming the wisdom of parliament, to pass a law in one session for uniformity, and in another

session to pass a law to frustrate or weaken it, the reasons continuing the same.—3. That it will expose your majesty to the restless importunities of every sect, who shall dissent from the established church.—4. That it will increase sectaries, which will weaken the protestant profession, and be troublesome to the government; and in time some prevalent sect may contend for an establishment, which may end in popery.—5. That it is unprecedented, and may take away the means of convicting recusants.—6. That the indulgence proposed will not tend to the peace, but to the disturbance of the kingdom; the best way therefore to produce a settled peace, is to press vigorously the act of uniformity.”—The reader will judge of the force of these reasons, which in my opinion, would justify the severest persecution in the world. However the King was convinced with a sum of money, and therefore made no other reply, but that he had been ill understood. The house then addressed him to put the laws in execution against papists; and a proclamation was issued out for that purpose, but little regarded. However this opposition to the King and the Roman catholics, by Clarendon, and his friends in the house of commons, laid the foundation of his impeachment the next year, and of his ruin some time after.

Some of the ejected presbyterians, who were men of piety and learning, complied as far as they could, and made a distinction between lay-conformity, and ministerial; they practised the former, and went sometimes to their parish churches, before or after the exercise of their ministry in some private houses; and this they did not for interest or advantage, but to all appearance, to express their catholicism and brotherly love. Here was the rise of occasional conformity, practised by Dr. Bates, Mr. Baxter, and others, to their death; but this, instead of being well taken, was the occasion of bringing some of them into trouble; for Mr. Calamy late minister of Aldermanbury, being at his parish church, the preacher happened to disappoint them; upon which, at the importunity of the parishioners, Mr. Calamy went into the pulpit, and preached a sermon upon Eli's concern for the ark of God;

a subject much upon their thoughts at that time ; but this was so highly resented at court that he was sent to Newgate next week for sedition, in breaking the King's laws. It was done *in terrorem*, says my author, but there was such a clamour among the people, and such a resort of persons of distinction to visit the prisoner, that his majesty thought fit to release him in a few days, which not being done by due course of law, the commons resented it, and presented an address, that the laws for the future might have their free course. This disgusted the King who was willing to assert his prerogative, and shew some favour to the presbyterians, that he might cover the papists ; but Clarendon who was their implacable enemy, and at the head of that party which meditated their ruin, opposed the court measures, and encouraged his friends in both houses to abide by the laws.

The following summer there was a fresh discourse of liberty for the silenced ministers ; and the court was so far in the design, as to encourage them to petition for a general toleration, insinuating this to be the only method of relief, and that the legislature would go on to increase their burdens, and lay them in gaols till they complied. The independents went up to court to speak for themselves, but the presbyterians refused. The court being displeased, Clarendon and his friends took the opportunity to awaken their resentments, by fathering upon the non-conformists some new plots against the government. There was said to be a conspiracy in the north among the republicans and separatists, to restore the long parliament, and put Lambert and Ludlow at their head, though the former was shut up in prison in a remote island, and the other gone into banishment. There had been some unadvised and angry conversation among the meaner sort of people of republican principles, but it was not pretended that any gentlemen of character, much less that the body of the English non-conformists were acquainted with it ; however, about twenty were tried and condemned at York and Leeds, and several executed. Some very mean persons were indicted at the Old Bailey for a branch of the same design. They were not tried separately, but set at the bar together, and condemned in the lump. It was pretended that the

fifth-monarchy-men, anabaptists, independents, and some quakers, were consenting to some desperate designs, but the authors were never discovered; however, four of these pretended conspirators were executed, who confessed at the place of execution, that they had heard some treasonable expressions in company, but denied to the last that they were acquainted with any conspiracy against the King; and whoever reads their trials will be inclined to think, that it was a design of those who were at the head of affairs, to enflame the populace against the non-conformists, in order to bring on them greater severities.

An act was passed this summer, "for the relief of such persons as by sickness, or other impediments, were disabled from subscribing the declaration in the act of uniformity, and explanation of the said act." While the parliament were thus relieving the loyalists, they increased the burdens of the non-conformists, for under colour of the late pretended plots, they passed an act for suppressing seditious conventicles; which condemns all persons refusing peremptorily to come to church, after conviction, to banishment, and in case of return, to death without benefit of clergy. It enacts further, "That if any person above the age of sixteen, after the first of July, 1664, shall be present at any meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion, in other manner than is allowed by the liturgy or practice of the church of England, where shall be five or more persons than the household, shall for the first offence suffer three months imprisonment, upon record made upon oath under the hand and seal of a justice of peace; or pay a sum not exceeding five pounds; for the second offence six months imprisonment, or ten pounds; and for the third offence the offender to be banished to some of the American plantations (excepting New England and Virginia), for seven years, or pay one hundred pounds; and in case they return, or make their escape, such persons are to be adjudged felons, and suffer death without benefit of clergy. Sheriffs, or justices of peace, or others commissioned by them, are empowered to dissolve, dissipate, and break up all unlawful conventicles, and to take into custody such of their number as they think fit. They

who suffer such conventicles in their houses or barns, are liable to the same forfeitures as other offenders. The prosecution is to be within three months. Married women taken at conventicles are to be imprisoned for twelve months, unless their husbands pay forty shillings for their redemption. This act to continue in force for three years after the next session of parliament.

By virtue of this act, the gaols in the several counties were quickly filled with dissenting protestants, while the papists had the good fortune to be covered under the wing of the prerogative. Some of the ministers who went to church in sermon time, were disturbed for preaching to a few of their parishioners after the public service was over; their houses were broken open, and their hearers taken into custody; warrants were issued out for levying twenty pounds on the minister, twenty pounds upon the house, and five shillings upon each hearer. If the money was not immediately paid, there was a seizure of their effects, the goods and wares were taken out of the shops; and in the country, cattle were driven away and sold for half the value. If the seizure did not answer the fine, the minister and people were hurried to prison, and held under close confinement for three or six months. The trade of an *informer* began to be very gainful, by the encouragement of the spiritual courts. At every quarter sessions, several were fined for not coming to church, and others excommunicated; nay some have been sentenced to abjure the realm, and fined in a sum much larger than all they were worth in the world.

Before the conventicle act took place, the laity were courageous, and exhorted their ministers to preach till they went to prison; but when it came home to themselves, and they had been once in gaol, they began to be more cautious, and consulted among themselves, how to avoid the edge of the law in the best manner they could; for this purpose their assemblies were frequently held at midnight, and in the most private places; and yet, notwithstanding all their caution, they were frequently disturbed; but it is remarkable, that under all their hardships, they never made the least resistance, but went quietly along with the soldiers or officers, when they could

not fly from them. The distress of so many families, made some confine themselves within their own houses, some remove to the plantations, and others have recourse to occasional conformity, to avoid the penalty for not coming to church ; but the independents, anabaptists, and quakers, declined the practice ; for they said, if persecution was the mark of a false church, it must be absolutely unlawful to join with one that was so notoriously guilty.

Indeed the Quakers gloried in their sufferings, and were so resolute as to assemble openly at the Bull and Mouth, near Aldersgate, from whence the soldiers and other officers dragged them to prison, till Newgate was filled, and multitudes died by close confinement in several of the gaols. Sometimes the quakers met and continued silent, upon which it was questioned, whether such an assembly was a conventicle for religious exercise ; and when some were tried for it in order to banishment, they were acquitted of the banishment, and came off with a fine, which they seldom paid, and were therefore continued in prison. In short, the quakers about London gave such full employment to the informers, that they had less leisure to attend the meetings of other dissenters.

So great was the severity of these times, and the arbitrary proceedings of the justices, that many were afraid to pray in their families, if above four of their acquaintance who came only to visit them were present. Some families scrupled asking a blessing on their meat, if five strangers were at table. In London, where the houses join, it was thought the law might be evaded if the people met in several houses, and heard the minister through a window or hole in the wall ; but it seems this was overruled, the determination being, as has been observed, in the breast of a single mercenary justice of peace. And while conscientious people were thus oppressed, the common people gave themselves up to drunkenness, prophane swearing, gaming, lewdness, and all kinds of debauchery, which brought down the judgments of heaven upon the nation.

The first general calamity that befel the kingdom, was a war with the Dutch, which continued about two years

and a half, and then ended with no manner of advantage to either nation. The nation, was next afflicted by the most dreadful plague that had been known within the memory of man. This was preceded by an unusual drought; the meadows were parched and burnt up like the highways, insomuch that there was no food for the cattle, which occasioned first a murrain among them, and then a general contagion among the human species, which increased in the city and suburbs of London, till eight or ten thousand died in a week. The richer inhabitants fled into the remoter counties; but the calamities of those who stayed behind, and of the poorer sort, are not to be expressed. Trade was at a full stand; all commerce between London and the country was entirely cut off, lest the infection should be propagated thereby. Nay the country house-keepers and farmers durst not entertain their city friends or relations, till they had performed quarantine in the fields or out-houses. If a stranger passed through the neighbourhood, they fled from him as an enemy. In London the shops and houses were quite shut up, and many of them marked with a red cross, and an inscription over the door, Lord have mercy on us! Grass grew in the streets; and every night the bell-man went his rounds with a cart, crying, Bring out your dead. From London the plague spread into the neighbouring towns and villages, and continued near three quarters of a year, till it had swept away almost one hundred thousand of the inhabitants.

Some of the established clergy, with a commendable zeal, ventured to continue in their stations, and preach to their parishioners throughout the course of the plague, but most of them fled, and deserted their parishes at a time when their assistance was most wanted; upon this some of the ejected ministers ventured to preach in the vacant pulpits, imagining that so extraordinary a case would justify their disregard to the laws. The ministers who embarked in this service, were Mr. Thomas Vincent, Mr. Chester, Mr. Janeway, Messrs. Turner, Grimes, Franklin, and others. The face of death, and the arrows that fled among the people in darkness and at noon-day, awakened both preachers and hearers: many who were at church

one day were thrown into their graves the next ; the cry of great numbers was, *what shall we do be saved ?* A more awful time England had never seen !

But it will amaze all posterity, that in a time both of pestilence, and when the non-conformist ministers were hazarding their lives in the service of the souls of the distressed and dying citizens of London, that the prime minister and his creatures, instead of mourning for the nation's sins, and meditating a reformation of manners, should pour out all their vengeance upon the non-conformists, in order to make their condition more insupportable. One would have thought such a judgment from heaven, and such a generous compassion in the ejected ministers, should have softened the hearts of their most cruel enemies ; but the presbyterians must be crushed, in defiance of the rebukes of providence. Bp. Kennet and Mr. Eachard would excuse the ministry by alledging, that some of the old Oliverian Officers were listed in the Dutch service ; which if true, was nothing to the body of the presbyterians, though Lord Clarendon did what he could to incense the parliament, and make them believe they were in confederacy with the enemies of the government. In his harangue to the house he says,—“ Their countenances were more erect, and more insolent since the beginning of the war than before ; that they were ready if any misfortune had befallen the King's fleet, to have brought the war into our fields and houses. The horrid murderers of our late royal master, have been received into the most sacred councils in Holland ; and other infamous persons of our nation, are admitted to a share in the conduct of their affairs with liberal pensions. Too many of his majesty's subjects have been listed in their service for a maintenance. Their friends at home made no doubt of doing the business themselves, if they could pitch upon a lucky day to begin the work. If you carefully provide for suppressing your enemies at home, you will find your enemies abroad more inclined to peace.” Is it possible that such a speech could proceed from the lips of a wise and faithful counsellor, who was to ask for money and carry on the war ? Could the chancellor think, that the way to conquer abroad, was to divide and

harrass the King's subjects at home, in the midst of the distress of a terrible plague? He confessed afterwards, that he was most averse to this war, and abhorred it from his very soul, and yet he makes a handle of it to rain down vengeance on the presbyterians, who had no concern in it; but it happened to them as in popish countries, when any general calamity befalls the people, it is imputed to too great an indulgence to *heretics*, and the vengeance is returned upon their heads: and therefore an act was brought into the house, which obtained the royal assent, to restrain non-conformists from inhabiting corporations. This act enjoined, "that no non-conformist ministers shall after the 24th of March 1665, unless in passing the road, come or be within five miles of any city, town corporate, or borough that sends burgesses to parliament; or within five miles of any parish, town, or place wherein they have since the act of oblivion been parson, vicar, or lecturer, &c. or where they have preached in any conventicle, on any pretence whatsoever, before they have taken and subscribed the abovesaid oath, before the justices of peace at their quarter sessions for the county, in open court; upon forfeiture for every such offence of the sum of forty pounds, one third to the King, another third to the poor, and a third to him that shall sue for it. And it is further enacted, that such as shall refuse the oath aforesaid, shall be incapable of teaching any public or private schools, or of taking any boarders or tablers to be taught or instructed, under pain of forty pounds, to be distributed as above. Any two justices of peace, upon oath made before them of any offence committed against this act, are empowered to commit the offender to prison for six months, without bail or mainprize." Those ministers who had some little estate or substance of their own, retired to some remote and obscure villages, or such little market towns as were not corporations, and more than five miles from the places where they had preached; but in many counties it was difficult to find such places of retirement; for either there were no houses untenanted, or they were annexed to farms which the ministers were not capable of using; or the people were afraid to admit the ministers into their houses, lest they should be suspected as favourers of non-

conformity. Some took advantage of the ministers' necessities, and raised their rents beyond what they could afford to give. Great numbers were thus buried in obscurity, while others who had neither money nor friends, went on preaching as they could, till they were sent to prison, thinking it more eligible to perish in a gaol than to starve out of one; especially when by this means they had some occasional relief from their hearers, and hopes that their wives and children might be supported after their death. Many who lay concealed in distant places from their flocks in the day-time, rode thirty or forty miles to preach to them in the night, and retired again before day-light. These hardships tempted some few to conform, contrary to their former judgments; but the body of dissenters remained stedfast to their principles, and the church gained neither reputation nor numbers. The informers were very diligent in hunting after their game; and the soldiers and officers behaved with great rudeness and violence: when they missed of the ministers, they went into the barns and out-houses, and sometimes thrust their swords up to the hilts in the hay and straw, where they supposed they might lie concealed; they made havock of their goods and terrified the women and children almost out of their lives. These methods of cruelty reduced many ministers with their families to the necessity of living upon brown rye bread and water; but few were reduced to public beggary, the providence of God appearing wonderfully for their relief, in their greatest extremities.

And, as if the judgments of heaven upon this nation were not heavy enough, nor the legislature sufficiently severe, the bishops must throw their weight into the scale; for in the very midst of the plague, Abp. Sheldon sent orders to the several bishops of his province to return the names of all ejected non-conformist ministers, with their places of abode, and manner of life; the design of this enquiry, was to gird the laws closer upon the dissenters, and to know by what means they earned their bread; and if this tender-hearted archbishop could have had his will, they must have starved, or sought a livelihood in foreign countries.

The vices of the nation not being sufficiently punished

by *Pestilence* and *War*, it pleased almighty God this year to suffer the city of London to be laid in ashes by a dreadful conflagration, which broke out in Pudding-Lane behind the Monument, Sept. 2, and within three or four days, consumed thirteen thousand two hundred dwelling-houses, eighty-nine churches, among which was the cathedral of St. Paul's ; many public structures, schools, libraries, and stately edifices. Multitudes lost their goods and merchandize, and the greatest part of their substance, and some few their lives ; the King, the Duke of York, and many of the nobility, were spectators of the desolation, but had not the power to stop its progress, till at length it ceased almost as wonderfully as it began. Moor-fields was filled with household goods, and the people were forced to lodge in huts and tents : many families who were the last week in prosperity, were now reduced to beggary, and obliged to begin the world again. The authors of this fire were said to be the *Papists*, as appears by the inscription upon the monument. The parliament being of this opinion, petitioned the King to issue out a proclamation, requiring all popish priests and jesuits to depart the kingdom within a month, and appointed a committee who received evidence of some papists, who were seen to throw fire-balls into houses, and of others who had materials for it in their pockets ; but the men were fled, and none suffered but one Hubart a Frenchman, by his own confession.

In this general confusion, the churches being burnt, and many of the parish ministers withdrawn for want of habitations or places of worship, the non-conformists resolved again to supply the necessities of the people ; depending upon it that in such an extremity, they should escape persecution ; some churches were erected of boards, which they called *Tabernacles* ; and the dissenters fitted up large rooms with pulpits seats and galleries, for the reception of all who would come. Many citizens frequented the meetings, where the liturgy was not read ; though the few parish pulpits that remained, were filled with very able preachers. But none of these calamities had any further influence upon the court prelates, than

that they durst not prosecute the preachers so severely for the present.

This year was memorable for the fall of the great Earl of Clarendon, who attended the King in his exile, and upon his majesty's restoration was created a peer, and advanced to the high dignity of chancellor of England. He governed with a sovereign and absolute sway as prime minister, for about two years; but in the year 1663 was impeached of high treason by the Earl of Bristol; and though the impeachment was dropt for want of form, his interest at court declined from that time, and after the Oxford parliament of 1665, his lordship was out of all credit. This summer the King took the seals from him, and on the 12th of November, Sir Edward Seymour impeached him of high treason at the bar of the house of peers, in the name of all the commons of England, for sundry arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings contrary to law, by which he had acquired a greater estate than could be honestly gotten in that time—For procuring grants of the King's lands to his relations, contrary to law—For corresponding with Cromwell in his exile—For advising and effecting the sale of Dunkirk—For issuing out *quo warranto's* to obtain great sums of money from the corporations—For determining people's title to their lands at the council table, and stopping proceedings at law, &c. The Earl had made himself obnoxious at court, by his magisterial carriage to the King, and was grown very unpopular by his superb and magnificent palace at St. James's, erected in a time of war and pestilence, which cost him fifty thousand pounds: some called it Dunkirk-House, as being built with his share of the price of that fortress; and others Holland-House, as if he had received money from the King's enemies in time of war. The King's second marriage, which proved barren, was laid to his charge, and said to be contrived for the advancement of his grand-children by the Dutchess of York, who was the Earl's daughter. When his majesty inclined to part with his Queen, and if possible to legitimate his addresses to Miss Steward, the chancellor got her privately married to the Duke

of Richmond, without the King's knowledge, which his majesty was told was to secure the succession of the crown to his own family. This intriguing, together with his high opposition to the Roman Catholics, and to all who were not of his own principles, procured him many enemies, and struck him quite out of the King's favour. The Earl did not think fit to weather the storm, but withdrew to France, leaving a paper behind him, in which he denies almost every article of his charge ; but the parliament voted his defence scandalous, and ordered it to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. After which his lordship was banished the King's dominions for life, by act of parliament. He spent the remaining seven years of his life at Roan in Normandy, among papists and presbyterians, whom he would hardly suffer to live in his own country, and employed the chief of his time in writing his history of the grand rebellion.

The Earl of Clarendon was a protestant of *Laudean* principles in church and state, and at the head of all the penal laws against the non-conformists to this time. Rapin says, that " From him came all the blows aimed at the non-conformists since the beginning of this reign. His immoderate passion against presbyterianism was this great man's foible. He gloried in his hatred of that people ; and perhaps, contributed more than any other person to that excess of animosity which subsists against them at this day, among the followers of his maxims and principles." Baxter observes, " it was a remarkable providence of God, that he who had dealt so cruelly by the non-conformists should be banished by his own *friends*, while the *others*, whom he had persecuted, were most moderate in his cause, and many of them for him. It was a great ease that befel good men by his fall," for his way was to " decoy men into conspiracies, or pretended plots, and upon those rumours, innocent people were laid in prison, so that no man knew when he was safe ; whereas since his time, though the laws have been made more severe, yet men are more safe." His lordship was undoubtedly a person of very considerable abilities, which have been suffi-

ciently celebrated by his admirers, but I have not been able to discover any great or generous exploits for the service of the public; and how far his conduct with regard to the non-conformists, was consistent with humanity, religion, or honour, must be left with the reader.

CHAP. VIII.

CHARLES II.

The King desires a General Toleration.—Behaviour of the Clergy.—Unhappy State of the Nation.—Project of a Comprehension.—Opposed by the Bishops, and fails.—Licentiousness of the Court.—Conventicle Act revived.—Remarks.—Persecution.—Distress of the Non-conformists.—Trial of William Penn.—King's design of governing absolutely.—The Cabal.—Growth of Popery.—War with the Dutch.—Project of a General Indulgence.

UPON the fall of Clarendon, the discourse of a toleration began to revive : the King in his speech to his parliament recommended that the house should seriously think of some course to unite his protestant subjects in matters of religion, whereby they might be induced not only to submit quietly to the government, but also cheerfully give their assistance to the support of it. Sundry pamphlets were published upon this head ; and the Duke of Buckingham being now prime minister, the Non-conformists about London were connived at, and people went openly and boldly to their meetings.

But the house of commons, who were yet influenced by the pernicious maxims of the late chancellor, petitioned the King to issue his proclamation, for enforcing the laws against conventicles, and for preserving the peace of the kingdom, against unlawful assemblies of papists and non-conformists. This was done accordingly, and all

officers were ordered to be circumspect and vigilant in their several jurisdictions, to enforce and put the laws in execution against unlawful conventicles, commanding them to take particular care to preserve the peace."

The sufferings of the dissenters began to excite compassion in the minds of the people, insomuch that their numbers visibly increased, partly through the indulgence of the court, and the want of churches since the fire of London, and partly through the poverty of the common people, who having little to lose, ventured to go publicly to meetings in defiance of the laws. The indolence of the established clergy, and the diligence of the non-conformist ministers, contributed very much to the increase of non-conformists. Burnet says, "The King was highly offended at the behaviour of most of the bishops; Sheldon and Morley, who kept close by Lord Clarendon, the great patron of persecuting power, lost the King's favour, the former never recovered it, and the latter was sent from court into his diocese. In conversation with Bp. Burnet, about the ill state of the church, the King said, "If the clergy had done their parts it had been easy to run down the non-conformists, but they will do nothing, and will have me do every thing; and most of them do worse than if they did nothing. I have a very honest chaplain, to whom I have given a living in Suffolk, but he is a very great blockhead, and yet has brought all his parish to church; I cannot imagine what he could say to them, for he is a very silly fellow; but he has been about from house to house, and I suppose his nonsense has suited their nonsense; and in reward of his diligence, I have given him a bishopric in Ireland."

The kingdom was at this time full of factions and contents, arising from the late calamities of fire and plague, as well as of the burden of the Dutch war; but that which struck all considerate men with a panic, was the danger of the protestant interest and the liberties of Europe, from the formidable progress of the French armies, which this very summer over-run Spanish Flanders, and took a number of strong towns. Which with their dependencies, were yielded in full sovereignty to France by the treaty of

Aix la Chapel. The English court seemed unconcerned at the French conquests, till they were awakened by the clamours of the whole nation; upon this Sir William Temple was sent to Holland, who in a few weeks concluded a tripple alliance between England, Holland, and Sweden, which strengthened the protestant interest while it subsisted; but French mistresses and money could dissolve the strongest bonds.

In this critical situation of affairs abroad, some attempts were made to quiet the minds of his majesty's protestant subjects at home; for men began to think it high time for protestants to put a stop to the pulling down their neighbours' houses, when the common enemy was threatening the destruction of them all; therefore Lord-keeper Bridgman, Lord Chief Justice Hale, Bps. Wilkins, Reynolds, Drs. Burton, Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and others set on foot a comprehension of such as could be brought into the church by a few abatements, and a toleration for the rest. But the project was blasted by the court bishops, and Clarendon's friends, who took the alarm, and raised a mighty out-cry of the danger of the church. Nobody, say they, knows were the demands of the presbyterians will end; the cause of the hierarchy will be given up if any of those points are yielded, which have been so much contested; besides it is unworthy of the church to court, or even to treat with her enemies, when there is so little reason to apprehend that we should gain any considerable number thereby. But to this it was replied, that the prodigious increase of popery and infidelity, was a loud call of Providence, to attempt every thing that could be done without sin for healing our divisions. That though the non-conformists could not legally meet together, to bring in their concessions in the name of the body, it was well known what they scrupled, and what would bring most of them into the church. That a compliance in some lesser matters of indifference would be no reproach but an honour to the church, how superior soever she might be in arguments or power. Proposals were therefore drawn up by Bp. Wilkins and Dr. Burton, and communicated to Drs. Bates, Manton, and Mr. Baxter, and by them to their brethren.

And according to these proposals, a bill was prepared for the parliament, by Lord Chief Justice Hale ; but Bp. Wilkins, an honest open-hearted man, having disclosed the affair to Bp. Ward, in hopes of his assistance, alarmed the bishops, who instead of promoting the design, consulted measures to defeat it ; for as soon as the parliament met, notice was taken that there were rumours without doors, of an act to be offered for comprehension and indulgence, upon which a vote was passed, that no man should bring such an act into the house. And to crush the non-conformists more effectually, Abp. Sheldon wrote a circular letter to the bishops of his province, to send him a particular account of the conventicles in their several dioceses, and of the numbers that frequented them ; and whether they thought they might be easily suppressed by the civil magistrate. When he was provided with this information, he went to the King, and obtained a proclamation to put the laws in execution against the non-conformists, and particularly against the preachers, according to the statute which forbids their inhabiting corporations.

Thus the persecution was renewed ; and the parliament still bent on severities, appointed a committee to enquire into the behaviour of the non-conformists, who reported to the house, that divers conventicles, and other seditious meetings, were held in their very neighbourhood, in defiance of the laws, and to the danger of the peace of the kingdom. General Monk, who was near his end, and sunk almost into contempt, was employed to disperse them, and received the thanks of the house for his zeal in that important service, wherein he was sure to meet with no opposition. They also returned his majesty thanks for his proclamation for suppressing conventicles, desiring him to take the same care for the future. By this means the private meetings of the dissenters, which had been held by connivance, were broke up again. Mr. Baxter was committed to Clerkenwell prison, for preaching to his neighbours in his own house, and for refusing the Oxford oath ; but upon demanding an *habeas corpus*, his mittimus was declared invalid for want of naming the witnesses. The justices would have mended their mittimus and sent

him to Newgate, but Mr. Baxter being released, wisely kept out of the way. Mr. Taverner, of Uxbridge was sentenced to Newgate, for teaching a few children at Brentford. Mr. Button late university orator, was sent to prison for teaching two knights' sons in his own house; and multitudes had the like usage, suffering imprisonment for six months.

But this was contrary to the King's inclinations, who was only for playing the dissenters against the parliament for a sum of money; when the house therefore was up, his majesty ordered some of the non-conformists to be told, that he was desirous to make them easy, and that if they would petition for relief they should be favourably heard. Sir J. Barber, secretary of state, acquainted Dr. Manton with the King's intention, upon which an address was drawn up and presented to his majesty, by Drs. Jacomb, Manton, and Bates; the King received them graciously, and promised to do his utmost to get them comprehended within the establishment. He wished there had been no bars at all, but that he was forced to comply for peace sake, and that he would endeavour to remove them, though it was a work of difficulty. He complained of the umbrage that their numerous assemblies gave to clamorous people, and advised them to use their liberty with more discretion hereafter. When the ministers promised obedience, and assured his majesty of their steady loyalty, and constant prayers for the prosperity of his person and government, he dismissed them with a smile, and told them that he was against persecution, and hoped ere long to be able to stand upon his own legs. But his majesty's promises were always to be bought off by a sum of money to support his pleasures.

The controversy of the reasonableness of toleration, was now warmly debated without doors; many ill-natured books were written to expose the doctrine of the presbyterians, as leading to antinomianism and licentiousness of manners. Others exposed their characters and manner of preaching. Among these, must be reckoned "The friendly debate," which though written by a good man, had an ill effect in sharpening people's spirits too much against the dissenters. The author was Dr. Patrick,

afterwards Bp. of Ely. But I must do this prelate so much justice as to say, that in his advanced age he expressed his dissatisfaction with this part of his conduct; and in a debate in the house of lords about the occasional bill, declared, that although he had been known to write against the dissenters with some warmth in his younger years, he had lived long enough to see reason to alter his opinion of that people, and that way of writing. A rare instance of ingenuity and candour.

But one of the most virulent writers of his time, under the form of a clergyman, was Parker, afterwards Bp. of Oxford, a man of considerable learning and great smartness, but of no judgment, and as little virtue; and as to religion, says Burnet, rather impious than otherwise. At length Andrew Marvel, the liveliest wit of the age, attacked him in a burlesque strain, and with so peculiar and entertaining an address, that from the King down to the tradesman, his books were read with the highest pleasure. He had all the men of wit on his side, and not only humbled Parker more than the serious and grave writings of Dr. Owen, but silenced the whole party; one of whom concludes his letter to Marvel with these words, "If thou darest to print or publish any lye or libel against Dr. Parker, by the eternal God I will cut thy throat." Subscribed J. G. All sober men were of opinion, that it was ungenerous and cruel to treat a number of peaceable men, whom the laws had put almost out of their protection, in so ludicrous a manner. Religion itself suffered by it. I remember, says Chief Justice Hale, that when Ben. Johnson in his play of the Alchymist introduced Anartus in derision of the Puritans, with many of their phrases taken out of scripture, in order to render that people ridiculous, the play was detested and abhorred, because it seemed to reproach religion itself; but now, when the presbyterians were brought upon the stage in their peculiar habits, and with their distinguishing phrases of scripture, exposed to the laughter of spectators, it met with approbation and applause.

But such was the complexion of the court, that they bad defiance to virtue, and even decency, giving counte-

nance to all manner of licentiousness. The play-houses were become nests of prostitution, and the stage was defiled beyond example; the King, Queen, and courtiers, went about in masks, and came into citizens houses unknown, where they committed indecencies not to be mentioned. They were carried about in hackney chairs, and none could distinguish them except those who were in the secret. Once the Queen's chairman not knowing who she was, left her to come home in a hackney coach, some say in a cart. Buckingham who gloried in his debaucheries, and Rochester, the greatest wit and libertine of his age, were the principal favourites. To support these extravagancies, the house of commons supplied the King with what money he wanted, and were themselves so mercenary, that the price of every man's vote was known; for as a man rose in credit in the house, he advanced his price, and expected to be treated accordingly. And the university was no less corrupt. There was a general licentiousness of manners among the students; the sermons of the younger divines were filled with encomiums upon the church, and satire against the non conformists; the evangelical doctrines of repentance, faith, charity, and practical religion, were unfashionable. The speeches and panegyrics pronounced on public occasions, were scurrilous, and little less than blasphemous.

The tide in the house of commons still run very strong on the side of persecution, as appears by two extraordinary clauses added to the conventicle act, which having expired some time since, was now revived by the parliament. The court went into it with a view of reducing the presbyterians to the necessity of petitioning for a general toleration. The court bishops were for the bill, but the moderate clergy were against it. Wilkins spoke against it in the house; and when the King desired him in private to be quiet, he replied, that he thought it an ill thing both in conscience and policy, therefore as he was an Englishman, and a bishop, he was bound to oppose it; and since by the laws and constitution of England, and by his majesty's favour, he had a right to debate and vote, he was neither afraid nor ashamed to own his opinion in that matter. However the bill passed both houses, and received

the royal assent. The two additional clauses were, "That if any justice of peace refuse to do his duty in the execution of this act, he shall forfeit five pounds:—And that all clauses in this act, shall be construed most largely and beneficially for the suppressing conventicles, and for the justification and encouragement of all persons to be employed in the execution thereof."

The wit of man could hardly invent any thing short of capital punishment, more cruel and inhuman. One would have thought a prince of so much clemency as Charles, who had often declared against persecution, should not have consented to it, and that no christian bishop should have concurred in the passing it. Men's houses are to be plundered, their persons imprisoned, their goods and chattels carried away, and sold to those who would bid for them. Encouragement is given to a vile set of informers, and others, to live upon the labours and industry of their conscientious neighbours. Multitudes of these infamous wretches spent their profits in the most vicious courses, and then went about the streets again to hunt for further prey. The law is to be construed in their favour, and the power to be lodged in the hand of every individual justice of peace, who is to be fined five pounds if he refuses his warrant. Upon this, many honest men who would not be the instruments of such severities quitted the bench. Mr. Eachard being ashamed to ascribe these cruelties to the influence of the bishops, says, that "This and all the penal laws made against the dissenters were the acts of *the parliament*, and not of *the church*, and were made more on a civil and political, than upon a moral or religious account; and always upon some fresh provocation in reality or appearance."—This is the language by which the patrons of high church cruelty, endeavour to excuse themselves from the guilt of persecution; but it must fall somewhere; and that it may not fall too heavy upon the church, it is artfully, and with great good manners, cast entirely upon the legislature, and put upon the score of sedition, whereas it was well known the dissenters behaved peaceably, and were very far from disturbing the state. It is therefore evident, that the act was levelled

purely against liberty of conscience, and was so severely executed, that there was hardly a conventicle to be heard of all over England.

Great numbers were prosecuted on this act, and many industrious families reduced to poverty. Many ministers were confined in gaols and close prisons; and warrants were issued out against them and their hearers, whereby great sums of money were levied. In the diocese of Salisbury the persecution was hottest, by the instigation of Bp. Ward; many hundreds being pursued with great industry, and driven from their families and trades. The act was executed with such severity in Starling's mayoralty, that many in the city were removing with their effects to Holland, till the King put a stop to it. Informers were every where at work, and having crept into religious assemblies in disguise, levied great sums of money upon minister and people. Soldiers broke into the houses of honest farmers, under pretence of searching for conventicles, and where money was wanting, they plundered their goods, drove away their cattle, and sold them for half price. Many were plundered of their household furniture; the sick had their beds taken from under them, and themselves laid on the floor. These vile creatures were not only encouraged, but pushed on vehemently by their spiritual guides; for this purpose Abp. Sheldon sent another circular letter to all the bishops of his province, in which he directs all ecclesiastical judges and officers, breathing the most determined spirit of persecution against the non-conformists, and exhibiting his lordship more like a father of the inquisition, or the dragooning commission of Lewis XIV. when he revoked the edict of Nantz, than a christian and protestant bishop.

Copies of this letter were sent to the officers of the several parishes within their jurisdictions, earnestly exhorting them to take especial care, to perform whatsoever is therein required, and to give an account at the next visitation. Many of the bishops chose to lie behind the curtain, and throw off the odium from themselves to the civil magistrate; but some of the more zealous could not forbear appearing in person, as Bp. Ward already mentioned, and Bp. Gunning, who often disturbed the

meetings in person; once finding the doors shut, he ordered the constable to break them open with a sledge; another time he sat upon the bench at the quarter sessions, upon which the chairman desired his lordship to give the charge, which he refusing, received a very handsome rebuke; it being hardly consistent with one that is an ambassador for the Prince of Peace, to sit in judgment upon the consciences of his poor countrymen and neighbours, in order to plunder and tear them to pieces. The bishop was so zealous in the cause, that he sunk his character by giving a public challenge to the presbyterians, independents, anabaptists, and quakers, and appointed three days for the disputation; on the first of which his lordship went into the pulpit in the church, where was a considerable congregation, and charged the former with sedition and rebellion out of their books, but would hear no reply. When the day came to dispute with the quakers, they summoned their friends, and when the bishop railed, they paid him in his own coin; and followed him to his very house with repeated shouts, the *Hireling* *flieeth!*

The non-conformist ministers did what they could to keep themselves within the compass of the law; they preached frequently twice a day in large families, with only four strangers, and as many under the age of sixteen as would come; and at other times, in places where people might hear in several adjoining houses; but after all, infinite mischiefs ensued, families were impoverished and divided; friendship between neighbours interrupted; there was a general distrust and jealousy of each other; and sometimes upon little quarrels, servants would betray their masters, and throw their affairs into distraction. Among others that suffered at this time was Dr. Manton, who was apprehended on a Lord's day in the afternoon, just as he had done sermon, the door being opened to let a gentleman out, the justice and his attendants rushed in and went up stairs; they stayed till the doctor had ended his prayer, and then writ down the names of the principal persons present, and took the doctor's promise to come to them at an house in the Piazza's of Covent-Garden, where they tendered him the Oxford oath, upon his refu-

sal of which, he was committed prisoner to the Gatehouse; where he continued till he was released by the indulgence. At another time his meeting-house in White-Hart Yard was broken up; the place was fined forty pounds, and the minister twenty, which was paid by Lord Wharton, who was then present. They also took down the names of the hearers, for the benefit of the justices of peace and spiritual courts.

The behaviour of the quakers was very extraordinary, and had something in it that looked like the spirit of martyrdom. They met at the same place and hour as in times of liberty, and when the officers came to seize them, none of them would stir; they went all together to prison; they stayed there till they were dismissed, for they would not petition to be set at liberty, nor pay the fines set upon them, nor so much as the prison fees. When they were discharged, they went to their meeting-house again, as before; and when the doors were shut up by order, they assembled in great numbers in the street before the doors, saying, they would not be ashamed, nor afraid to meet together in a peaceable manner to worship God; but in imitation of the prophet Daniel, they would do it more publicly, because they were forbid. Some called this obstinacy, others firmness; but by it they carried their point, the government being weary of contending against so much resolution.

Two of their principal speakers, William Penn and William Mead, were tried at the Old Bailey, for an unlawful and tumultuous assembly in the open street, wherein they spake or preached to the people who were assembled in Grace-Church-street, to the number of three or four hundred, in contempt of the King's laws, and to the disturbance of the peace. The prisoners pleaded *not guilty*, but met with some of the severest usage that has been known in an English court of justice. They were fined forty marks a-piece for coming into court with their hats on, though it was not done out of contempt, but from a principle of their religion. It appeared by the witnesses, that there was an assembly in Grace-Church-street, but there was neither riot nor tumult, nor force of arms. Mr. Penn confessed they were so far from

recanting, or declining to vindicate the assembling themselves to preach, pray, or worship God, that they declared to all the world, they believed it to be their duty, and that all the powers on earth should not be able to divert them from it. When it was said, they were not arraigned for worshipping God, but for breaking the law, William Penn affirmed he had broken no law, and challenged the recorder to tell him upon what law he was prosecuted. The recorder answered, upon the common law, but could not tell where that common law was to be found. Penn insisted upon his producing the law, but the court overruled him, and called him a troublesome fellow. Penn replied,—“I design no affront to the court, but if you deny to acquaint me with the law you say I have broken, you deny me the right that is due to every Englishman, and evidence to the whole world that your designs are arbitrary.”—Upon which he was haled from the bar into the bail-dock. As he was going out he said to the jury, “If these fundamental laws which relate to liberty and property, must not be indispensably maintained, who can say he has a right to the coat upon his back? Certainly then our liberties are openly to be invaded, our wives to be ravished, our children enslaved, and our estates led away in triumph, by every sturdy beggar and malicious informer, as their trophies.”

William Mead being left alone at the bar, said, “You men of the jury, I am accused of meeting by force of arms, in a tumultuous manner. Time was when I had freedom to use a carnal weapon, and then I feared no man; but now I fear God, and dare not make use thereof, nor hurt any man. I am a peaceable man, and therefore demand to know upon what law my indictment is founded; if the recorder will not tell what makes a riot, Coke will tell him, that it is when three or more are met together to beat a man, or to enter forcibly into another man’s lands, to cut his grass or wood, or break down his pales.” Upon this the recorder having lost all patience, pulled off his hat, and said, I thank you, Sir, for telling me what the law is. Mead replied, Thou mayest put on thy hat, I have no fee for thee now. The Mayor Starling told him, he deserved to have his tongue cut out, and ordered him likewise to be carried to the bail-dock.

When the prisoners were gone, the recorder gave the jury their charge, upon which William Penn stood up, and with a loud voice said, "I appeal to the jury, and this great assembly, whether it be not contrary to the undoubted right of every Englishman, to give the jury their charge in the absence of the prisoners." The recorder answered with a sneer, Ye are present, ye do hear, do ye not? Penn answered, no thanks to the court; I have ten or twelve material points to offer, in order to invalidate the indictment, but am not heard. The recorder said, "Pull him down, pull the fellow down." Mead replied, these were barbarous and unjust proceedings; and then they were both thrust into the hole.

After the jury had withdrawn an hour and half, the prisoners were brought to the bar to hear their verdict; eight of them came down agreed, but four remained above, to whom they used many unworthy threats, and in particular to Mr. Bushel, whom they charged with being the cause of the disagreement. At length after withdrawing a second time, they agreed to bring them in guilty of speaking in Grace-Church-street; which the court would not accept for a verdict, but after many menaces told them, they should be locked up without meat, drink, fire, or tobacco; nay, they should starve, unless they brought in a proper verdict. William Penn being at the bar, said, "My jury ought not to be thus threatened. We were by force of arms kept out of our meeting-house, and met as near it as the soldiers would give us leave. We are a peaceable people, and cannot offer violence to any man. And looking upon the jury, he said, You are Englishmen, mind your privilege, give not away your right." To which some of them answered, nor will we ever do it. Upon this they were shut up all night without victuals or fire, or any other convenience. Next morning they brought in the same verdict; upon which they were threatened with the utmost resentments. The mayor said, *he would cut Bushel's throat as soon as he could.* The recorder said, *he never knew the benefit of an inquisition till now; and that the next sessions of parliament a law would be made wherein those that would not conform should not have the benefit of the law.* The court having obliged

the jury to withdraw again, they were kept without meat and drink till next morning, when they brought in the prisoners *not guilty*; for which they were fined forty marks a man, and to be imprisoned till paid. The prisoners were also remanded to Newgate for their fines in not pulling off their hats. The jury after some time were discharged by *habeas corpus* returnable in the common pleas, where their commitment was judged illegal. This was a noble stand for the liberty of the subject in very dangerous times, when neither law nor equity availed any thing.

Hitherto the King and parliament had agreed pretty well, by means of the large supplies of money the parliament had given to support his majesty's pleasures; but now having assurance of large remittances from France, his majesty resolved to govern by the prerogative, and stand upon his own legs. His prime counsellors were Lord Clifford, Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards Lord Shaftsbury, the Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Arlington, and Luke Landerdale, who from the initial letters of their names were called the CABAL. Lord Clifford was an open papist, and the Earl of Arlington a concealed one. Buckingham was a debauchee, and reputed a downright atheist; he was a man of great wit and parts, and of sounder principles in the interests of humanity, than the rest of the court. Shaftsbury had a vast genius, but at best was only a deist; he had great knowledge of men and things, but would often change sides as his interest directed. Lauderdale was a man of learning, and from an almost republican was become a perfect tool of the prerogative, and would offer at the most desperate councils. He had scarce any traces of religion remaining, though he called himself a presbyterian, and had an aversion to Charles I. to the last. By these five ministers of state, the King and Duke of York drove on their designs of introducing popery and arbitrary power.

While the protestant dissenters were harrassed in all parts of the kingdom, the Roman catholics were at ease under the wing of the prerogative; there were few or no processes against them, for they had the liberty of resorting to mass at the houses of foreign ambassadors, and other chapels, both in town and country; nor did the

bishops complain of them in the house of lords, by which means they began in a few years, to rival the protestants both in strength and numbers. The commons represented the causes of this misfortune in an address to the King, and proposed the following remedies : 1. That a proclamation be issued out to banish all popish priests and jesuits out of the realm, except such as attend the Queen and foreign ambassadors. 2. That the King's subjects be forbid going to hear mass and other exercises of the Romish religion. 3. That no office or employment of public authority be put into the hands of popish recusants. 4. That all fraternities, convents, and popish schools be abolished, and the jesuits, priests, friars, and school-masters punished. 5. That his majesty require all the officers of the Exchequer, to issue out processes against popish recusants convict, certified thither. 6. That Plunket the pretended Primate of Ireland, and Talbot Abp. of Dublin, be sent for into England, to answer such matters as should be objected against them.

The King promised to consider the address, but hoped they would allow him to distinguish between new converts, and those who had been bred up in the popish religion, and served him and his father in the late wars. After some time a proclamation was issued, in which his majesty declares, that *he had always adhered to the true religion established in this kingdom against all temptations whatsoever* ; and that he would employ his utmost care and zeal in its defence. But the magistrates knowing his majesty's inclinations, took no care of the execution of it. Nay, the Duke of York, the King's brother, having lately lost his dutchess, Lord Clarendon's daughter, who died a papist, made a formal abjuration of the protestant religion, publicly declaring himself a Roman catholic ; the reason of which was, that the present Queen having no children, the papists gave the duke to understand, that they were capable to effect his majesty's divorce, and to set aside his succession, by providing him with another Queen, which they would certainly attempt, unless he would make an open profession of the Roman catholic religion, which he did accordingly.

The house of commons was very lavish of the nation's

money this session, for though there was no danger of an invasion from abroad, they voted the King two millions and a half, with which his majesty maintained a standing army, and called the parliament no more together for almost two years. After the houses were up, the CABAL began to prosecute their scheme of making the King absolute; in order to which, besides the two millions and half granted by parliament, they received from France the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds in two years, which not being sufficient to embark in a war with the Dutch, the King declared in council, by the advice of Clifford, that he was resolved to shut up the Exchequer, wherein the bankers of London, (who had furnished the King with money on all occasions at great interest,) had lodged vast sums of other people's cash deposited in their hands. By this means the bankers were obliged to make a stop, which interrupted the course of trade, and raised a great clamour over the whole kingdom. The king endeavoured to soften the bankers, by telling them it should be only for a year, and that he would pay the arrears out of the next subsidies of parliament; but he was worse than his word; so that great numbers of families and orphans were reduced to beggary, while the King gained about one million four hundred thousand pounds.

A second advance of the CABAL towards arbitrary power, was to destroy the Dutch commonwealth; for this purpose the triple alliance was to be broken, and pretences to be found out for quarrelling with that trading people. The Earl of Shaftsbury used this expression in his speech to the parliament for justifying the war, The Dutch commonwealth *must be destroyed*; but an occasion was wanting to justify it to the world. There had been a few scurrilous prints and medals struck in Holland, reflecting on the King's amours, below the notice of the English court, which the Dutch however had caused to be destroyed. Complaints were also revived of the insolence of the Dutch in the East Indies, and of the neglect of striking the flag in the narrow seas to the King's yacht, passing by the Dutch fleet. The cabal managed these complaints like men who were afraid of receiving satisfaction, or of giving the adversary any umbrage to prepare for the

storm. The Dutch therefore relying on the faith of treaties, pursued their traffic without fear ; but when their rich Smyrna fleet of merchantmen, consisting of seventy-two sail, under convoy of six men of war, passed by the Isle of Wight, the English fleet fell upon them and took several of their ships, without any previous declaration of war ; a breach of faith, of which pirates would have been ashamed.

Two days after the attempt upon the Smyrna fleet, the cabal made the third advance towards popery and absolute power, by advising the King to suspend the penal laws against all sorts of non-conformists. It was now resolved to set the dissenters against the church, and to offer them the protection of the crown to make way for a general toleration. Lord Shaftsbury first proposed it in council, which the majority readily complied with, provided the Roman catholics might be included ; but when the declaration was prepared, the Lord-keeper Bridgman refused to put the seal to it, as judging it contrary to law, for which he was dismissed, and the seals given to the Earl of Shaftsbury, who maintained, that the indulgence was for the service of the church of England. Abp. Sheldon, Bp. Morley, and the rest of their party, exclaimed loudly against the indulgence, and alarmed the whole nation, insomuch that many sober and good men, who had long feared the growth of popery, began to think their eyes were open, and that they were in good earnest ; but it appeared afterwards that their chief concern was for the spiritual power ; for though they murmured against the dispensing power, they fell in with all their other proceedings ; which if providence had not miraculously interposed, must have been fatal to the protestant religion and the liberties of Europe.

The protestant non-conformists had no opinion of *the dispensing power*, and were not forward to accept of liberty in this way ; they were sensible the indulgence was not granted out of love to them, nor would continue any longer, than it would serve the interest of popery. Many pamphlets were written for and against the dissenters accepting it, because it was grafted on the dispensing power. Some maintained, that it was setting up altar

against altar, and that they should accept of nothing but a *comprehension*. Others endeavoured to prove, that it was the duty of the presbyterians to make use of the liberty granted them by the King, because it was their natural right, which no legislative power upon earth had a right to deprive them of, as long as they remained dutiful subjects; that meeting in separate congregations distinct from the parochial assemblies, in the present circumstances, was neither schismatical nor sinful. Accordingly most of the ministers, both in London and in the country, took out licences. Great numbers of people attended the meetings, and a cautious and moderate address of thanks was presented to the King for their liberty, but all were afraid of the consequences.

This year died Mr. Vavasor Powel who was born in Radnorshire, and educated in Jesus Coll. Oxon. When he left the university he preached up and down in Wales, till being driven from thence for want of presbyterial ordination, which he scrupled, he came to London, and soon after settled at Dartford in Kent. In 1646 he obtained a testimonial of his religious and blameless conversation, and of his abilities for the work of the ministry, signed by Mr. Herle, and seventeen of the assembly of divines. Furnished with these testimonials he returned to Wales, and became a most indefatigable and active instrument of propagating the gospel in those parts. There were few, if any of the churches or chapels in Wales, in which he did not preach; yea very often he preached to the poor Welch in the mountains, at fairs, and in market-places; for which he had no more than a stipend of one hundred pounds per annum, besides the advantage of some sequestered livings in North Wales, which in those times of confusion turned to a very poor account. Mr. Powel was a bold man, and of republican principles, preaching against the protectorship of Cromwell, and wrote letters to him, for which he was imprisoned, to prevent his spreading disaffection in the state. At the dawn of the restoration, being known to be a fifth-monarchy-man, he was secured first at Shrewsbury, afterwards in Wales, and at last in the Fleet. In 1662 he was shut up in South Sea Castle near Portsmouth, where he continued five years. In

1667 he was released, but venturing to preach again in his own country, he was imprisoned at Cardiff, and in 1669 sent up to London, and confined a prisoner in the Fleet, where he died, and was buried in Bunhill-fields, in the presence of an innumerable croud of dissenters, who attended him to his grave. He was of an unconquered resolution, and of a mind unshaken under all his troubles. The inscription on his tomb calls him, "a successful teacher of the past, a sincere witness of the present, and an useful example to the future age; who in the defection of many, found mercy to be faithful, for which being called to many prisons, he was there tried, and would not accept deliverance, expecting a better resurrection." He died in the fifty-third year of his age, and the 11th year of his imprisonment.

CHAP. IX.

CHARLES II.

War with the Dutch.—Lecture at Pinners'-Hall.—The Dispensing Power.—Noble Spirit of the Dissenters.—The King gives up the Indulgence.—Address against the Papists.—The Test Act.—Remarks upon the Test Act. Rigorous conduct towards Non-conformists.—Duke of York's Second Marriage.—Fruitless attempts for a Comprehension.—New Severities of the Court against Dissenters.—Peace with the Dutch.—Death of Milton.—The People compassionate the persecuted Dissenters.—Insolence of the Papists.—Base Character of Informers. They are encouraged by the Court and the Bishops.—Dangerous State of the Nation.

THE French King having prevailed with the English court to break the triple alliance, and make war with the Dutch, published a declaration at Paris, signifying that he could not without diminution of his glory, any longer dissemble the indignation raised in him by the unhandsome carriage of the States General of the United Provinces, he therefore proclaimed war against them, and with a rapid fury over-ran the greatest part of the Netherlands. In this extremity the Dutch opened their sluices, and laid a great part of their country under water ; the populace rose, and having obliged the states to elect the young Prince of Orange Stadtholder, they fell upon the two

brothers Cornelius and John de Wit, their late pensionary, and tore them to pieces in a barbarous manner. The young Prince, who was then but twenty-two years old, used all imaginable vigilance and activity to save the remainder of his country; and like a true patriot declared, he would die in the last dike, rather than become tributary to any foreign power. At length their allies came to their assistance, when the young Prince, like another Scipio, abandoning his own country, besieged, and took the important town of Bonne, which opened a passage for the Germans into Flanders, and struck such a surprize into the French, whose enemies were now behind them, that they abandoned all their conquests in Holland, except Maestricht and Grave, with as much precipitance as they had made them.

These rapid conquests of the French, opened people's mouths against the court, and raised such discontents in England, that his majesty was obliged to issue out his proclamation, to suppress all unlawful and undutiful conversation, threatening a severe prosecution of such who should spread false news, or intermeddle with affairs of state, or promote scandal against his majesty's counsellors. He was obliged also to continue the Exchequer shut up, contrary to his royal promise, and to prorogue his parliament till next year, which he foresaw would be in a flame at their meeting.

During this interval of parliament, the declaration of indulgence continued in force, and the dissenters had rest; when the presbyterians and independents, to shew their agreement among themselves, as well as to support the doctrines of the reformation against the prevailing errors of popery, socinianism, and infidelity, set up a weekly lecture at Pinners'-hall in Broad-street, on Tuesday mornings, under the encouragement of the principal merchants and tradesmen of their persuasions in the city. Four presbyterians were joined with two independents to preach by turns, and to give it the greater reputation the principal ministers for learning and popularity were chosen as lecturers, and though there were some little misunderstandings at their first setting out, about some high points

of Calvinism, occasioned by one of Mr. Baxter's first sermons, yet the lecture continued in this form till the year 1695, when it split upon the same rock, occasioned by the reprinting Dr. Crisp's works. The four presbyterians removed to Salters'-hall, and set up a lecture on the same day and hour. The two independents remained at Pinners'-hall, and when there was no prospect of an accommodation, each party filled up their numbers out of their respective denominations.

When the King met his parliament, after a recess of a year and nine months, he acquainted them with the reasonableness and necessity of the war with the Dutch, and having asked a supply, told them, "He had found the good effect of his indulgence to dissenters, but that it was a mistake in those who said, more liberty was given to papists than others, because they had only freedom in their own houses, and no public assemblies; he should therefore take it ill to receive contradiction in what he had done; and to deal plainly with you (says his majesty), I am resolved to stick to my declaration." Lord chancellor Shaftsbury seconded the King's speech, and having vindicated the indulgence, magnified the King's zeal for the church of England and the protestant religion. But the house of commons declared against the dispensing power, and argued, that though the King had a power to pardon offenders, he had not a right to authorise men to break the laws, for this would infer a power to alter the government; and if the King could secure offenders by indemnifying them before-hand, it was in vain to make any laws at all, because according to this maxim, they had no force but at the King's discretion. Pursuant to these opinions they addressed the King to recal his declaration. The King answered, that he was sorry they should question his power in ecclesiastics, which had not been done in the reigns of his ancestors; that he did not pretend to suspend laws, wherein the properties, rights or liberties of his subjects were concerned, nor to alter any thing in the established religion, but only to take off the penalties inflicted on dissenters, which he believed they themselves would not wish executed according to the rigour of the law. The

commons perceiving his majesty was not inclined to desist from his declaration, stopt the money-bill, and presented a second address, insisting upon a full and satisfactory assurance, that his majesty's conduct in this affair might not be drawn into example for the future, which at length they obtained.

The parliament was now first disposed to distinguish between protestant dissenters and popish recusants, and to give ease to the former without including the latter, especially when the dissenters in the house disavowed the dispensing power, though it had been exercised in their favour. Alderman Love, member for the city of London, stood up, and in a handsome speech declared, that he, "Had rather go without his own desired liberty, than have it in a way so destructive of the liberties of his country, and the protestant interest; and this was the sense of the main body of dissenters." This speech surprised the whole house, and gave a turn to those very men, who for ten years together had been loading the non-conformists with one penal law after another. But things were now at a crisis; popery and slavery were at the door; the triple alliance broken; the protestant powers ravaging one another; the Exchequer shut up; the heir apparent to the crown an open papist; and an army encamped near London under popish officers ready to be transported into Holland to complete their ruin. When the dissenters at such a time laid aside their resentments against their persecutors, and renounced their own liberty for the safety of the protestant religion, and the liberties of their country; all sober men began to think, it was high time to put a mark of distinction between them and the Roman catholics.

But the King was of another mind, yet being in want of money, he was easily persuaded by his mistresses to give up his indulgence, contrary to the advice of the CABAL, who told him, if he would make a bold stand for his prerogative all would be well. But he came to the house, and having pressed the commons to dispatch the money-bill, he called for the declaration, and broke the seal with his own hands, by which means all the licences for meeting-houses were called in.

The non-conformists were now in some hopes of a legal toleration by parliament, for the commons resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that a bill be brought in for the ease of his majesty's protestant subjects, who are dissenters in matters of religion from the church of England. But though all agreed in bringing in a bill, there was neither time nor unanimity enough in the house this sessions, to agree upon particulars; and it was dropt in the house of lords, because the dead weight of bishops joined with the King and the caballing party against it.

While this was depending, the commons addressed the King against papists and jesuits, expressing their great concern to see such persons admitted into employments and places of great trust and profit, and especially into military commands, and therefore pray, that the laws against them may be put in execution. Upon which a proclamation was issued, though to very little purpose, enjoining all popish priests and jesuits to depart the realm, and the laws to be put in execution against all popish recusants.

But his majesty making no mention of removing them from places of profit and trust, the commons suspended their money bill, and ordered a bill to be brought in, to confine all places of profit and trust, to those only who are of the communion of the church of England. This is commonly called the TEST ACT. When it was brought into the house, the court opposed it with all their might, and endeavoured to divide the church party, by proposing, that some regard might be had to protestant dissenters, upon which Alderman Love, a dissenter, stood up again and said, he hoped the clause in favour of protestant dissenters would occasion no intemperate heats; and moved, that since it was like to prove so considerable a barrier against popery, the bill might pass without any alteration, and that nothing might interpose till it was finished, and then (says the alderman), we (dissenters) will try if the parliament will not distinguish us from popish recusants, by some marks of their favour; but we are willing to lie under the severity of the laws for a time, rather than clog a more necessary work with our concerns.

These being the sentiments of the leading dissenters, the bill passed the commons with little opposition; but when it came to be debated in the house of peers, in the King's presence, the whole court was against it, except the Earl of Bristol; and maintained that it was his majesty's prerogative to employ whom he pleased in his service. Some were for having the King stand his ground against the parliament; but the Earl of Shaftsbury pressed the King to give the parliament full content, and then they would undertake to procure him the supply he wanted. This suited the King's easy temper, who not being willing to risk a second civil war, went into these measures, and out of mere necessity for money, gave up the papists, in hopes that he might afterwards recover what in the present extremity he was forced to resign. This effectually broke the CABAL, and put the Roman catholics upon pursuing other measures to introduce their religion, which was the making way for a popish successor of more resolute principles; and from hence we may date the beginning of the popish plot, which did not break out till 1678. The bill received the royal assent together with a money bill of one million two hundred thousand pounds; and then the parliament was prorogued after a short session of seven weeks.

The Test act is entitled, an act to prevent dangers which happen from popish recusants. It requires,—“That all persons bearing any office of trust or profit, shall take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance in open court, and shall also receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the usage of the church of England, in some parish church, on some Lord's day immediately after divine service and sermon, and deliver a certificate of having so received the sacrament, under the hands of the respective ministers and church-wardens, proved by two credible witnesses upon oath, and upon record in court. And that all persons taking the said oaths of supremacy and allegiance shall likewise make and subscribe this following declaration : *I, A. B. do declare, that I believe there is no transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, or in the elements of bread and wine, at, or after the consecration thereof, by any person whatsoever.* The penalty of

breaking through this act, is a disability of suing in any court of law, or equity, being guardian of any child, executor or administrator to any person, or of taking any legacy, or deed of gift, or of bearing any public office; besides a fine of five hundred pounds."

This act was principally levelled at the Roman catholics. If the dissenters had fallen in with the court measures, they might have prevented the bill's passing. But they left their own liberties in a state of uncertainty, to secure those of the nation. However, though the intention was good, the act itself is very unjustifiable, because *it founds dominion in grace*. A man cannot be an excise-man, a custom-house officer, a lieutenant in the army or navy, no not so much as a tide-waiter, without putting on the most distinguishing badge of christianity, according to the usage of the church of England. Is not this a strong temptation to prophanation and hypocrisy? Does it not pervert one of the most solemn institutions of religion, to purposes which it was never intended? However, as the church party shewed a noble zeal for their religion, the dissenters got great reputation by their silent deportment; though the King and the court bishops resolved to stick in their skirts. And therefore by the rigorous execution of such laws, the non-conformist ministers were separated from their congregations, from their maintenance and families, and their people reduced to distress and misery, or obliged to worship God in a manner contrary to the dictates of their consciences, on penalty of heavy fines, or of being shut up in a prison among thieves and robbers. Great numbers retired to the plantations; but Dr. Owen, who was shipping off his effects for New-England, was forbid to leave the kingdom by express orders from the King himself. If there had been treason or rebellion in the case, it had been justifiable; but when it was purely for non-conformity to rites and ceremonies, and a form of church government, it can deserve no better name than that of persecution.

The house of commons from their apprehensions of the growth of popery, and of a popish successor, petitioned the King against the Duke's second marriage with the Princess of Modena, an Italian papist, but his majesty told

them, they were too late. Upon which the commons stopt their money bill, voted the standing army a grievance, and were proceeding to other vigorous resolutions, when the King sent for them to the house of peers, and with a short speech prorogued them, after they had sat only nine days. In the mean time the Duke's marriage was consummated, with the consent of the French King, which raised the expectation of the Roman catholics higher than ever.

This induced the more zealous protestants to think of a firmer union with the dissenters; accordingly Mr. Baxter, at the request of the Earl of Orrery, drew up some proposals for a comprehension, agreeably to those already mentioned; which being communicated to the Earl, were put into the hands of Bp. Morley, who returned them without yielding to any thing of importance. The motion was also revived in the house of commons; but the shortness of the sessions put a stop to its progress. Besides, the court bishops seemed altogether indisposed to any concessions.

The revocation of the indulgence and the displeasure of the court against the dissenters, for deserting them in their designs to prevent the passing the test act, let loose the whole tribe of informers. The papists being excluded from places of trust, the court had no tenderness for protestant non-conformists; the judges therefore had orders to quicken the execution of the laws against them. The estates of those of the best quality in each county, were ordered to be seized. The high church pulpiteers were encouraged. One in his sermon before the house of commons told them, that the non-conformists ought not to be tolerated, but to be *cured by vengeance*. He urged them to *set fire to the faggot, and to teach them by scourges or scorpions, and open their eyes with gall*. And the King himself issued out a proclamation for putting the penal laws in full execution.

Mr. Baxter was one of the first upon whom the storm fell, being apprehended as he was preaching his Thursday lecture at Mr. Turner's. He went with the constable and the informer to Sir William Pulteney's, who demanding the warrant, found it signed by Henry Montague, Esq.

bailiff of Westminster. Sir William told the constable, that none but a city justice could give a warrant to apprehend a man for preaching in the city, whereupon he was dismissed. Endeavours were used to surprise Dr. Manton, and send him to prison upon the five mile act, but Mr. Bedford preaching for him, was apprehended in his stead; and though he had taken the oath in the five mile act, was fined twenty pounds, and the place forty pounds.

The like ravages were made in most parts of England; Mr. Joseph Swaffield, of Salisbury, was seized preaching in his own house, and bound over to the assizes, and imprisoned in the county gaol almost a year. Twenty-five persons men and women were indicted for a riot, that is, for a conventicle, and suffered the penalty of the law. The informers were Roman catholics, one of whom was executed for treason in the popish plot. At East Salcomb in Devonshire, one Joan Boston, an old blind widow, who for a supposed conventicle held at her house, was fined twelve pounds, and for non-payment of it threatened with a gaol. After some weeks the officers broke open her doors, and carried away her goods to above the value of the fine. Mr. John Thompson, minister in Bristol, was apprehended, and refusing to take the Oxford oath, was committed to prison, where he was seized with a fever through the noisomness of the place. A physician being sent for, advised his removal; and a bond of five hundred pounds was offered the sheriff for his security. Application was also made to the bishop without success; so he died in prison, declaring, that if he had known when he came to prison that he should die there, he would have done no otherwise than he did. Numberless examples of the like kind, might be produced during the recess of the parliament. But the King's want of money, and the discontents of his people, obliged him to put an end to the war with the Dutch, with no other advantage than a sum of two or three hundred thousand pounds for his expences.

His majesty was unwilling to meet his parliament, who were now full of zeal against popery, and began to consider the non-conformists as auxiliaries to the protestant cause; but necessity obliged him to convene them; and

as soon as they met they addressed his majesty to banish all papists, who were not house-keepers nor menial servants to peers, ten miles from London; and to appoint a fast for the calamities of the nation. They attacked the remaining members of the cabal, and voted an address for removing them from his majesty's council; upon which the King prorogued them for above a year, after they had sat six weeks, without giving any money, or passing one single act; which was an indication of ill blood between the King and parliament, and a certain forerunner of vengeance upon the dissenters.

This year put an end to the life of that great man John Milton, born in London, and educated in Christ-Coll. Cambridge, where he discovered an uncommon genius, which was very much improved by his travels. He was Latin secretary to the long parliament, and wrote in defence of the murder of Charles I. against Salmasius and others, with great spirit, and in a pure and elegant Latin style. He was afterwards secretary to the Protector Cromwell, and lost the sight of both his eyes by hard study. At the restoration some of his books were burnt, and himself in danger, but he was happily included in the act of indemnity, and spent the remainder of his life in retirement. He was a man of an unequalled genius, and acquired immortal fame by his incomparable poem of *PARADISE LOST*; in which he manifested such a sublimity of thought, and such elegance of diction, as perhaps were never exceeded in any age or nation of the world. His daughters read to him, after he was blind, the Greek poets, though they understood not the language. He died in mean circumstances at Bunhill, near London, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

Though the protestant religion stood in need of the united strength of all its professors, against the advances of popery, and the parliament had moved for a toleration of protestant dissenters, yet the bishops continued to prosecute them in common with the papists. Abp. Sheldon directed circular letters to the bishops of his province, enjoining them to give directions to their archdeacons and commissaries, to procure particular information from the church-wardens of their several parishes on the following

enquiries, and transmit them to him after the next visitation,—1. What number of persons are there, by common estimation, inhabiting within each parish subject to your jurisdiction?—2. What number of popish recusants, or persons suspected of recusancy, are resident among the inhabitants aforesaid?—3. What number of other dissenters are there in each parish of what sect soever, which either obstinately refuse, or wholly absent themselves from the communion of the church of England, at such times as by law they are required?—Some of the clergy were grieved at these proceedings, and Tillotson and Stillingfleet met privately with Manton, Bates, Pool, and Baxter, to consider of terms of accommodation, which they had agreed upon and communicated to the bishops, who immediately interposed to frustrate the design.

But the bishops' conduct made them unpopular, and drew on them many mortifications; the people's compassion began to move towards their dissenting brethren, whom they frequently saw carried in great numbers to prison, and spoiled of their goods, for no other crime but a tender conscience. The very name of an informer became as odious as their behaviour was infamous. The aldermen of London often went out of the way, when they heard of their coming; and some denied them their warrants, though by the act they forfeited one hundred pounds. Alderman Forth bound over an informer to his good behaviour, for breaking into his chamber without leave. When twelve or thirteen bishops came into the city to dine with Sir Nathaniel Herne, one of the sheriffs of London, and exhorted him to put the laws in execution against the non-conformists, he told them plainly, they could not trade with their fellow-citizens one day, and put them in prison the next.

The moderate churchmen shewing a disposition to unite with the non-conformists against popery, the court resolved to take in the old ranting cavaliers, to strengthen the opposition; for this purpose Morley and some other bishops were sent for to court, and told, it was a great misfortune that the church party and dissenters were so disposed to unite; the court was therefore willing to make the church easy, and to secure to the King the allegiance

of all his subjects at the same time; for this purpose a bill was brought into the house of lords, entitled, "An act to prevent the dangers which may arise from persons disaffected to the government." The design of this bill was to enable the ministry to prosecute their destructive schemes, against the constitution and the protestant religion, without fear of opposition even from the parliament itself. It was committed, and debated paragraph by paragraph, but the heats occasioned by it were so violent, that the King came unexpectedly to the house and prorogued the parliament; so the bill was dropt.

The daring insolence of the papists, who had their regular clergy in every corner of the town, was so great, that they not only challenged the protestant divines to disputations, but threatened to assassinate such as preached openly against their tenets; which confirmed the lords and commons in their persuasion, of the absolute necessity of entering into more moderate and healing measures with protestant dissenters, notwithstanding the inflexible steadiness of the bishops against it. Upon this occasion the Duke of Buckingham, lately commenced patriot, made a speech in the house of lords, in favour of toleration. And his grace brought in a bill for this purpose; but this and some others were lost by the warm debates which arose in the house, upon the impeachment of the Earl of Danby, and which occasioned the sudden prorogation of the parliament; after which his majesty upon further discontent, prorogued them for fifteen months, which gave occasion to a question in the ensuing session, whether they were not legally dissolved.

From this time to the discovery of the popish plot, parliaments were called and adjourned, says Coke, by order from France or French ministers and pensioners, to carry on the design of promoting the catholic cause in masquerade. The pensioners made it their business to raise the cry of the *church's danger*, and of the return of forty-one. This was spread over the whole nation in a variety of pamphlets, by their own hirelings, and if they met with opposition from the friends of the country, the authors and printers were sure to be fined and imprisoned.

But in answer to the invectives of this venal tribe, a pamphlet was published with the approbation of several ministers, entitled, " The principles and practices of several non-conformists, shewing that their religion is no other than what is professed in the church of England. The authors declare among other things, that their doctrine tends to no unquietness or confusion, any more than the doctrine of the church of England. And they think it not fair dealing in their adversaries, to repeat and aggravate all intemperate passages vented in the late times, when impetuous actions hurried men into extremities; and they apprehend it would not tend to the advantage of the conforming clergy, if collections should be published of all their imprudences and weaknesses, as has been done on the other side. They abhor seditious conventicles, and affirm, that insurrections were never contrived in their meetings, nor in any whereof they are conscious. Experience (say they) hath witnessed our peaceableness, and that disloyalty or sedition is not to be found among us, by the most inquisitive of our adversaries. They desire the church of England to take notice, that they have no mind to promote popish designs; that they are aware of the advantage that papists make of the divisions of protestants; that the invectives thrown out against them, are made up only of swelling words, or of the indiscretions of a few, with which they are not chargeable; they do not pretend to be courtiers or philosophers, but they teach their people to fear God and honour the King, &c.

Informers were now become the terror and reproach of a civilized nation. They went about in disguise, and like wandering strollers, lived upon the plunder of industrious families. Their practice was to insinuate themselves into an acquaintance with some under servants, or lodgers in a non-conformist family, under the cloak of religion, in order to discover the place of their meeting. They walked the streets on the Lord's day, to observe which way any suspected persons went. They frequently set down in coffee-houses, and places of public resort, to listen to conversation. They could turn themselves into any shape, and counterfeit any principles, to obtain their ends.

When they had discovered a conventicle they immediately got a warrant from some who were called *confiding justices*, to break open the house. If the minister was in the midst of his sermon or prayer, they commanded him in the King's name, to come down, and if he did not immediately obey, a file of musqueteers was usually sent up to pull him down by force, and to take him into custody; the congregation was broke up, and the people guarded along the street to a magistrate, and from him to a prison, unless they immediately paid their fine. The goods of the house were rifled, and frequently carried off, as a security for the large fine set upon it.

This was a new way of raising contributions, but it seldom or never prospered; that which was ill gotten was as ill spent, upon lewd women, or in taverns and ale-houses, in gaming or some kind of debauchery. There was a remarkable blast of providence upon their persons and substance. Most of them died in poverty and extreme misery; and as they lived in disgrace, they seemed to die by a remarkable hand of God. Stroud and Marshall, with all their plunder, could not keep out of prison; and when Keting, another informer, was confined for debt, he wrote to Mr. Baxter to endeavour his deliverance, confessing he believed God had sent that calamity upon him, for giving him so much trouble. Another died in the Compter for debt; and great numbers by their vices came to miserable and untimely ends.

But as some died others succeeded, who by the instigation of the court disturbed all the meetings they could find. The King commanded the judges and justices of London to put the penal laws in strict execution; and Sir J. Sheldon, lord-mayor, and kinsman to the archbishop did not fail to do his part. Sir T. Davis issued a warrant, to distrain on Mr. Baxter for fifty pounds, on account of his lecture in New-street; and when he had built a little chapel in Oxendon-street, the doors were shut up after he had preached in it once. In April this year, he was disturbed by a company of constables and officers, as he was preaching in Swallow-street, who beat drums under the windows, to interrupt the

service, because they had not a warrant to break open the house.

The court bishops, as has been observed more than once, pushed on the informers to do all the mischief they could to the non-conformists. The dissenting protestants have been reputed the only enemies of the nation, and therefore only persecuted (says a noble writer), while the papists remain undisturbed, being by the court thought loyal, and by our great bishops not dangerous. Locke, Burnet, and others, have set a mark upon the names of Abp. Sheldon, Bps. Morley, Gunning, Henchman, Ward, &c. which will not be easily erased; but I mention no more, because there were others of a better spirit who resided in their dioceses, and had no concern with the court.

The murmurs of the people against the government, increased rather than diminished. When the parliament met, they addressed the King to enter into an alliance with the Dutch, and other confederates, for preserving the Spanish Netherlands, as the only means to save Great Britain from popery and slavery. But his majesty declared, he would not suffer his prerogative of making war and peace to be invaded, nor be prescribed to as to his alliances. However, he consented to a separate peace with the Dutch, and then prorogued the parliament to the middle of July, by which time the French had almost compleated their conquests of the Spanish Flanders. The chief thing the parliament could obtain, was the repeal of the popish act *de hæretico comburendo*.

But when the campaign was over, his majesty did one of the most popular actions of his reign, which was marrying the Princess Mary, eldest daughter of the Duke of York, to the Prince of Orange. The King imagined he could oblige the Dutch by this family alliance, to submit to a disadvantageous peace with the French; but when the prince declared roundly, that he would not sacrifice his honour, nor the liberties of Europe for a wife, his majesty said, he was an honest man, and gave him the princess without any conditions, to the great joy of all the true friends of their country, who had now a protestant heir to the crown in view, though at some distance.

CHAP. X.

CHARLES II.

Popish plot.—Meal Tub Plot.—Rise of Wigs and Tories.—Bill of exclusion.—Extraordinary Votes of the Commons.—Oxford Parliament.—Shamplot against the Dissenters.—Sudden dissolution of Parliament.—Addresses to the King.—Persecuting orders of the King and Council.—Spirit of the Clergy.—Sufferings of Dissenters.—Rye-House Plot.—Lord Russel beheaded.—Sufferings of Delaune.—Trial of Mr. Rosewel.—Sufferings of Mr. Jenkinson.—Persecution in Scotland.—The King's Death.—His Character.

THE King having concluded peace with the Dutch, became mediator between the French and the confederates at the treaty of Nimeguen; where the former managed the English court so dextrously, that the Emperor and Spaniards were obliged to buy their peace, at the expence of the best part of Flanders.

No sooner was the nation at peace abroad, but a formidable plot broke out at home, to take away the King's life, to subvert the constitution, to introduce popery, and to extirpate the protestant religion. It was called the **POPISH PLOT**, from the nature of the design, and the quality of the conspirators, who were no less than Pope Innocent XI. Cardinal Howard his legate; and the generals of the jesuits in Spain and at Rome. When the King was taken off, the Duke of York was to receive the crown as a gift from the Pope, and hold it in fee. If

there happened any disturbance, the city of London was to be fired, and the infamy of the whole affair to be laid upon the presbyterians, in hopes that the churchmen in the heat of their fury would cut them in pieces, which would make way for the more easy subversion of the protestant religion.

The discovery of this plot, spread a prodigious alarm over the nation, and awakened the fears of those who had been lulled into a fatal security. The King's life was the more valuable because of the popish successor, who was willing to run all risks for the introducing his religion. The murder of Sir E. Godfrey at this juncture, a zealous and active protestant justice of peace, increased men's suspicions of a plot, and the depositions upon oath of Bedloe, Tongue, Dr. Gates, and others, seemed to put it beyond all doubt; for upon their impeachment, Sir G. Wakeman, the Queen's physician, Mr. E. Coleman, the Duke of York's secretary, Mr. R. Langhorne, and eight other Romish priests and jesuits, were apprehended and secured. When the parliament met they voted, that, "There was a damnable hellish plot contrived and carried on by popish recusants, against the life of the King, and the protestant religion." Five popish lords were ordered into custody, viz. Lords Stafford, Powis, Arundel, Petre, and Bellasys. A proclamation was issued against papists; and the King was addressed to remove the Duke of York from his person and councils.

Though the King himself gave no credit to the plot, yet finding it impracticable to stem the tide of the people's zeal, he consented to the execution of the law, upon several of the condemned criminals. Mr. Coleman, and five of the jesuits, were executed at Tyburn, who protested their innocence to the last; and a year or two afterwards Lord Stafford was beheaded. But the court party turned their plot into ridicule; the King told Lord Halifax, "That it was not probable that the papists should conspire to kill him, for have I not been kind enough to them?" says his majesty. "Yes," replied his lordship, "You have been too kind indeed to them; but they know you will only *trot*, and they want a prince that will *gallop*."

But it was impossible to allay the fears of the parliament, who had a quick sense of the danger of popery, and therefore passed a bill, to disable all persons of that religion from sitting in either house of parliament, which is still in force, being excepted out of the act of toleration. The Duke of York got himself excepted out of the bill, but the fears of his accession to the crown were so great, that there was a loud talk of bringing a bill into the house, to exclude him as a *papist*, upon which the King came to the house, and assured them, that he would consent to any bills for securing the protestant religion, provided they did not impeach the *right of succession*, nor the descent of the crown in the true line, nor the just rights of any *protestant successor*. But this not giving satisfaction, his majesty first prorogued, and then dissolved the parliament, after they had been chosen almost eighteen years. It may be proper to observe concerning this plot, that though the King's life might not be immediately struck at, yet there was such strong evidence to prove the reality of a plot, to subvert the constitution and introduce popery, that no disinterested person can doubt it.

The King having summoned a new parliament, all parties exerted themselves in the elections; the moderate churchmen, and the dissenters were on one side, and the high churchmen and papists on the other. Before the parliament assembled, the Duke of York was sent out of the way to Flanders; and a new privy council was chosen out of the low church party; but this not satisfying as long as the Duke's succession was in view, the commons ordered in a bill to disable the Duke from inheriting the crown, and carried it through the house with a high hand. Upon which his majesty came to the house and dissolved them. This threw the nation into new convulsions, and produced a great number of pamphlets against the government, the act for restraining the press being lately expired.

The popish plot having fixed a brand of infamy and ingratitude on the whole body of Roman catholics, the courtiers attempted to relieve them, by setting on foot a *sham protestant plot*, and fathering it upon the presbyterians: for this purpose spies and other mercenaries were

employed, to bring news from all parts of the town. At length a plot was formed by one Dangerfield, a subtle and dangerous papist, but a very villain, who had been lately got out of gaol by the assistance of a Mrs. Cellier, a lewd woman, who carried him to the Countess of Powis, whose husband was in the Tower for the popish plot; with her he formed his scheme, and having got a list of the names of the chief protestant nobility and gentry, he wrote treasonable letters to them, to be left at the houses of the non-conformists and other active protestants in several parts of England, that search being made upon some other pretences, when the letters were found, they might be apprehended for treason. At the same time, he intruded into the company of some of the most zealous enemies of popery about town, and informed the King and the Duke of York, that he had been invited to accept of a commission; that a new form of government was to be set up; and that the King and royal family were to be banished. The story was received with pleasure, and Dangerfield had a present, and a pension, to carry on his correspondence. Having got some little acquaintance with Colonel Mansel, in Westminster, he made up a bundle of seditious letters, and having laid them in a dark corner of Mansel's room, he sent for officers to search for prohibited goods, but none were found, except the bundle of letters, which, upon examination were proved to be counterfeit; upon this the court disowned the plot, and having taken away Dangerfield's pension, sent him to Newgate. Search being made into Mrs. Cellier's house, there was found a little book in a meal-tub, which contained the whole scheme of the fiction; from whence it obtained the name of the *Meal-tub plot*. Dangerfield, finding himself undone if he persisted in what he could not support, made an ample confession, and published a narrative, wherein he declared, that "He was employed by the popish party; and chiefly by the popish lords in the Tower, with the Countess of Powis, to invent the meal-tub plot, which was to have thrown the popish plot wholly upon the presbyterians." Dangerfield being pardoned, went out of the way into Flanders; but returning to England in

James's reign, he was tried for it, and sentenced to be whipt from Newgate to Tyburn ; in his return from whence he was murdered in the coach

The last parliament being dissolved, a new one was convened ; but the King prorogued them from time to time for above a twelvemonth, without permitting them to finish any business. His majesty falling sick in the summer, the Duke of York returned immediately to court without the King's leave, which alarmed the people, and made them eager for the sitting of the parliament to regulate the succession. This gave rise to sundry petitions, signed by great numbers of hands both in city and country, which the King received with the utmost displeasure. After this the King issued out his proclamation, declaring them to be illegal, and forbidding his subjects to promote any *subscriptions*, or to *join in any petitions* of this kind, upon peril of the utmost rigor of the law. Warrants were issued against several of the petitioners, and indictments preferred against others. But at the next sessions of the common council of London, the court agreed that no such petition should be presented from them ; and the King returned them thanks for it. Upon which addresses were procured from divers parts of the nation, expressing their detestation and abhorrence of the seditious practice of the late PETITIONERS, and referring the sitting of the parliament absolutely to the King's sovereign pleasure, from whence they obtained the name of ABHORRERS. In these addresses, they offer their lives and fortunes for the preservation of his majesty's person and government, and for the succession of the Duke of York. They renounce the right of the subject's petitioning, or intermeddling in affairs of state, and lay their liberties at the feet of the prerogative.

Here was the rise of the two grand parties which have since divided the nation, under the distinguishing names of WHIG and TORY.—The WHIGS, or LOW CHURCHMEN were the more zealous protestants, declared enemies of popery, and willing to remove to a farther distance from their superstitions ; they were firm to the constitution and liberties of their country ; and for an union, or at least a toleration of dissenting protestants

They were for confining the royal prerogative within the limits of the law, for which reason their adversaries charged them with *Republican principles*, and gave them the reproachful name of Whigs, or sour milk, a name first given to the most rigid Scots covenanters. THE TORIES, or HIGH CHURCHMEN stood on the side of the prerogative, and were for advancing the King above law ; they went into all the arbitrary court measures, and adopted into religion the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance. They cried up the name and authority of the church, and were for forcing the dissenters to conformity, by all kinds of coercive methods. No men did more to enslave the nation and introduce popery into the establishment than they ; their adversaries therefore gave them the name of Tories, a title first given to Irish robbers, who lived upon plunder, and were prepared for any daring or villainous enterprize

The non-conformists fell in unanimously with the whigs or low churchmen, in all points relating to liberty and the civil constitution, as they must always do if they are consistent with themselves ; but these with their allies were not a sufficient ballance for the tories, the road to preferment lying through the territories of power ; yet they were kept in heart with some secret hopes, that “By a steady adherence to the constitution, they should one time or other obtain a legal toleration.” But the superior influence of the tories above the whigs, was the occasion of the severities which befel the non-conformists in the latter part of this reign.

When the parliament met, they asserted the rights of the people to petition for the sitting of parliaments, and voted the *abhorrrers* betrayers of the liberties of the nation. They complained, that the penal laws were turned against dissenters, while the papists remained in a manner untouched ; the test act had little effect, because the papists either by dispensation from Rome, submitted to those tests, and held their offices themselves ; or that those put in their places were so favourable to the same interest, that popery itself had rather gained than lost ground by that act. They declared for that very *association*,

to revenge the King's death upon the papists, if his majesty should happen to be assassinated, which the tories had *abhorred* ; and revived the bill, to disable the Duke of York from inheriting the crown. It was introduced by Lord Russel, and passed by a great majority, but was thrown out of the house of lords, the bench of bishops being in the negative, and the King present during the whole debate.

The parliament, inclined to relieve the non-conformists, appointed a committee who agreed upon a comprehension with the dissenters. And as for such protestants as could not be comprehended within the proposed terms, they were to have a toleration, and freedom from the penal statutes, upon condition of subscribing a declaration of allegiance, &c. and of assembling with open doors.

Although the bill for a comprehension was committed, it did not pass the house, being changed for another, entitled, " An act to exempt his majesty's protestant subjects, dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties imposed upon the papists by the act of 35th Elizabeth." By which act non-conformists were adjudged to perpetual imprisonment, or obliged to depart the realm never to return. This terrible law had lain dormant almost eighty years, but was now revived, and threatened to be put in execution by the tories. The repeal passed the house of commons with a high hand, but went heavily through the house of lords ; and when it should have been offered to the King for the royal assent it was missing, and never heard of any more, the clerk of the crown having withdrawn it from the table, by the King's particular order. This was an high offence in the officer of the house, and would have been severely punished in the next session, if the parliament had not been abruptly dissolved. Thus the non-conformists were sawn to pieces between the King, the bishops, and the parliament ; when one party was willing to give them relief, the other always stood in the way. The parliament was their enemy for about twelve years, and now they are softened, the King and the court bishops are inflexible ; and his majesty will rather sacrifice the constitution to his despotic will, than exempt them from an old law which subjected them to banishment and death.

However, the morning before the house was prorogued, two votes were unanimously passed of a very extraordinary nature. 1. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this house, that the acts of parliament made in the reigns of Elizabeth and King James against popish recusants, ought not to be extended against protestant dissenters. 2. Resolved, that it is the opinion of this house, that the prosecution of protestant dissenters upon the penal laws, is at this time grievous to the subject, a weakening the protestant interest, an encouragement to popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom.

While the parliament was endeavouring to relieve the dissenters, and charging the miseries of the kingdom upon the papists, many of the bishops and clergy of the church of England, were pleased to see the court inclined to persecute the non-conformists. Even some able champions against popery, went so far into the court measures, as to impute the calamities of the times to the non-conformists. Dr. Stillingfleet, who had written in favour of liberty, and against impositions, in his sermon, intituled, "The mischief of separation," condemned the dissenters as schismatics; and gravely advised them not to complain of persecution. When the sermon was published, it brought upon the doctor several learned adversaries. But the doctor endeavoured to support his charge by the suffrage of the French presbyterians; who bred up in French complaisance, and under French slavery, after high strains of compliment to the English bishops, declared, that they were of opinion, their brethren might comply; and that they were not for pushing things to extremity only for a different form of government. Which the doctor and his friends interpreted as a decision in their favour. But did not the bishops exasperate the spirits of their dissenting brethren, by enforcing the sanguinary laws? Were these protestant methods of conversion, or likely to bring them to temper? The French ministers complained sufficiently of this about five years after, at the revocation of the edict of Nantz.

The King having parted with his last parliament in displeasure, without being able to obtain any money, resolved once more to try a new one; and apprehending

that the malecontents were encouraged by the neighbourhood of the city of London, he summoned them to meet at Oxford ; the same representatives being re-chosen for London, had a paper put into their hands by four merchants, in the name of all the citizens then assembled in the common-hall, containing a return of their most hearty thanks for their faithful and unwearied endeavours in the two last parliaments, to search into the depth of the popish plot, to preserve the protestant religion, to promote an union among his majesty's protestant subjects, to repeal the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth, and the corporation act, to promote the bill of exclusion, and to request their continuance of the same. The members being afraid of violence, were attended to Oxford with a numerous body of horse, having ribbons in their hats, with this motto, " No popery ; no slavery." Many other papers of the like nature were presented to the members in the several counties. The King in his speech at the opening the sessions, reflected severely on the last parliament, and said, " He was resolved to maintain the succession of the crown in the right line," and for quieting people's fears, he was willing to put the administration into the hands of a protestant regent ; but the commons rejected the proposal, and ordered the bill of exclusion to be brought in again. In the mean time a motion was made to consider of the loss of the bill in favour of the dissenters last parliament, which was referred to a conference with the house of lords, which was frustrated by the hasty dissolution of the parliament.

They next went upon the libel of one Fitz-Harris, an Irish papist, which was a second meal-tub plot. The libel was to be sent by penny-post letters to the lords who had protested in favour of the bill of exclusion, and to the leading men in the house of commons, who were immediately to be apprehended and searched. Everard, who was Fitz-Harris's confidant, and betrayed the secret, affirmed that the King himself was privy to it, as Fitz-Harris's wife averred many years after ; that his majesty had given Fitz-Harris money, and promised him more if it met with success. The libel was to traduce the King and the royal family as papists, and arbitrarily affected from

the beginning, and says, that Charles I. had a hand in the Irish rebellion, that the act forbidding to call the King a papist, was only to stop men's mouths, and that it was as much in the power of the people to depose a popish possessor as a popish successor, &c. It was intitled the "True Englishman speaking plain English." Thus were the con-conformists to be exposed again to the resentments of the nation; but when the sham was discovered to the house of commons, Fitz-Harris was brought and executed with Dr. Plunket the titular primate of Ireland.

His majesty hearing that the *Bill of exclusion* was to be brought into the house again, went suddenly, and not very decently, says Burnet, to the house of lords in a sedan, with the crown between his feet, and having put on his robes in haste, called up the commons and dissolved his fifth and last parliament, after they had sat only seven days. And here was an end of the constitution and liberties of England for the present; all that followed to the King's death, was no more than the convulsions and struggles of a dying man. The King raised what money he wanted without parliaments; he took away all the charters of England, and governed absolutely by prerogative. April the 8th the King published a declaration, touching the causes and reasons that moved him to dissolve the two last parliaments. This declaration was immediately followed with addresses from all parts of the country, promising to support his majesty's person and government with their lives and fortunes. But the most celebrated address was from the university of Cambridge. "We still believe and maintain, say these addresses, that our Kings derive not their power from the people, but from God; that to him only they are accountable; that it belongs not to subjects either to create or censure, but to honour and obey their sovereign, who comes to be so by a fundamental, hereditary right of succession, which no religion, no law, no fault or *forfeiture* can *alter or diminish*; nor will we abate of our well instructed zeal for the church of England as by law established. Thus we have learned our own, and thus we teach others their duty to God and the King." His majesty discovered an unusual satisfaction on this occasion, and after having returned

them thanks, was pleased to add, that "No other church in the world taught and practised loyalty so conscientiously as they did."

As such abject and servile flattery could not fail of pleasing the King, it must necessarily draw down vengeance on the non-conformists, who joined in none of their addresses, but were doomed to suffer under a double character, as whigs, and as dissenters.

The justices of Middlesex shewed great forwardness, and represented to his majesty, "That an intimation of his pleasure was necessary at this time, to the putting the laws in execution against conventicles, because when a charge was lately given at the council-board to put the laws in execution against popish recusants, no mention was made of suppressing conventicles." Upon this his majesty commanded the Lord-mayor, aldermen, and justices, to use their utmost endeavour to suppress all conventicles and unlawful meetings, upon pretences of religious worship, for it was his express pleasure, that the laws be effectually put in execution against them, both in city and country. Accordingly the justices of peace at their sessions at Hickes's Hall, ordered, "that whereas the constables and church-wardens, &c. of every parish and precinct within the said county, had been enjoined last sessions to make a return the first day of this, of the names of the preachers in conventicles, and the most considerable frequenters of the same within their several limits; which order not being obeyed, but contemned by some, it was therefore desired, that the Bp. of London will please to direct those officers which are under his jurisdiction, to use their utmost diligence, that all such persons may be excommunicated who commit crimes deserving the ecclesiastical censure; and that the said excommunications may be published in the parishes where the persons live, that they may be taken notice of, and be obvious to the penalties that belong to persons excommunicate, viz. *not to be admitted for a witness, or returned upon juries, or capable of suing for any debt.*" They further ordered at the same time, that the statute of the first of Eliz. and third of King James, be put in due execution, for the levying twelve-pence per Sunday upon

such persons who repaired not to divine service and sermons at their parish, or some other public church. All which, says Eachard, made way for all sorts of prosecutions both in city and country, which in many places were carried on with great spight and severity ; so that the dissenters this year, and much longer, met with cruel and unchristian usage.

It was not in the power of the church-whigs to relieve the non-conformists, nor screen them from the penal laws. All that could be done was to encourage their constancy, and to write some compassionate treatises to move the people in their favour, by shewing them, that while they were plundering and destroying their protestant dissenting neighbours, they were cutting the throat of the reformed religion, and making way for the triumphs of popery upon its ruins. But there was no stemming the tide ; every one who was not a furious tory was reputed a presbyterian.

Most of the clergy distinguished themselves on the side of persecution. The pulpits every where resounded with the doctrines of passive-obedience and non-resistance, which were carried to all the heights of Charles I. In all their sermons, popery was quite forgot, says Burnet, and the force of their zeal was turned almost wholly against protestant dissenters. In many country places the parson of the parish, who could bully and drink, and swear, was made a confiding justice, by which means he was both judge and party in his own cause. If any of his sober parishioners did not appear at church, they were sure to be summoned, and instead of the mildness and gentleness of a christian clergyman, they usually met with haughty and abusive language, and the utmost rigor the law could inflict. There was also a great change made in the commissions throughout England. A set of confiding magistrates was appointed ; and none were left on the bench, that did not declare for the arbitrary measures of the court ; and such of the clergy as were averse to this were declaimed against as betrayers of the church, and secret favourers of the dissenters.

It would fill a volume, to enter into all the particulars of these unchristian proceedings, which even the black registers of the spiritual courts cannot fully unfold.

Mr. E. Bury assisting at a private fast, on account of the extraordinary drought, was apprehended and fined twenty pounds; and refusing to pay it, because he did not preach, they took away even the bed he lay upon. Mr. P. Henry was apprehended at the same time, and fined forty pounds, and for non-payment they carried away thirty-three loads of corn which lay cut upon the ground, together with hay, coals, and other chattels. The Informers took the names of one hundred and fifty more, who were at the meeting: they fined the master of the house twenty pounds, and five pounds more as being constable that year, and exacted five shillings a head from all who were present.

While the tories and high church clergy were ravaging the dissenters, the court was intent upon subverting the constitution, and getting the government of the city into their hands. The government of the city was an easy prey; for the Lord-mayor and common council merely consented, that his majesty might have a negative on the choice of all the chief magistrates; that if his majesty disapproved of their choice of a Lord-mayor, they should choose another within a week; and that if his majesty disapproved their second choice, he should himself nominate a mayor for the year ensuing; and the like as to sheriffs, aldermen, &c. The charter of London being now lost, the cities and corporations in general were prevailed with to deliver up their charters, and accept of such new ones as the court would grant, which was the highest degree of perfidy and baseness in those who were intrusted with them, especially when they knew, that the design was to pack a parliament, in order to make way for a popish successor.

While the liberties of England lay bleeding, the fury of the court raged higher than ever against the non-conformists, as inflexible enemies of their arbitrary measures. Mr. Baxter was surprised in his own house, by a company of constables and other peace-officers, who arrested him for coming within five miles of a corporation, and brought warrants to distrain upon him for five sermons, amounting to one hundred and ninety-five pounds. They took him out of his bed, to which he had been confined for some time,

and were carrying him to gaol ; but Dr. Cox, the physician, meeting him in the way, went and made oath before a justice of peace, that he could not be removed to prison without danger of his life, so he was permitted to go home again ; but the officers rifled his house, took away such books as he had, and sold even the bed from under him. Dr. Annésley, and several other ministers, had their goods distrained upon the oaths of persons they never saw, nor received summons to answer for themselves before a justice of peace. This was stabbing men in the dark. Some were imprisoned on the corporation act. Mr. Vincent was tried and convicted at the Surry assizes on the 35th of Queen Elizabeth, already mentioned. He lay in prison many months, but at last released by the intercession of some great men. The dissenting laity were harrassed every where in the spiritual courts, warrants were signed for distresses in the village of Hackney alone, to the sum of fourteen hundred pounds ; one of which was for five hundred. The reader will then judge what must have been the case of the interest in general.

But in the midst of all this oppression and violence, the court found that the spirit of English liberty was not easily subdued ; there was a set of patriots who stood in their way, and were determined to hazard their lives and fortunes for the constitution ; these were therefore to be removed or cut off, by bringing them within the compass of some pretended plot against the government. Some who were more more zealous than prudent, met together in clubs at the taverns and other places, to talk over the common danger, and what might be done to secure their religion and liberties in case of the King's death ; but there was no design in any of them formed against the King or the present government. The court however laid hold of this occasion, and set on foot three plots, one to assassinate the King and Duke as they came from New-Market ; another to seize the guards ; and a third was called the Blackheath plot. The plot which the court made use of was called the Ryehouse plot, from the name of the house where the two royal brothers were to be shot ; it was within two miles of Hodsdon in Hertfordshire, and was first discovered by one Keeling an anabaptist, after

him Goodenough, Rumsey, and West, made themselves witnesses, and framed a story out of their own heads, of lopping off the two brothers, as they came from New-Market, and having heard of conferences between the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Russel, and others, concerning securing the protestant religion upon the King's decease, they impeached them to the council, upon which Lord Russel, Algernon Sidney, the Earl of Essex, and Mr. Houblon were apprehended and sent to the Tower. Warrants were issued out for several others, who knowing, that innocence was in these times no sufficient protection, absconded, and went out of the way; but several were tried, and executed upon the *court evidence*; as Mr. Rumbold, master of the house where the plot was to take place, who declared at his execution in James's reign, that he never knew of any design against the King; as did Capt. Walcot and Sir Thomas Armstrong, Rouse, and the rest. Lord Russel was condemned, and beheaded, for being within the hearing of some treasonable words at Mr. Shepherd's, a wine-cooper in Abchurch-lane. The Earl of Essex's throat was cut in the Tower during Lord Russel's trial; and Algernon Sidney was executed for having a seditious libel in his study; of the injustice of which the parliament at the revolution was so sensible, that they reversed the judgments.

Great industry was used by the court to bring the body of non-conformists into this plot. It was given out that Dr. Owen, Mr. Mead, and Mr. Griffith were acquainted with it; Mr. Mead was summoned before the council, and gave such satisfactory answers to all questions, that the King himself ordered him to be discharged. Mr. Castaires, a Scots divine, was put to the torture of the *thum-mikins* in Scotland, to extort a confession; both his thumbs being bruised between two irons till the marrow was almost forced out of the bones. This he bore for an hour and half without making any confession. Next day they brought him to undergo the torture of the *boot*, but his arms being swelled with the late torture, and he already in a fever, made a declaration of all that he knew, which amounted to no more than some loose discourse of what might be fit to be done, to preserve their liberties

and the protestant religion, if there should be a crisis; but he vindicated himself and his brethren in England, from all assassinating designs, which he said, they abhorred. Bp. Kennet says, that the dissenters bore all the odium of this plot and were not only branded for *rebels* and *villains*, in multitudes of congratulatory and tory addresses from all parts of the kingdom, but were severely arraigned by the King himself, in a declaration to his subjects, read in all churches on Sunday, September 9, which was appointed as a day of thanksgiving, and solemnized after an extraordinary manner, with mighty pomp and magnificence. There was hardly a parish in England that was not at a considerable expence to testify their joy and satisfaction. Nay the papists celebrated in all their chapels in London an extraordinary service on that account; so that they had their places of public worship, though the protestant dissenters were denied them.

The university of Oxford passed a decree in full convocation, against certain pernicious books, and damnable doctrines, destructive to the sacred persons of princes, their state and government, and all human society. It consists of twenty-seven propositions, extracted from the writings of those who had maintained that there was an "Original contract between King and people; and that when Kings subvert the constitution of their country, and become absolute tyrants, they forfeit their right to the government, and may be resisted." These, and other propositions of a like nature, they declare to be *impious, seditious, scandalous, damnable, heretical, blasphemous, and infamous to the christian religion*. But how well they practised their own doctrines at the revolution, will be seen in its proper place; and one of Queen Anne's parliaments ordered the decree itself to be burnt, by the hands of the common hangman.

Dr. B. Calamy, rector of St. Lawrence Jewry, in one of his printed sermons, entitled "*A scrupulous conscience*," invited the non-conformists to examine what each party had to say for themselves with respect to the ceremonies imposed by the church, and enforced by the penal laws, calling upon them modestly to propose their doubts, and

meekly hearken to, and receive instruction. In compliance with this invitation, Mr. Thomas Delaune an anabaptist school-master, and a learned man, printed a plea for the non-conformists. But before it was published, he was apprehended and shut up close prisoner in Newgate. Mr. Delaune wrote to Dr. Calamy, to obtain his enlargement. "As my confinement, says he, is for **ACCEPTING YOUR INVITATION**; I look upon you obliged in honour to procure my sheets, yet unfinished, a public passport, and to me my liberty. There is nothing in them but the fair examination your sermon invited, and I cannot find that Christ and his disciples ever forced *scrupulous consciences* to conformity, by such methods as sending them to Newgate; I beseech you therefore in the fear of God, as you will answer it to our great Lord and Master Jesus Christ, that you would endeavour to convince a stranger by something more like reason and divinity, than a prison."

The Dr. at first said, he would do him any kindness that became him. But in answer to a second letter he said, he looked upon himself as unconcerned, because he was not mentioned in that sheet he saw with the recorder. Mr. Delaune insisted that his honour was at stake for his deliverance, and prayed him at least to perform the office of a divine, in visiting him in prison, to argue him out of his doubts; but the Dr. like an ungenerous adversary, deserted him. Mr. Delaune therefore was to be convinced by an indictment at law; for "That on Nov. 30, he did by force of arms, &c. unlawfully, seditiously, and maliciously, write, print, and publish, a certain false, seditious, and scandalous libel, of, and concerning our lord the King, and the book of common-prayer, entitled, a plea for the non-conformists." For which offence he was fined one hundred marks, and to be kept prisoner till he paid it; to find security for his good behaviour for one year, and his books to be burnt before the Royal Exchange. The court told him, that in respect of his being a scholar, he should not be pilloryed, though he deserved it. Mr. Delaune not being able to pay his fine, lay in prison fifteen months, and suffered great hardships by extreme poverty, having no subsistence but on charity. He had a wife and two

small children with him, who *all died in the gaol*, and at length Mr. Delaune himself sunk under his sufferings, and died in Newgate, a martyr to the challenge of this high church champion.

Mr. R. Stretton suffered six months' imprisonment this year, for refusing the Oxford oath, in company with ten ministers more. Most of the dissenting ministers were forced to shift their places of abode to avoid discovery, and travel in long nights and cold weather, from one village to another, to preach to their people. If at any time they ventured to visit their families in a dark night, they durst not stir abroad, but went away before morning. Some spent their time in woods and solitary places ; others being excommunicated, removed with their effects into other dioceses. Great numbers of the common people, taken at private meetings, were convicted as rioters, and fined ten pounds a-piece ; and not being able to pay, were obliged to remove into other counties, by which they lost their business, and their families were reduced to want. I forbear to mention the rudeness offered to young women, some of whom were sent to Bridewell, to beat hemp among rogues and thieves : others that were married and with child, received irreparable damages ; even children were terrified with constables and halberdeers breaking open houses.

This year the King, by the assistance of the tories and Roman catholics, compleated the ruin of the constitution, and assumed the whole government into his own hands ; and whigs and non-conformists were struck with terror, by the severe prosecutions of the heads of their party. In short, the greatest part of the history of this year, consists of prosecutions, penalties and punishments.

In this melancholy situation of public affairs, the persecution of the non-conformists was continued, with an infatuation hardly to be paralleled, in any protestant nation. Dr. Barlow, Bp. of Lincoln, published a letter for spiriting up the magistrates against the dissenters, in concurrence with another drawn up by the justices of peace of Bedford. Many were cited into the spiritual

courts, excommunicated and ruined. Two hundred warrants of distress were issued out upon private persons and families, in the town and neighbourhood of Uxbridge, for frequenting conventicles or not resorting to church. An order was made by the justices of Exeter, promising a reward of forty shillings, to any one who should apprehend a non-conformist minister, which the bishop of the diocese commanded to be published in all the churches, by his clergy, on the following Sunday. Dr. Bates, Dr. Annesley, and many of their brethren in the ministry, had their goods seized and confiscated. Mr. Mayot, of Oxon, a moderate conformist, having left Mr. Baxter six hundred pounds to distribute among sixty poor ejected ministers; the Lord-keeper North took it from him, as given to a superstitious use, but it lying unappropriated in the court of Chancery, till after the revolution, it was restored by the commissioners of the great seal under King William. Soon after the justices sent warrants to apprehend Mr. Baxter, as being one in a list of a thousand names, who were to be bound to their good behaviour, without seeing their accusers, or being made acquainted with their charge. Mr. Baxter refusing to open his doors, the officers forced into his house, and finding him locked up in his study, they resolved to starve him from thence, by setting six men at the door, to whom he was obliged next day to surrender. They then carried him to the sessions-house two or three times, and bound him in a bond of four hundred pounds, so that if his friends had not been sureties for him, contrary to his desire, he must have died in prison.

Jefferies, now Lord Chief Justice, who was scandalously vicious, and drunk every day, besides the fury of his temper, was prepared for any dirty work the court should put him upon. Mr. Rosewell, the dissenting minister at Rotherhithe, was imprisoned in the Gate-house for high-treason; and a bill was found against him at the quarter-sessions, upon which he was tried at the King's-bench bar, by a Surry-jury, before Jefferies. He was indicted for the following expressions in a sermon: "That the King could not cure the King's evil, but that priests and prophets by their prayers could heal the griefs of the

people. That we had had two wicked Kings," (meaning the present King and his father), "whom we can resemble to no other person but to the most wicked Jeroboam; and that if they" (meaning his hearers), "would stand to their principles, he did not doubt, but they should overcome their enemies," (meaning the King), "as in former times, with rams-horns, broken platters, and a stone in a sling." The witnesses were three infamous women, who swore to the words without the *innuendo's*; they were laden with the guilt of many perjuries already, and such of them as could be found afterwards, were convicted, and the chief of them pilloried before the Exchange. The trial lasted seven hours, and Mr. Rosewell behaved with all decency and respect, and made a defence that was applauded by most of the hearers. He said it was impossible the witnesses should remember, and be able to pronounce so long a period, when they could not so much as tell the text, nor any thing else in the sermon, besides the words they had sworn. Several who heard the sermon and writ it in short hand, declared they heard no such words. Mr. Rosewell offered his own notes to prove it, but no regard was had to them. The women could not prove, by any one circumstance, that they were at the meeting; or that any person saw them there on that day; the words they swore were so gross, that it was not to be imagined that any man in his wits would express himself so, before a mixed assembly; yet Jefferies urged the matter with his usual vehemence. He laid it for a foundation, that all preaching at conventicles was treasonable, and that this ought to dispose the jury to believe any evidence upon that head, so that the jury brought him in *guilty*; upon which there was a shameful rejoicing; and it was now thought, all conventicles must be suppressed, when such evidence could be received against such a defence. But when the words came to be examined by men learned in the law, they were found not to be treason by any statute. So Mr. Rosewell moved in arrest of judgment, and though it was doubtful, whether the motion was proper on this foundation after the verdict, yet the King was so out of countenance at the accounts he heard of the witnesses,

that he gave orders to yield to it; and in the end he was pardoned.

Among other sufferers for non-conformity, we must not forget Mr. Jenkins, the ejected minister of Christ-Church, who died this year in Newgate. Being at a private fast with some of his brethren, the soldiers broke in, and carried him before two aldermen, who treated him very rudely, and upon his refusing the Oxford oath, committed him to Newgate; while he was there, he petitioned the King for a release, his physicians declaring, that his life was in danger from his close confinement; but no security would be accepted. So that he soon declined in his health, and died in Newgate, in the seventy-third year of his age.

This was the usage the dissenters met with from the church of England at this time. Remarkable are the words of the Earl of Castlemain, a Roman catholic, on this occasion, "It was never known (says he), that Rome persecuted as the bishops do, those who adhere to the same faith with themselves; and established an inquisition against the professors of the strictest piety among themselves; and however the prelates complain of the bloody persecution of Queen Mary, it is manifest that their persecution exceeds it, for under her there were not more than two or three hundred put to death, whereas under their persecution, above treble that number have been rifled, destroyed, and ruined in their estates, lives and liberties, being men for the most part of the same spirit, with those protestants who suffered under the prelates in Queen Mary's time."

The sufferings of the presbyterians in Scotland, run parallel with those of England, during the whole course of this reign; but the people were not quite so tame and submissive. The same or greater acts of severity, than those which were made against the non-conformists in England, were enacted in Scotland. Episcopacy was restored and the covenant declared to be an unlawful oath. All persons in office were to sign the declaration of the unlawfulness of taking up arms against the King, or any commissioned by him, on any pretence whatsoever. The English act against conventicles, was copied, and passed

almost in the same terms in Scotland. The bishops were some of the worst of men, and hated by the people as they deserved. They shewed no zeal against vice; the most eminently vicious in the country were their peculiar confidants; nor had they any concern to keep their clergy to their duty, but were themselves guilty of great sensuality. The people were generally of the presbyterian persuasion, and stood firm by each other. In many places they were fierce and untractable, and generally forsook the churches; the whole country complained of the new episcopal clergy, and treated them with an aversion that sometimes proceeded to violence. Many were brought before the council, and ecclesiastical commission, for not coming to church, but the proofs were generally defective, for the people would not give evidence one against another. However, great numbers were cast into prison; some were fined; and the younger sort whipt publicly about the streets; so that great numbers transported their families to Ulster, in Ireland, where they were well received.

Sir James Turner being sent into the west, to levy fines at discretion, the people arose, and published a manifesto, that they did not take arms against the King, but only that they might be delivered from the tyranny of the bishops, and that presbytery and the covenant might be set up, and their old ministers restored. Turner and all his soldiers were made prisoners, but marching out of their own country, they were dispersed by the King's forces, about forty being killed, and one hundred and thirty taken; many of whom were hanged before their own doors, and died with great firmness and joy. Mr. Maccaill their minister underwent the torture, and died with great constancy; his last words were, "Farewell sun, moon, and stars; farewell kindred and friends, world and time, and this weak and frail body; and welcome eternity, welcome angels and saints, welcome Saviour of the world, and God, the Judge of all!" Which he spoke in a manner that struck all who heard him. The commander of the King's forces killed some in cold blood, and threatened to spit others and roast them alive.

When the indulgence was published in England the Scots had the benefit of it, but when it was taken away,

the persecution revived, with inexpressible severity, under the administration of Duke Lauderdale. Conventicles abounded, the presbyterian ministers preached in their own houses, to numbers of people that stood without doors to hear them; and when they were dispersed they retreated into the fields with their ministers to hear the word of God; and to prevent being disturbed, carried arms sufficient for their defence. Upon which a severe act was passed against house conventicles and field conventicles, declaring them treasonable; and the landlords in whose grounds they were held, were to be severely fined unless they discovered the persons present. But still this did not terrify the people, who met together in defiance of the law. Writs were issued against many who were called Cameronians, who were out-lawed, and therefore left their houses, and travelled about the country, till at length they collected into a body, and declared that *the King had forfeited the crown of that kingdom, by renouncing the covenant*; but the Duke of Monmouth being sent to disperse them, routed them at Bothwell-bridge, killing four hundred, and taking twelve hundred prisoners; two ministers were hanged, and two hundred banished to the plantations, who were all lost at sea. Cameron their preacher fell in battle, but Hackston and Cargil, the two other preachers, died with invincible courage; as did all the rest, who were offered their lives if they would say, God bless the King! Hackston had both his hands cut off, which he suffered with a constancy and rapture that was truly amazing. When both his hands were cut off, he asked, whether they would cut off his feet too? And notwithstanding all his loss of blood, after he was hanged, and his heart taken out of his body, it was alive upon the hangman's knife.

At length things came to that extremity, that the people saw they must come to church or be undone, but they came in so awkward a manner, that it was visible they did not come to serve God, but to save their substance, for they were talking or sleeping during the whole service. This introduced a sort of atheism among the younger people. But the Inquisition was so terrible, that numbers fled from their native country and settled in the

plantations. These methods of conversion were subversive of christianity, and a reproach to a protestant church and nation.

To return to England: when the King had made way for a popish successor, his majesty began to think himself neglected; all the court being made to the rising sun; upon which he was heard to say in some passion, that "If he lived a month longer, he would find a way to make himself easy for the remainder of his life." This was interpreted as a design to change hands, by sending abroad the Duke of York, and recalling the Duke of Monmouth; which struck terror into the popish party, and is thought to have hastened his death, for he was seized with a kind of apoplexy, and died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, not without violent suspicion of poison.

Charles II. was a gentleman of wit and good-nature, till his temper was soured in the latter part of life by his popish counsellors. His court was a scene of luxury, and all kinds of lewdness, and his profuse expences upon unlawful pleasures, reduced him to the necessity of becoming a pensioner of France. If he had any religion it was that of a *disguised papist*, or rather a *deist*; but he was strangely entangled during his whole life, with the obligations he had been brought under to the Roman catholics. He aimed at being an absolute monarch, but would be at no farther trouble to accomplish it, than to give his corrupt ministry liberty to do what they pleased. The King had a great many vices, but few virtues to correct them. Religion was with him no more than an engine of state. He hated the *Non-conformists*, because they appeared against the prerogative, and received the fire of all the enemies of the constitution and of the protestant religion, with an unshaken firmness. His majesty's chief concern at last was for his brother's succession; and when he came to die, he spoke not a word of religion, nor shewed any remorse for his ill-spent life: he expressed no tenderness for his subjects, nor any concern for his Queen, but only recommended his mistresses and their children to his brother's regard. So that no friend of his country, could weep at his death, from any other motive, than his keeping out a successor who was worse than himself.

CHAP. I.

JAMES II.

State of the Nation.—James begins his reign with Arbitrary and Severe methods.—Persecution revived.—Conduct of Dissenters.—Progress of Popery.—State of affairs between the King and the Church.—Dissenters favoured and caressed by the Court.—The number of Sufferers in the cause of Non-conformity, and the amount of their Losses in the Two last Reigns.—Ecclesiastical Commission erected.—A standing Army.—Affairs of Scotland, and Ireland.—Bp. of London suspended.—Dissenters courted both by the King and the Church.—They are admitted to Offices.—Their jealousy of the King.—Church promises to Dissenters.—Remarks.—Court measures.—Noble Spirit of the Dissenters.—Rash proceedings of the King.—Roman Catholics openly favoured.

WHEN the news of King Charles's decease was spread over the city, a pensive sadness was visible in most countenances for the fate of the kingdom. His brother James, who succeeded him, told the privy council at his first meeting them, that, "As he would never depart from any branch of the prerogative, so he would not invade any man's property, but would preserve the government as by law established in church and state." Which gratified the clergy so much, that the pulpits throughout England resounded with thanksgivings; and a numerous

set of addresses flattered his majesty in the strongest expressions, with assurances of unshaken loyalty and obedience, without limitation or reserve.

The King began his reign with a frank and open profession of his religion, for the first Sunday after his accession, he went publicly to mass, and obliged father Hudleston, who attended his brother in his last hours, to declare to the world that he died a *Roman catholic*. His majesty acted the part of an absolute sovereign from the very first, and though he had declared he would invade no man's property, yet he issued out a proclamation for collecting the duties of tonnage and poundage, &c. which were given to the late King only for life ; and in his letter to the Scots parliament, he says, "I am resolved to maintain my power in its greatest lustre, that I may be better able to defend your religion against fanatics."

Before the King had been two months on his throne, he discovered severe resentments against the enemies of his religion, and of his succession to the crown. Dr. Oates was brought out of prison and tried for perjury, in the affair of the popish plot, for which he was sentenced to stand in the pillory several times, to be whipt from Aldgate to Newgate, and from thence to Tyburn ; which was exercised with a severity unknown to the English nation. In the election of a new parliament, all methods were used to get such members returned as might be supple to the King's arbitrary designs. When the houses met, the King repeated what he had declared in council, that he "would preserve the government in church and state as by law established." Which, he certainly never intended ; for he insinuated in his speech, that he would not depend on the precarious aids of parliament, nor meet them often, if they did not use him well. But the parliament unanimously settled all the revenues of his late majesty upon the King for life, which amounted to more than two millions a year ; and presented an address to desire him to issue his royal proclamation, to cause the penal laws to be put in execution *against dissenters from the church of England*.

This brought down the storm, and revived the persecution, which had slackened a little upon the late King's

death. His majesty was now encouraged to pursue his brother's measures. The tories, who adhered firmly to the prerogative, were gratified with full licence to distress the *dissenters*, who were to be sacrificed over again to a bigotted clergy, and an incensed King, zealous for their destruction, in order to unite and increase the strength of popery, which he favoured without reserve. Upon this, all meeting-houses of protestant dissenters were shut up, and the old trade of informing revived; the spiritual courts were crouded with business; private conventicles were disturbed, in all parts of the city and country.

One of the first who came into trouble was Mr. Baxter, who was committed to the King's-bench, for some exceptionable passages in his paraphrase on the New Testament, reflecting on the order of diocesan bishops, and the lawfulness of resistance in some possible cases. Mr. Baxter being ill, moved by his counsel for time; but Jefferies said, he would not give him a minute's time to save his life. "Yonder stands Oates in the pillory," says he, "and if Mr. Baxter stood on the other side, I would say, two of the greatest rogues in England stood there." When he was brought to trial, the chief justice would not admit his council to plead for their client. When Mr. Baxter offered to speak for himself, Jefferies called him a snivelling, canting presbyterian, and said, "Richard, Richard, don't thou think we will hear thee poison the court. Richard, thou art an old fellow, and an old knave; thou hast written books enough to load a cart, every one as full of sedition, I might say of treason, as an egg is full of meat: hadst thou been whipt out of thy writing trade forty years ago, it had been happy. Thou pretendest to be a preacher of the gospel of peace, and thou hast one foot in the grave, it is time for thee to begin to think, what account thou intendest to give; but leave thee to thyself, and I see thou wilt go on as thou hast begun; but by the grace of God, I will look after thee. I know thou hast a mighty party, and I see a great many of the brotherhood in corners, waiting to see what will become of their mighty don, and a doctor of the party, Doctor Bates, at your elbow, but by the grace of Almighty God, I will crush you all." The chief justice having directed the jury, they

found him guilty, without going from the bar, and fined him five hundred marks, to lay in prison till he paid it, and be bound to his good behaviour for seven years.

The rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth, furnished the court with a plausible handle, to carry the persecution of the whigs and dissenters to a further extremity. There was a considerable number of English fugitives in Holland at this time, some on political accounts, and others on the score of religion. The King being apprehensive of danger from thence, obliged the Prince of Orange to dismiss the Duke of Monmouth from his court, and to break all those officers who had waited upon him, and who were in his service ; this precipitated the counsels of the malecontents, and made them resolve upon a rash and ill-concerted invasion, which proved their ruin. The Earl of Argyle imagining all the Scots presbyterians would revolt, sailed to the north of Scotland with a very small force, and was defeated with the effusion of very little blood, before the declaration which he brought with him, could have any effect. After him the Duke of Monmouth, with the like rashness, landed with an inconsiderable force at Lyme in Dorsetshire ; and though he was joined by great numbers in the west country, he was defeated by the King's forces, made prisoner, and executed on Tower-Hill ; as was the Earl of Argyle at Edinburgh.

The King elated with success, resolved to let both whigs and dissenters feel the weighty arm of a conqueror : his army lived upon free-quarters in the west, and treated all who were supposed to be disaffected, with great rudeness and violence. Some days after Monmouth's defeat, Colonel Kirk ordered several of the prisoners to be hung up at Taunton, without any trial, while he and his company were dancing and revelling, at a neighbouring window, from whence they beheld with a more than brutish triumph, the dreadful spectacle. The gaols being full of prisoners, the King appointed Jefferies to go the western circuit, whose cruel behaviour surpassed all that had been ever heard of in a civilized nation : he was always drunk either with wine, or vengeance. When the juries found persons not guilty, he threatened and confined them, till they brought in a verdict to his mind. He persuaded

many of the prisoners to plead guilty, in hopes of favour, and then taking advantage of their confession, ordered their *immediate* execution.

After the executions in the west, the King being resolved to be revenged of the whigs, by making examples of their leaders: Alderman Cornish, who had signalized himself in prosecuting the popish plot, and was frequently in company with the late Lord Russel, was taken off the Exchange, and within little more than a week tried, condemned, and executed in Cheapside for high treason, without any tolerable evidence, and his quarters set upon Guildhall. On the same day, Mrs. Gaunt, a dissenter, who spent a great part of her life in acts of charity, visiting the gaols, and looking after the poor of what persuasion soever; having entertained Burton, one of Monmouth's men in her house, he, by an unheard-of baseness, while she was looking out for an opportunity, to send him out of the kingdom, went out and accused her for harbouring him, and by that means saved his own life by taking away hers; she was burnt alive at Tyburn, and died with great resolution and devotion. Many others suffered in like manner. Some say the King was hurried on by Jefferies; but if his own inclinations had not run strong the same way, he would not have let that butcher loose, says Burnet, to commit so many barbarous acts of cruelty, as struck an universal horror over the body of the nation. It was a bloody summer, and a dangerous time for honest men to live in.

When the King met his parliament, he congratulated them on the success of his arms; but told them, that in order to prevent any new disturbances, he was determined to keep the present army together. Thus we were to have a standing army under popish officers, in defiance of the penal laws and test.

The persecution of the dissenters, which was carried on with all imaginable severity this and the last year, forced some of their ministers into the church, but it had a different, and more surprising influence upon others, who had the courage in these difficult times, to renounce the church as a *persecuting establishment*, to embark in a cause, which had nothing to recommend it but truth,

attended with bonds and imprisonment, and the loss of all things.

Great were the oppressions of those who frequented the separate meetings in several counties ; the informers broke in upon Sir John Hartoppe, Mr. Fleetwood, and others at Stoke-Newington, to levy distresses for conventicles, to the value of six or seven thousand pounds. The justices and confiding clergy were equally diligent. Injunctions were sent from several of the bishops, requiring all church-wardens to present such, as did not repair to church, nor receive the sacrament at Easter ; and so terrible were the times, that many families and ministers removed to New-England, and other plantations in America. Many ministers were fined and imprisoned, and great numbers of their most substantial hearers cited into the commons, and if they did not appear, an excommunication and a *capias* followed, unless they found means, by some effectual bribe, to get themselves excused.

The dissenters continued to take the most prudent measures, to conceal their meetings. They assembled in small numbers ; they frequently shifted their places of worship, and met together late in the evenings, or early in the mornings ; when the dwellings of the dissenters joined, they made windows or holes in the walls, that the preacher's voice might be heard in two or three houses ; they had sometimes private passages from one house to another, and trap doors for the escape of the minister, who went always in disguise, except when he was discharging his office ; in country towns and villages they were admitted through back yards and gardens into the house, to avoid the observation of neighbours and passengers ; for the same reason they never sung ; and the minister was placed in such an inward part of the house, that his voice might not be heard in the streets ; the doors were always locked, and a centinel placed near them, to give the alarm. But notwithstanding all their precautions, spies and false brethren crept in among them in disguise, their assemblies were frequently interrupted, and great sums of money raised by fines or compositions.

Thus were the non-conformists ground between the papists, and the high church clergy, while the former

made their advantage of the latter, concluding, that when the dissenters were destroyed, or thoroughly exasperated, and the clergy divided among themselves, they should be a match for the hierarchy, and capable of establishing that religion they had so long been aiming to introduce. Swarms of jesuits and priests were sent for from abroad ; jesuits' schools were opened ; mass houses were erected ; Roman catholic bishops were consecrated in the royal chapel ; their clergy appeared at court in their habits, and were unwearied in their attempts to seduce the common people.

At length the eyes of many of the clergy began to be opened, and they judged it necessary to preach against the popish doctrines. The King being acquainted with this, sent an order, prohibiting the inferior clergy from preaching on the controverted points of religion. However, when their mouths were stopt in the pulpit, some of the most learned and zealous, agreed to fight the catholics with their own weapons, and to publish small pamphlets in defence of the protestant doctrines. When a popish pamphlet was in the press, they made interest to get the sheets as they were wrought off, so that an answer was ready, as soon as the pamphlet was published. There was hardly a week, in which some sermon or small treatise against popery, was not printed, which in the compass of a year or two, produced a valuable set of controversial writings, against the errors of that church. Never was a bad cause more weakly managed by the papists, nor a more complete victory obtained by the protestants.

The clergy, writing thus warmly against popery, broke all measures between the King and the church of England, and made each party court that body of men for their auxiliaries, whom they had been persecuting and destroying. His majesty now resolved to introduce an universal toleration in despite of the church, and at their expence. The cruelty of the church of England was his common subject of discourse ; he reproached them for their violent persecutions of the dissenters, and said, he had intended to set on foot a toleration sooner, but that he was restrained by *some of them* who had treated with him, and had undertaken to shew favour to the papists, provided

they might be still suffered to vex the dissenters ; and he named the very men.

Many pamphlets were now wrote and dispersed in favour of liberty of conscience ; and Sir Roger L'Estrange, with other mercenary writers, were employed to maintain, that a power in the King to dispense with the laws, is law. But the opinion of private writers not being thought sufficient, it was resolved to have the determination of the judges, who all, except one, gave it as their opinion ; 1. That the laws of England were the King's laws. 2. That it is an inseparable branch of the prerogative of the Kings of England, as of all other sovereign princes, to dispense with all penal laws in particular cases, and on particular occasions. 3. That of these reasons and necessity the King is sole judge. 4. That this is not a trust now invested in, and granted to the present King, but the ancient remains of the sovereign power of the Kings of England, which was never yet taken from them, nor can be. Thus the laws of England were given up at once into the hands of the King, by a solemn determination of the judges.

This point being secured, his majesty began to caress the Non-conformists ; and a dispensation, or licence office was set up, where all who applied might have an indulgence, paying only fifty shillings, for themselves and their families. Many who had been prosecuted for conventicles, took out those licences, which not only stopt all processes that were commenced, but gave them liberty to go publicly to meetings for the future. Thus the all-wise providence of God, put a period to the prosecution of the protestant dissenters from the penal laws, though the laws themselves were not repealed, or suspended, till after the revolution. It may not therefore be improper to give the reader a summary view of their usage in this and the last reign, and of the damages they sustained in their persons, families, and fortunes.

The writer of the preface of Mr. Delaune's plea for the non-conformists, says, that Delaune was one of near EIGHT THOUSAND, who had perished in prison in the reign of Charles II. and that merely for dissenting from

the church in some points, for which they were able to give good reason. As for the severe penalties inflicted on them, for seditious and riotous assemblies, designed only for the worship of God, he adds, that they suffered in their trades and estates, within the compass of three years, at least TWO MILLIONS ; and doubts, whether in all the times since the reformation, including the reign of Mary, there can be produced any thing like such a number of christians who have suffered death ; and such numbers who have lost their substance for religion. Another writer adds, that Mr. Jeremy White, had carefully collected a list of the dissenting sufferers, and of their sufferings ; and had the names of SIXTY THOUSAND persons who had suffered on a religious account, between the restoration of Charles II. and the revolution of King William ; five thousand of whom died in prison. That Mr. White told Lord Dorset, that King James had offered him a thousand guineas for the manuscript, but that he refused all invitations and rewards, and concealed the black record, that it might not appear to the disreputation of the church of England, for which some of the clergy sent him their thanks, and offered him an acknowledgment, which he generously refused. The reader will form his own judgment of the truth of these facts. It is certain, that besides those who suffered in their own country, great numbers retired to the plantations and different parts of America. Many transported themselves and their effects into Holland, and filled the English churches of Amsterdam, the Hague, &c. If we admit the dissenting families of the several denominations in England, to be one hundred and fifty thousand, and that each family suffered no more, than the loss of three or four pounds *per annum*, from the act of uniformity, the whole will amount to twelve or fourteen millions ; a prodigious sum for those times ! But these are only conjectures ; the damage to the trade and property of the nation was undoubtedly immense ; and the wounds that were made in the estates of private families were deep and large, many of whom, to my certain knowledge, wear the scars of them to this day. However when the Protestant Dissenters rose up into public view as a distinct body, their long sufferings had not very much diminished their

numbers, which though not to be compared with those of the establishment, or the tories and Roman catholics, were yet so considerable, as to be capable of turning the scale on either side, according as they should throw in their weight.

But the dissenters being now easy, it was resolved to turn the artillery of the prerogative against the church, and make them feel a little of the smart they had given others ; the King and his priests were thoroughly enraged with their opposition to the court, and therefore appointed commissioners throughout England, to enquire what money had been raised ? Or what goods had been seized by distress on dissenters, on prosecution for recusancy, and not brought to account in the Exchequer ? This struck terror into the whole tribe of informers, the confiding justices, and others, who expected now to be ruined ; but the protestant dissenters refused to appear against their enemies, upon assurances given by leading persons, both clergy and laity, that no such methods should be used for the future. Had this enquiry proceeded, and the dissenters universally come into it, a black and fraudulent scene would have been opened, which now will be concealed. Such a truly generous and christian spirit in those confessors for religion, deserved a more grateful acknowledgment.

To humble the clergy yet further, his majesty, by the advice of Jefferies, erected a new ecclesiastical commission, though the act which took away the high commission, had provided, that no court of that nature should be erected for the future ; but the King, though a papist, assumed the supremacy, and directed a commission to the Abp. of Canterbury, and others, to exercise all manner of jurisdiction and pre-eminence, touching any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdictions, to visit, reform, redress, and amend all abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, which by the spiritual or ecclesiastical laws might be corrected. They were also to enquire into all misdemeanors and contempts which might be punished by the censures of the church, and to call before them all ecclesiastical persons, of what degree and dignity soever,

and punish the offenders by excommunications, suspensions, deprivations, or other ecclesiastical censures, &c. This was a terrible rod held over the clergy, and if the commissioners had had time to proceed in their enquiries, they would have felt more of the effects of that arbitrary power, which their conduct had brought on the nation; but providence was kinder to them, than they had been to their brethren.

But his majesty not being willing to rely altogether on the Oxford decree, nor on the fashionable doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance; in order to support his extraordinary proceedings, resolved to augment his standing forces. He was apprehensive of a Snake in the grass, or a secret reserve, that might break out when the church itself came to be pinched; and therefore ordered his army to encamp on Hounslow-Heath, to awe the city, and be at hand upon any emergency; the officers and many of the soldiers were Irish papists. It was dangerous to speak or write against the King's proceedings; for when Mr. Johnson, a clergyman, ventured to publish a writing, directed to the protestant officers of the army, to dissuade them from being tools of the court, to subvert the constitution and protestant religion; he was apprehended and sentenced to stand three times in the pillory, to be degraded of his orders, to be whipt from Newgate to Tyburn, and to be fined five hundred marks.

Affairs in Scotland and in Ireland, were in equal forwardness with those of England; the parliament of Scotland passed an act, making it death to resort to any conventicles; and declared it high treason to give or take the national covenant, or to write in defence of it. They also obliged the subjects of Scotland to take an oath, when required, to maintain the King's *absolute power*. Popery made very considerable advances, and several persons of character changed their religion. But the populace were in the other extreme; the Earl of Perth having set up a private chapel for mass, the mob broke into it, and defaced and destroyed the whole furniture, for which one of them was hanged. When the English court changed measures, the Scots parliament agreed to a suspension of the penal laws, during the King's life; but his majesty

insisting upon an entire repeal, which they declined, he dissolved them. The episcopal clergy were obsequious to the court, and in many places so sunk into sloth and ignorance, that the lower people were grown quite indifferent in matters of religion; but the presbyterians, though now freed from the severities, they had smarted under for many years, expressed upon all occasions, an unconquerable aversion to popery, and by degrees roused the whole nation out of their lethargy.

Matters being now ripe for attacking the church of England in form, it was resolved to begin, with making an example of some of their leading divines: Dr. Sharp, rector of St. Giles's, having disobeyed the King's order, of not preaching on the controverted points, in one of his sermons, the Bp. of London was ordered to suspend him; but the bishop sent word, that he could not proceed in such a summary way, that when the cause was heard, he would pronounce such sentence, as the canons should warrant, and in the mean time, would desire the doctor to forbear preaching. The court resenting the bishop's denial, cited him before the ecclesiastical commission, where he was treated by Jefferies in a manner very unbecoming his character; and notwithstanding all that his lordship could say in his defence, he was suspended.

The King's next attempt was upon the universities: he began with Cambridge, and commanded the vice-chancellor, to admit one Francis, a benedictine monk, to the degree of M. A. without administering to him any oath. But the vice-chancellor refusing to obey the mandate, was ordered to appear before the ecclesiastical commission, and suspended for disobedience and contempt of the King's commands.

Soon after, the King sent a *mandamus* to the vice-president of Magdalen Coll. Oxford, and to the fellows, to choose a president, contrary to their statutes; they resisted, and chose for themselves, the object of their choice; upon which the commissioners were sent to visit them, who deprived Dr. Hough, and installed the Bp. of Oxford: and the fellows refusing to sign a submission to their new president, twenty-five of them were deprived,

and made incapable of any benefice. Thus the very first beginnings of resistance to King James, came from that very university, which but four years before, had pronounced this doctrine DAMNABLE BY A SOLEMN DECREE; and from those very men, who were afterwards King William's most bitter enemies.

The more desperate the war grew between the King and the church, the more necessary did both parties find it, to shew kindness to the dissenters; for this purpose his majesty sent agents among them, offering them favour, and all manner of encouragement, if they would concur with him, in abrogating the penal laws and test; he invited some of their ministers to court, and pretended to consult them in the present crisis. The clergy, at the same time, prayed and entreated the dissenters to appear on their side, and stand by the establishment, making large promises of favour and brotherly affection, if ever they came into power.

The King, notwithstanding the stubbornness of the clergy, called a council, in which he declared his resolution to issue out a declaration, for a general liberty of conscience, to all persons of what persuasion soever, which meeting with no opposition in the council, was published accordingly, and a declaration of the same nature was sent to Scotland.

In pursuance of these declarations, the dissenters of all sorts were not only set at liberty, but admitted to serve in all offices of profit and trust. Nov. 6, the King sent an order to the lord mayor of London, to dispense with the quakers taking oaths, or at least not to fine them if they refused to serve, by which means a door was open to the Roman catholics, and to all others to bear offices in the state, without a legal qualification. Several addresses were presented to the King upon this occasion, from the companies in the city of London, from the corporations in the country, and even from the clergy themselves, thanking his majesty for his declaration for liberty of conscience; and his promise to support the church of England as by law established; assuring him of their endeavours, to choose such members for the next parliament, as should give it a more legal sanction.

The several denominations of dissenters also, were no less thankful for their liberty, and addressed his majesty in higher strains, than some of their elder and more cautious ministers approved. When there was a general meeting of the ministers, to consider of their behaviour in this crisis, and two messengers from court waited to carry back the result of the debate. Mr. Howe delivered his opinion against the dispensing power, and against every thing that might contribute assistance to the papists, to enable them to subvert the protestant religion. Another minister declared, that he apprehended their late sufferings, had been occasioned more by their firm adherence to the constitution, than their differing from the establishment, and therefore if the King expected they should give up the constitution, and declare for the dispensing power, he had rather for his part, lose his liberty, and return to his former bondage. In conclusion, Mr. Howe in summing up the whole debate, signified to the courtiers, that they were in general of the same opinion. This was a noble stand by a number of men who subsisted only by the royal favour.

Though the court were a little disappointed in their expectations from the dissenters, they put the best face they could on the affair, and received such addresses as were presented with high commendation. The first who went up were the London anabaptists. Next came the presbyterians; then followed the independents; and about the same time was published the humble and thankful address of the London quakers. Their addresses express their humble dependance on his majesty's royal promise, to *secure their rights and properties*, and that he will endeavour to engage his two houses of parliament, to concur with him in this good work. Here are no flights of expressions, nor promises of *obedience without reserve*, but purely a sense of gratitude for the restoration of liberty. And though it must be allowed that some few dissenters, from an excess of joy, or it may be, from a strong resentment against their late persecutors, published some severe pamphlets, and gave too much countenance to the measures of the court, yet the body of them kept

at a distance. And the lords, in a conference with the house of commons upon the occasional bill, in the first year of Queen Anne, bore this honourable testimony to their integrity, "That in the last and greatest danger the church was exposed to, the dissenters joined with her, with all imaginable zeal and sincerity, against the papists their common enemies.

But as the King and ministry carried all before them, the church party were in despair, and almost at their wits end; they saw themselves on the brink of ruin, imagining that they should be turned out of their freeholds, for not reading the King's declaration, and that the non-conformists would be admitted into their pulpits; and that as the papists had already invaded the universities, they would in a little time overset the whole hierarchy. In this distress they turned their eyes all around them for relief. They applied to the dissenters, giving them the strongest assurances of a comprehension and toleration, in better times, if they would but assist in delivering them out of their present troubles. Agreeably to these assurances, when Mr. Howe, Mr. Mead, and other refugee ministers, waited on the Prince of Orange, to return him thanks for the protection of the country, and to take their leave, his highness made them some presents to pay their debts, and defray their charges home; and having wished them a good voyage, he advised them to be very cautious in their addresses; and not to suffer themselves to be drawn into the measures of the court, so far as to open a door for the introducing of popery, by desiring the taking off the penal laws and test, as was intended. He requested them also to use their influence with their brethren, to lay them under the same restraints. His highness sent orders likewise to Monsieur Dykvelt his resident, to press the dissenters to stand off from the court; and to assure them, of a full toleration, and comprehension if possible, when the crown should devolve on the Princess of Orange. Agents were sent among the dissenters, to soften their resentments against the church, and to assure them, that for the future they would treat them as brethren, as will be seen in the next chapter.

The dissenters had it now in their power to distress the

church party, and it may be, to have made reprisals, if they would have given way to revenge, and fallen in with the King's measures. They were strongly solicited on both sides; the King preferred them to places of profit and trust, and gave them all manner of countenance and encouragement; and the churchmen loaded them with promises and assurances, what great things they would do for them, as soon as it should be in their power. But alas! no sooner was the danger over, than the majority of them forgot their vows in distress; for when the convocation met the first time after the revolution, they would not hear of a comprehension, nor so much as acknowledge the foreign churches for their brethren, seeming rather inclined to return to their old methods of persecution; so little dependance ought to be placed on high church promises!

The war between the King and the church being now declared, each party prepared for their defence: the points in debate were, a *general toleration*, and the *dispensing power*; the latter of which, the high church party had connived at during the late reign; but when it was turned against themselves, they exclaimed against it, as subversive of the whole constitution; and forgetting their late addresses, contested this branch of the prerogative. The King had secured the opinion of the judges in favour of it, but this not giving satisfaction, he determined to obtain a parliamentary sanction. Pursuant to this resolution, the King's first parliament was dissolved, and agents were employed to dispose the people to the choice of such new members, as might facilitate the court measures. The King himself went a progress, to ingratiate himself with the people, and was every where hailed with the most joyful acclamations, and loyal acknowledgments; but in the affair of the tests, says Burnet, there was a visible coldness among the nobility and gentry.

When the King returned from his progress, he began to change the magistracy, in the several corporations in England, he turned out several of the aldermen of the city of London, and placed new ones in their room; and such of the lord-lieutenants, and deputy-lieutenants, as would not promise to employ their interests in the

repeal of the penal laws, were discarded. Many protestant dissenters were put into committion on this occasion, in hopes that they would procure such members for the next parliament, as should give them a legal right, to what they now enjoyed only by the royal favour ; but when the King pressed it upon the mayor of London, and the new aldermen, who were chiefly dissenters, they made no reply.

The reason of the dissenters' backwardness in an affair that so nearly concerned them, and in which they have since expressed so strong a desire, was their concern for the protestant religion, and their aversion to popery. The King was not only a Roman catholic but a bigot ; and it was evident, that the plucking up the fences at this time, must have made a breach at which popery would enter. The dissenters therefore were afraid, that if they should give into his majesty's measures, though they might secure their liberty for the present, it would stand on a precarious foundation ; for if popery came in triumphant, it would not only swallow up the church of England, but the whole protestant interest. They chose therefore to trust their liberty to the mercy of their protestant brethren, rather than receive a legal security for it under a popish government.

According to this resolution, Bp. Burnet observes, that Sir J. Shorter, the new lord-mayor, a protestant dissenter, thought fit to qualify himself for his office according to law, though the test was suspended, and the King had signified to the mayor, that he was at liberty, and might use what form of worship he thought best in Guildhall, which was designed as an experiment, to engage the presbyterians to make the first change from the established worship, concluding, that if a presbyterian mayor did this one year, it would be easy for a popish mayor to do it the next ; but his lordship referred the case to those clergymen, who had the government of the diocese of London, during the bishop's suspension, who assured his lordship it was contrary to law ; so that though the lord-mayor went sometimes to the meetings of dissenters, he went frequently to church. This disoblged the King to such a high degree, that he said, the dissenters were an ill-natured sort of people that could not be gained.

This opposition to the King, heightened his resentments, and pushed him on to rash and violent measures. Father Petre was the King's chief minister, and one of his majesty's privy council, a bold and forward man, who stuck at nothing to ruin the church. The King designed him for the archbishopric of York, now vacant, and for a cardinal's cap, if he could prevail with the Pope; for this purpose the Earl of Castlemain was sent ambassador to Rome, and a nuncio was sent from thence into England; to whom his majesty paid all possible respect, and gave an audience at Windsor, though it was contrary to law; all commerce with the court of Rome having been declared high treason by the statute of Henry VIII. But the King said **HE WAS ABOVE LAW**; and because the Duke of Somerset would not officiate in his place at the ceremony, he was dismissed from all his employments. It was strange infatuation in James, to put a slight on the ancient nobility, and turn most of his servants out of their places, because they were protestants. This weakened his interest, and threw a vast weight into the opposite scale.

But his majesty depended upon his army, which he was casting into a popish mould; protestant officers were cashiered; Portsmouth and Hull, the two principal sea-ports of England, were in popish hands; and the majority of the garrisons were of the same religion. Ireland was an inexhaustible seminary, from whence England was to be supplied with a catholic army; an Irish Roman catholic was a most welcome guest at Whitehall; and they came over in shoals. Upon the whole, the affairs of the nation were drawing to a crisis; and it was believed, that what the King could not accomplish by the gentler method of interest and persuasion, he would establish by his sovereign power. The army at Hounslow was to awe the city and parliament: and if they proved refractory, an Irish massacre, or some other desperate attempt, might possibly decide the fate of the nation.

CHAP. II.

JAMES II.

James attempts to convert the Prince and Princess of Orange to Popery.—The Queen declared to be Pregnant.—The King's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience.—Conduct of the Bishops.—Seven of them sent to the Tower.—They court the Dissenters.—Remarks.—Suspected Birth of the Prince of Wales.—Expedition of the Prince of Orange.—The King receives intelligence of it.—His consequent proceedings.—The Prince Arrives.—James prepares to resist him.—Confusion of the Court and City.—The King leaves the Kingdom.—The Throne declared vacant.—The Crown offered to the Prince and Princess.—Accepted.—Remarks.—Address of Dissenting Ministers.—Act of Toleration.—Ecclesiastical Commission.—Shameful Conduct of the Tory Clergy.—Their ingratitude to the King.—Their hatred of Dissenters.

THOUGH the projects of the catholics were ripe for execution, there was one circumstance which spread a black cloud over all their attempts, which was the near prospect of a protestant successor to the crown : this was the only hope of the protestant cause, and the terror of the papists. To remove this impediment, his majesty first attempted to convert his eldest daughter Mary, Princess of Orange, to the Roman catholic religion, or at least to consent to the making way for it, by taking off the penal

laws. But it appeared that her highness was immovably fixed in her religion, and that there was not the least prospect of her departing from it.

At the same time, his majesty attempted the Prince of Orange, for which purpose he employed one Mr. J. Steward, a Scots lawyer, who wrote several letters upon this argument to Pensionary Fagel, in whom the Prince placed an entire confidence. The pensionary neglected his letters for some time, but at length it being industriously reported, that the silence of the Prince was a tacit consent, the pensionary laid all his letters before his highness, who commissioned him to draw up such an answer, as might discover his true intentions and sense of things.—The answer begins with assurances of the Prince and Princess's duty to the King ; and since Mr. Steward had given him to understand, that his letters were written with the King's knowledge and allowance, the pensionary assures him in the name of their Highnesses, that it was their opinion, that "No christian ought to be persecuted for his conscience ; or be ill used because he differs from the established religion ; and therefore they agreed that the papists in Scotland and Ireland, should have the free exercise of their religion in private, as they had in Holland ; and as to protestant dissenters, they heartily approved of their having an entire liberty of their religion, without any trouble or hindrance ; and their highnesses were ready to concur to the settling it, and giving their guarantee to protect and defend it. If his majesty desired their concurrence in repealing the penal laws, they were ready to give it, provided the laws by which Roman catholics were excluded, from sitting in both houses of parliament, and from all employments ecclesiastical, civil and military, remained in force, &c." This letter was carried by Mr. Steward to the King, and read in the cabinet council, but it had no effect, only the King ordered Mr. Steward to write back, that "he would have all or nothing." The pensionary's letter was afterwards printed, by allowance of the Prince, and dispersed over England, which provoked the King to such a degree, that he spoke indecently of his highness to all the foreign ministers, and resolved to shew him the severest marks of his displeasure.

The first project of gaining the Prince having failed, his majesty went upon another, which had it succeeded, must effectually have defeated the protestant succession ; and that was, providing the nation with a heir of his own body by the present Queen, though for many years she had been reckoned incapable of having children. This was first whispered among the courtiers, but was soon after confirmed by proclamation in the Gazette, and his majesty appointed public thanksgiving and solemn prayer to be offered up to God on this occasion, and a form of prayer was drawn up accordingly. This struck all the protestant part of the kingdom with consternation, except a few ranting Tories, whose religion was at the service of the King, whensoever he should call for it. The conception was looked upon by the jesuits as miraculous, and as the effect of a vow the Queen had made to the Lady of Loretto : they prophesied it would certainly be a Prince ; while the protestants sighed in secret, and suspected a fraud ; the grounds of which suspicion, the historians of these times have related at large.

The King, emboldened with the prospect of a popish successor, instead of venturing first upon a parliament, published another declaration for liberty of conscience, in higher strains, and more advantageous to the papists than the former. This declaration was published in the usual manner, and ordered to be read in time of divine service, in all churches and chapels in England and Wales, upon penalty of being prosecuted in the ecclesiastical commission. For this purpose, the bishops were required to cause it to be distributed throughout their respective dioceses ; some of them (says Burnet), carried their compliance to a shameful pitch, offering up their allegiance to the King without limitation or reserve. They went all the lengths of the court, and promoted addresses of thanks to his majesty, in the most exalted language, for the promise he had made in his late declaration, to maintain the church of England, as by law established ; though nothing was more evident than his design to subvert it.

However, the majority of the clergy were of different sentiments ; and refused to publish the declaration. Most of the bishops disobeyed, and generously undertook to

stand in the gap, and screen the inferior clergy from persecution : seven of them met at Lambeth, and after consultation, signed an address in behalf of themselves, and several of their absent brethren, setting forth, " That the declaration being founded on such a dispensing power, as may at present set aside all laws ecclesiastical and civil, appears to us illegal, and did so to the parliament in 1672, and it is a point of such great consequence, that we cannot make ourselves a party to it, so far as the reading of it in the church, in time of divine service will amount to, and distributing it all over the kingdom."—Signed by Sancroft Abp. of Canterbury ; Lloyd, Bp. of St. Asaph ; Kenn of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, and Trelawny of Bristol.—The King was startled at the address, and answered in a very angry tone ; " I have heard of this before, but did not believe it ; I did not expect this from the church of England, especially from some of you ; if I change my mind you shall hear from me ; if not, I expect my commands shall be obeyed : " and added, that they should be made to feel, what it was to disobey him. The six bishops who brought the address replied, the will of God be done.

While the King was deliberating what to do with the bishops, he was for some time in great perplexity ; several of the popish nobility pressed him to retreat ; but at length he ordered the bishops to be prosecuted ; and they on account of their peerage, were sent to the Tower, but were discharged within a week, upon entering into bonds to answer to the information. When they were brought to the King's-Bench, Westminster-Hall, they were attended by several of the nobility, and a vast croud of people ; and after a long trial of ten hours were acquitted : upon which there was a general joy, and such loud acclamations, as resounded not only in the city, but even in the army at Hounslow.

It was often said, that if ever God should deliver them out of their present distress, *they would keep up their domestic quarrels no more* ; which were so visibly, and yet artfully managed by our adversaries, as to make us devour one another.

When Dr. Lloyd, Bp. of St. Asaph, passed through

Oswestry in Shropshire, he sent for Mr. James Owen the dissenting minister, and ventured to acquaint him with the secret, of the Prince of Orange's invitation by some great persons, in which he had joined ; and added, " he hoped the protestant dissenters would concur in promoting the common interest ; for you and we are brethren ; we have indeed been angry brethren, but we have seen our folly, and are resolved, if ever we have it in our power, to shew that we will treat you as brethren."

Remarkable are the words of a divine on this occasion ; " The bishops have under their hands declared their dispositions to come to a temper, in matters of conformity ; and I will boldly say, that *if the church of England, after she has got out of this storm, will return to hearken to the peevishness of some sour men, she will be abandoned both of God and man, and will set heaven and earth against her.* The nation sees too clearly how dear the dispute about conformity has cost us, to stand upon such *punctillio's* ; and those in whom our deliverance is wrapt up, judge too right, that ever they will be priest-ridden in this point—and if any argument was wanting to conclude the certainty of this point, *the wise and generous behaviour of the main body of the dissenters in this present juncture, has given them so just a title to our friendship, that we must resolve to set all the world against us if we can ever forget it ; and if we do not make them all the returns of ease and favour, when it is in our power to do it.*"—But all the strong assurances of favour, given by the church party when in distress, to the non-conformists, in a few months, entirely evaporated.

While the bishops were in the Tower, and the Princess Anne at the Bath, the Queen was declared to be delivered of a Prince. This mysterious birth, was conducted with great artifice or great imprudence ; no care had been taken to satisfy the protestant part of the nation, that the Queen was with child, though it was ridiculed in pamphlets dispersed about Whitehall. None of the protestant ladies were allowed to satisfy themselves on any of those circumstances necessary to attest the fact. The place where her majesty was to lie in, was unknown till a few days before her delivery ; and it was oddly circumstanced as to time,

most of the protestant ladies being out of the way, and preparing for church; the Dutch ambassador, then in the town, was not called to be a witness, on behalf of the Princess of Orange, the presumptive heir; all being finished in about two hours. The birth was attended with great rejoicings of the popish party, a day of public thanksgiving was appointed, and a new set of congratulations sent up from all parts of the kingdom.

The Princess of Orange being thus cut off from the succession, his Highness gave greater attention to the advices he received from England, of the Queen's having miscarried some months before, and that therefore the present child must be supposititious. The church party being driven by distress from their favourite doctrine of non-resistance, fled with others to the Prince of Orange, as their last refuge, and prayed him to come over to their rescue; who discovered a good disposition to espouse their cause, considering that his own right to the crown was now lost, and that if popery was established in England, Holland and the rest of the reformed interest, must be exposed to the utmost hazard. But all the difficulty was to keep it secret, while they were preparing for so critical an undertaking. But the French Ambassador at the Hague, kept a watchful eye upon the Prince's motions, and gave timely notice of these extraordinary preparations; and the French King offered to send over 15,000 men, or as many more as should be wanted to his assistance; but the Earl of Sunderland, who had lately complimented the King with his religion, prevailed with his Majesty not to transport an army of French papists into his dominions, lest it should confirm the suspicions of the protestants, that he designed the overthrow of their religion and liberties.

The King being at length convinced of the Prince of Orange's design, ordered the fleet to be fitted out, and the army augmented; and dispatched orders to Tyrconnel, to send hither several regiments from Ireland, which put the people under terrible apprehensions of an Irish massacre. The King was further assured by letters from the Marquis of Abbeville at the Hague that Pensionary Fagel had owned the design of the Prince of Orange to invade England. Upon which the King turned pale and speechless for a

while, and like a distracted man looked round every way for relief, but was resolute in nothing. He postponed the meeting of the parliament, and applied to the bishops then in town, for advice what was necessary to be done to make the church easy; concluding, that if they could satisfy the bishops, and recover the affection of the church, all would do well. The Bp. of London's suspension was taken off, the ecclesiastical commission dissolved, the city charter and the fellows of Magdalen College were restored, and other illegal practices renounced; however upon news of the Prince of Orange's fleet being dispersed by a storm, and that they would hardly be able to put to sea again till next spring, his majesty withdrew his hand from any further redress of grievances.

But the Prince having repaired the damages of the storm, sailed a second time, and after a remarkable passage, in which the wind chapt about almost miraculously in his favour, landed at Torbay, Nov. 5, with about fourteen thousand men, without meeting the King's fleet, which was at sea, in order to intercept them. The Prince brought over with him a declaration, divided into twenty-six articles, but reducible to three principal heads, 1. An enumeration of the public grievances, with regard to religion and civil government. 2. The fruitless attempts which had been made to redress those grievances; under which mention is made of the suspicious birth of the pretended Prince of Wales. 3. A protestation that the present expedition was intended for no other purpose, than to procure a free and lawful parliament; to which the Prince would refer the redress of all grievances complained of; and for the obtaining such a parliament, his Highness declares, he had been most earnestly solicited by a great many lords both spiritual and temporal, and by many gentlemen, and other subjects of all ranks, to come over to England; and to encourage the protestant dissenters, his Highness adds, that he would recommend to the parliament the making such new laws as might establish a good agreement, between the church of England and all protestant Non-conformists, and in the mean time would suffer such as would live peaceably, to enjoy all due freedom in their consciences.

The king, who had relied too much on the clergy's professions of unlimited obedience, being surprized at the expression in the Prince's declaration, that he had been invited by the Lords spiritual, sent for the bishops then in town, and insisted not only upon their disowning the fact, but upon their signing a paper, expressing their abhorrence of the intended invasion; but they excused themselves, only with a general profession of their allegiance and duty. The church party, now shewed their approbation of the Prince's expedition in such terms, that many were surprized at it, both then, and since that time; they spoke openly in favour of it; they expressed their grief to see the wind so cross, and wished for a *Protestant wind* that might bring the Prince over.

Soon after his highness's landing, the body of the nation discovered their inclinations so evidently, that the King lost both head and heart at once. Being left in a manner alone, he retired with a small retinue to his army at Salisbury.

The Prince of Orange having refreshed his forces, marched from Torbay to Exeter, where the nobility and gentry signed an association, to support and assist him, in pursuing the ends of his declaration, and that if any attempt was made on his person, it should be revenged on all, by whom or from whom it should be made. Great numbers of common people came unto the Prince at Exeter; and as soon as he marched towards London, Prince George of Denmark; the Dukes of Ormond, Grafton, Lord Wharton, and others of the first distinction, deserted the army at Salisbury, and joined the Prince, with many protestant officers and soldiers; so that his majesty perceived, even the army, which was his last refuge, was not to be relied upon; and to complete his unhappiness Princess Anne, his younger daughter, withdrew privately from court with the Bp. of London, who put on his buff coat and sword, and commanded a little army for her highness's defence.

In this critical juncture, the Queen and the young Prince of Wales were sent to France, the King himself following the latter end of the month. After his first

attempt to leave the kingdom, he was seized, and prevailed with to return to London; but when the Prince resolved to come to Whitehall, and sent his majesty a message, that he thought it not consistent with the peace of the city and of the kingdom, for both of them to be there together; his majesty retired and went privately to France, leaving a paper, in which he declared, that though he was going to seek for foreign assistance, he would not make use of it, to overthrow the established religion or the laws of his country.

Thus ended the short and unhappy reign of James II. and with him the male line of the house of Stuarts, a race of princes, raised up by providence, to be the scourge of these nations; for they were all chargeable with tyranny and oppression, favourers of popery, and invaders of the legal constitution of their country. They enfeebled the nation by encouraging licentiousness of manners, and sunk a bold and brave people into contempt among foreign powers. Nothing could have been more fortunate for the Prince of Orange, than the King's flight, which furnished a plausible occasion for the convention parliament to pass a vote, that the King had abdicated the crown, and that the throne was vacant: though it would have looked more like a voluntary desertion, if his majesty had gone off the first time from Feversham, and had not declared in the paper he left behind him, that he was going to seek for foreign assistance. It is certain the King was frightened away by his priests, who possessed him with an apprehension that he was already a prisoner; and by his Queen, who prevailed with him to consult his own and family's safety, by leaving the kingdom for the present. Thus a great and powerful monarch was in a few weeks, reduced to a condition, little better than that of a wandering pilgrim.

The Prince of Orange arrived at St. James's, December 18, and on the 21st, the Bp. of London with several of the clergy, and some dissenting ministers, waited upon his highness, to congratulate him upon the glorious success of his expedition. On the 2d of January, about ninety of the non-conformist ministers attended at St. James's, in a distinct body, being introduced by the Earl of Devon-

shire, and the Lords Wharton and Wiltshire: when Mr. Howe, in the name of the rest, assured his highness of their grateful sense of this hazardous and heroical expedition. And they promised their utmost endeavours, in their several stations, to promote the excellent and most desirable ends, for which his highness had declared; and added their continual fervent prayers to the Almighty, for the preservation of his highness's person, and the success of his future endeavours, for the defence and propagation of the protestant interest, throughout the christian world. His highness received them very favourably, and returned them the following answer; "My great end was the preservation of the protestant religion, and with the Almighty's assistance and permission, so to defend and support the same, as may give it strength and reputation throughout the world, sufficient to preserve it from the insults and oppression of its most implacable enemies; and that, more immediately in these kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and I will use my utmost endeavours so to settle and cement all different persuasions of protestants, in such a bond of love and community, as may contribute to the lasting security and enjoyment of spirituals and temporals, to all sincere professors of that holy religion."

In order to settle the government, the Prince published an order, desiring all persons who had served as Knights, Citizens, or Burgesses, in any of the parliaments in the reign of Charles II. to meet him at St. James's, and that the lord-mayor and court of aldermen of the city of London would be present, and fifty of the common-council. This assembly desired the Prince to take upon himself the administration of the government for the present; and a convention parliament was chosen with all expedition, in which various methods were proposed of settling the government; some were for compromising matters with King James, and others for a regency; but after long and warm debates, the throne was declared vacant, King James having abdicated the government, and broken the original contract with his people. When the question was put, whether to fill the throne with a King

or to appoint a regent, it was carried for the former only by two voices, fifty-one being for a King, and forty-nine for a regent. They had indeed concurred in inviting the Prince of Orange to come to the relief of their religion, but the storm being appeased, they thought it not incumbent on them wholly to depart from their old principles, and therefore voted for a regency; but the question being carried, "Nature was so strong in them, that it was too hard for their doctrine." And a declaration being prepared for asserting and vindicating the ancient rights and liberties of the subject, the crown was offered to the Prince and Princess of Orange, who were proclaimed King and Queen of England, &c. Feb. 13, 1688-9, and crowned at Westminster, April 11 following, amidst the joyful acclamations of all the friends of the protestant religion and liberties of their country.

Thus a wonderful revolution was effected, with little or no effusion of blood; and it is surprising to reflect on the remarkable appearances of divine providence, in the rise, progress, and consummation of this important event; how the court of England and the Roman catholic powers were all infatuated or asleep, while the design was forming; and when it was carrying into execution, how the winds were subservient, and the hearts of the people united, till it was brought to maturity. And it will amaze all posterity, to read the inconsistent and dishonourable part, which the *high church clergy and their friends* acted on this occasion; for after they had preached their hereditary Prince into a belief of their unlimited loyalty, and assured him in numberless addresses, that their *lives and fortunes were absolutely* at his service; and after the university of Oxford, by a solemn decree, had declared all manner of resistance damnable and infamous to the christian religion, they appeared among the first who resisted him; and by opening a reserve which lay hid under their unbounded professions of duty and allegiance, let him fall into that pit, out of which he could never escape.

No sooner were the King and Queen settled on the throne, than the dissenting ministers in and about the city of London, waited on their majesties with an address of congratulation, when Dr. Bates at their head made a

speech, in which, after suitable congratulations, he says, "We owe to your majesty the two greatest and most valuable blessings that we can enjoy, the preservation of the true religion, our most sacred treasure; and the recovery of the falling state, and the establishing it upon just foundations. According to our duty, we promise unfeigned fidelity, and true allegiance to your majesty's person and government. We are encouraged by your gracious promise upon our first address, humbly to desire and hope, that your majesty will be pleased, by your wisdom and authority, to establish a firm union of your protestant subjects in matters of religion, by making the rule of christianity, to be the rule of conformity. Our blessed union in the purity and peace of the gospel, will make this church a fair and lovely type of heaven, and terrible to our anti-christian enemies. This will make England the steady centre from whence a powerful influence will be derived, for the support of reformed christianity abroad. This will bring immortal honour to your name, above the trophies and triumphs of the most renowned conquerors. We do assure your majesty, that we shall cordially embrace the terms of union, which the ruling wisdom of our Saviour has prescribed in his word. We shall not trespass further on your royal patience, but shall offer up our fervent prayers to the King of kings, that he will please to direct your majesty by his unerring wisdom, and always incline your heart to his glory, and encompass your sacred person with his favour as with a shield, and make your government an universal blessing to these kingdoms."—To which his majesty made the following answer.—"I take kindly your good wishes, and whatever is in my power, shall be employed for obtaining such an union among you. I do assure you of my protection and kindness."—At the same time the Doctor addressed the Queen, who made a similar reply.

Though the joy that accompanied the revolution, had a considerable influence on the choice of representatives in parliament, yet there being no court to make interest among the people, it appeared that the late King had a party in both houses, sufficient to perplex the government,

who first proposed the choice of a new parliament, in order to throw the nation into a ferment; but this being over-ruled, a bill was passed to turn the present convention into a parliament, it being wisely concluded, that those who had set the King on the throne, would be most zealous to maintain him there; but when the house was called over, and the members required to take the oaths, eight bishops were absent.

The clergy in general took the oaths, but it became visible that many of them took them only as oaths of submission to *usurpers*, with this reserve, that it was still lawful to assist James, if he should attempt to recover the crown, and that he was still their King *de jure*, though the Prince of Orange was King *de facto*, contrary to the plain meaning of the words. Indeed they had embarked so far in their doctrines of *absolute submission*, and *the divine right of monarchy*, that they knew not how to disengage themselves with honour. Many suffered the time limited for taking the oaths to elapse, and yet officiated contrary to law. They threatened the church with a new separation, which terrified the moderate clergy, and put a stop to all amendments of the liturgy for the ease of dissenters, lest the non-jurors should gain over great numbers of the laity, by pretending to abide by the old liturgy, in opposition to the reformed one. Thus the non-conformists were sold to the jacobites, by the timidity of their real friends; for the high church party discovered an irreconcilable enmity to an accommodation, and seemed only to wish for an occasion to renew old severities. Those who had moved for a comprehension, and brought the bill into the house of lords, acted a very disingenuous part, for while they studied to recommend themselves, by seeming to countenance the bill, they set on their friends to oppose it, representing the favourers of it, as enemies to the church.

When the King came to the house, March 16, he made a speech, in which he recommends qualifying all his protestant subjects for serving the government. I hope, says his majesty, you are sensible there is a necessity of some law, to settle the oaths to be taken by all persons to be admitted to such places. I recommend it to your

care, to make a speedy provision for it ; and as I doubt not but you will sufficiently provide against papists, so I hope you will leave room for the admission of all protestants that are willing and able to serve. This conjunction in my service, will tend to the better uniting you among yourselves, and the strengthening you against your common enemies." It appears by this, that King William was for taking off the test, and abrogating the penal laws, as far as related to dissenting protestants, though the parliament were of another mind.

When a bill was brought into the house of lords, for abrogating the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and framing other oaths in their stead, a committee was appointed to insert a clause, to take away the necessity of receiving the sacrament, in order to make a man capable of enjoying any office, employment, or place of trust ; but when the clause was reported to the house, it was rejected by a considerable majority. After this, another clause was offered, by which it was provided, that such should be sufficiently qualified for any office, who within a year before, or after their admission, did receive the sacrament either according to the usage of the church of England, or in any other protestant congregation, and could produce a certificate under the hands of the minister, and two other credible persons members of such a congregation. On the question, whether this clause should be a part of the bill, it passed in the negative. It was proposed further, in a committee of the house of lords, to dispense with kneeling at the sacrament, but when the question was put, the votes were equal, and so according to the usage of the house it passed in the negative. The like fate attended the motion about the cross in baptism, and explaining the words *assent* and *consent* in subscription. Thus the several attempts for alterations in the church service, at a time when the legislature was in temper for accommodating lesser differences, were frustrated by a party of jacobites and tories, who threatened the new government with a revolt, unless they were humoured, and for fear of them, all promises of accommodation with the dissenters were of no avail.

Soon after a bill for toleration of protestant dissenters

was brought into the house, and had an easy passage; though some proposed, that the act should only be temporary, as a necessary restraint, that the dissenters might so demean themselves, as to merit a continuance of it, but this was rejected. Burnet says, that his zeal for this act lost him his credit with the church party, by which it appears they did not much like it. It is entitled, "An act for exempting their majesty's protestant subjects dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws therein mentioned." But the corporation and test acts were not inserted in this act. There is an exception likewise of such as deny the doctrine of the trinity; and quakers are excused taking the oaths to the government, upon their making a solemn declaration therein mentioned. This act excuses all protestant dissenters from the penalties of the laws therein mentioned, for not coming to church, provided they take the oaths and subscribe the declaration therein mentioned. And dissenting ministers are tolerated on the like conditions, and on their subscribing the doctrinal articles of the church of England. This was the basis and boundary of their liberty.

While the bill for a toleration was depending, a motion was made in the house of lords for a comprehension, which being rejected, Tillotson advised the King to refer the affair to a synod of divines, whose determinations he apprehended would stop the mouths of papists, who reproached our reformation as built chiefly on a parliamentary authority, and would be better received by the body of the clergy. Accordingly it was agreed that a select number of divines, should be appointed by the royal mandate, to consult about the most proper methods of healing the wounds of the church; that their determinations should be laid before the convocation, and from thence receive the sanction of parliament. Agreeably to this resolution, the King issued out a commission to thirty divines, of whom ten were bishops.

The committee having assembled, some of them declared plainly, they were against all alterations whatsoever; they thought *too much* would be done for the dissenters, in granting them an act of *toleration*, and they would do

nothing to make conformity easier ! They said further, that altering the customs and constitutions of the church to gratify a *peevish* and *obstinate* party, was like to have no other effect, than to make them more insolent. It was also said, that the church by proposing these alterations, seemed to confess, that she had hitherto been in the wrong, and that the attempt would divide them among themselves, and lessen people's esteem for the liturgy, if it appeared that it wanted correction. Such were the reasonings of these divines, if they deserve the name, some of whom but a few months before, had made the warmest pretences to a spirit of moderation.

It was alledged on the other side, that if a few corrections or explanations were allowed, there was reason to hope, it would bring over many of the people, if not the teachers themselves : at least if the prejudices of the present dissenters were too strong, it might have a good effect on the next generation. Ritual matters were of an indifferent nature, and became necessary in virtue only of the authority that enjoined them : therefore it was an unreasonable stiffness to deny any abatements, in order to heal the church's divisions. Great changes had been made by the church of Rome in her rituals ; and among ourselves since the reformation, in the reigns of Edward VI. Elizabeth, James, and Charles II. and it seemed necessary at this time, to make the terms of communion as large as possible, that so a greater number might be brought over, since by the act of toleration they might dissent with safety.

But while these matters were debating, the jacobite party took hold of the occasion, to enflame men's minds against the government. Severe reflections were cast on the King himself, as not being in the interest of episcopacy, and great interest was made in the choice of convocation men, to whom the determinations of the committee were to be referred. However the committee continued their work, till they had finished it ; they had before them all the exceptions that either the puritans before the war, or the non-conformists since the restoration, had made to the church service. They had also many propositions and advices that had been suggested at several times, by many

of our bishops and divines upon those heads ; matters were well considered, and freely debated, and all was digested into an entire correction, of every thing that seemed liable to any just exception, and had the laudable designs of the King and the ecclesiastical commissioners succeeded, the concessions and amendments proposed would in all probability, have brought in three parts in four of the dissenters.

While these things were debating, an address was presented, praying that his majesty would call a convocation of the clergy, to be advised with in ecclesiastical matters, assuring his majesty, that it was their intention forthwith to proceed to the consideration, of giving ease to protestant dissenters ; but when they met it quickly appeared, that the high church party were superior to the moderate ; for they quickly came to a resolution, not to enter into any debates *relating to alterations* ; and it was not without difficulty carried, to make a decent address to the King. And the address which the bishops sent down, acknowledging the protection which the protestant religion in general, and the church of England in particular, had received from his majesty, the lower house would not agree to it, because it imported their owning some common union with the foreign churches. They would thank his majesty for his care to establish the church of England, whereby the interest of the protestant churches abroad would be better secured, but would not insert the words, " This and all other protestant churches," as the bishops had desired. The King observing such a want of temper, broke up the sessions ; and seeing they were in no disposition to do good, they were kept from doing mischief by prorogations for a course of ten years.

This was the last fruitless attempt for a comprehension of dissenters within the establishment ; and such was the ungrateful return that these stubborn churchmen made, to those who had assisted them in distress ! For it ought to stand upon record, that the church of England had been **TWICE RESCUED FROM THE MOST IMMINENT DANGER, BY MEN FOR WHOSE SATISFACTION THEY WOULD NOT MOVE A PIN, NOR ABATE A CEREMONY** ; first in 1660, when the presbyterians

restored the King and constitution, without making any terms for themselves; and now again at the revolution, when the church fled for succour to a presbyterian prince, and was delivered by an army of fourteen thousand Hollanders, of the same principles with the English dissenters; and how uncivilly those troops were afterwards used, is too ungrateful a piece of history to remember.

But besides the strong disposition of the high church clergy and their friends, to return to their allegiance to King James, there was another incident, that sharpened their resentments against the King and the dissenters, which was his majesty's consenting to the abolishing episcopacy in Scotland, which could not be prevented without putting all his affairs into the utmost confusion; the bias of that people was strong to presbytery, and the more so, because the episcopal party went almost universally into King James's interests, so that the presbyterians were the King's only friends in that kingdom. There was a convention in Scotland like that in England, who passed judgment of forfeiture on King James, and voted the crown of Scotland to William and Mary. They drew up a claim of rights, by one article of which it was declared, that the reformation in Scotland having been begun by a party among the clergy; prelacy in the church was a great and insupportable grievance to the kingdom. The episcopal party sent the Dean of Glasgow to King William, to know his intentions concerning them, who answered he would do all he could to preserve them, consistent with a full toleration to the presbyterians, provided they concurred in the new establishment; but if they opposed it, he should not enter into a war for their sakes. The bishops, instead of submitting to the revolution, resolved unanimously to adhere firmly to King James, and declared in a body, with so much zeal against the new settlement, that it was not possible for the King to support them. The clergy sent for King James into Scotland, and the Earl of Dundee collected some thousands of highlanders to make a stand, but General Mackay, who was sent with a body of forces to disperse them, routed them at a place called Gillicranky, and killed the Earl of Dundee upon the spot. So that episcopacy in Scotland fell a sacrifice to the interest of King James.

But though it was impossible to stop the torrent of the people's zeal for presbytery ; and though the King had only presbyterians on his side in that kingdom, yet the suffering it to take place, increased the disaffection of the English clergy. Reports of the King's dislike of the hierarchy were spread with great industry ; the leading men of both universities were possessed with it ; though the King had joined in communion with the church, and took the sacrament according to law. It was given out, that men zealous for the church were neglected, and that those who were indifferent to the ceremonies were promoted. His majesty promised the Scots clergy to moderate matters in their favour, and Lord Melville, secretary of state, engaged very solemnly to the same purpose ; but when the presbyterians threatened to desert the court, if they were deserted by them, Melville thought it the King's interest to secure them at all events, which could not be done, but by abandoning the ministers of the episcopal persuasion. Such therefore as refused to read the proclamation of William and Mary by the prefixed day, were deprived of their livings ; which being published up and down England, and much aggravated, raised the aversion of the friends of the church against the presbyterians so high, that they began to repent their having granted a toleration to a party, who where they prevailed, shewed so much fury against those of the episcopal persuasion. It ought however to be remembered, that this was a government case, that the fate of the revolution in that kingdom depended upon it ; and that the bishops and episcopal clergy, almost to a man, were determined jacobites, and refused to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary. Besides, what reason had the Scots presbyterians to trust the episcopal clergy, when it was in their power to do themselves justice ? Had they not deceived them out of their discipline in 1662, and persecuted them cruelly ever since ? Whoever peruses the dreadful sufferings of the kirk in the reign of Charles the Second, will judge how far they had reason to replace them in the saddle, and deliver the reins into their hands.

But the disaffection of the high church clergy, stopt not short of the King himself, who was made uneasy by

their malignant spirit, and restless endeavours to clog the wheels of his government, insomuch that his majesty sometimes declared, with more than ordinary vehemence, that he would not stay in England and hold an empty name; that it was not easy to determine which was best, a commonwealth, or kingly government; but he was sure the worst of all governments was, a King without treasure, and without power. He once resolved to return to Holland, and leave the government in the Queen's hands, imagining they would treat her better; and he communicated his design to the Marquis of Carmarthen, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and others, who besought him with tears, to change his resolution, and at last prevailed: but had his majesty declared this from the throne, the nation was in a temper to have done him justice on the incendiaries; for notwithstanding their clamours, they knew their desperate situation, if the King should desert them, having renounced their allegiance to King James, and gone such lengths as he could never forgive. But King William, having a generous mind, imagined they might be gained by gentleness and kindness, and therefore took up with a motley ministry, which distressed him to the last. Thus the tories and high church clergy enjoyed the advantages of this GLORIOUS REVOLUTION, while they act a most ungrateful part towards their DELIVERER, and a most unkind and ungenerous one to their DISSENTING BRETHREN.

Nor have these gentlemen ceased to discover their enmity to the dissenters, since that time, as often as the power has been in their hands. It was impossible to injure them while King William lived, but no sooner was Queen Anne advanced to the throne, than they endeavoured to cramp the toleration, by the bill against occasional conformity, which was brought into the house one sessions after another, till at length they obtained the royal assent, under the specious title of, an act to preserve the protestant religion, and to confirm the toleration, and further to secure the protestant succession. It makes some few concessions in support of the toleration, but then it enacts,—“That if any persons in office, who by the laws are obliged to qualify themselves by receiving the

sacrament, or test, shall ever resort to a conventicle or meeting of dissenters for religious worship, during the time of their continuance in such office, they shall forfeit twenty pounds for every such offence, and be disqualified for any office for the future; till they have made oath, that they have entirely conformed to the church, and not been at any conventicle for the space of a whole year." So that no person in the least office in the customs, excise, or common-council, &c. could ever enter the doors of a meeting-house.

In the last year of Queen Anne, the toleration was further straitened by an act to prevent the growth of schism; for with these gentlemen, all dissenters are *schismatics*; and in order to prevent their increase, the education of their children was taken out of the hands of their friends, and intrusted only with such, who were full and entire conformists. And if any school-master or tutor should be willingly present at any conventicle of dissenters for religious worship, he was to suffer three months imprisonment, and be disqualified, as above, from teaching school for the future. The act was to take place August 1, 1714, the very day the Queen died; but his late majesty George I. being fully satisfied that these hardships were brought upon the dissenters, for their steady adherence to the protestant succession, against a tory and jacobite ministry, who were paving the way for a popish pretender, procured the repeal of them in the fifth year of his reign.

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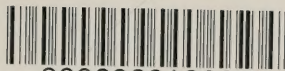
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